

THE LOOM OF LANGUAGE

*A Guide to Foreign Languages
for the Home Student*

by

FREDERICK BODMER

edited and arranged by
LANCELOT HOGBEN

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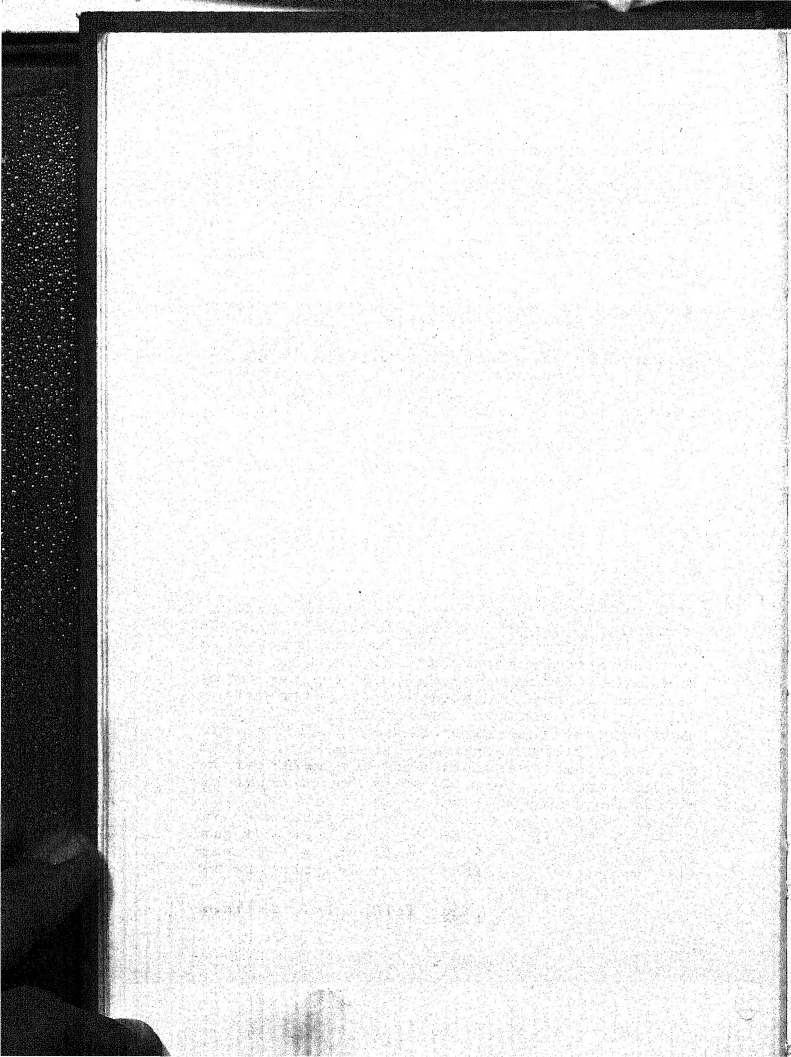
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Up to the very present day, the irons, the steels, direct and rule and change life as no Alexanders, no Caesars, no Jengis Khans or Mussolinis have ever done. You can see the things that arise out of iron from the first iron spear-head and the first axe to the steel rail, the battleship and the motor. You can see them tempting and obliging and compelling men to change their ways of life and their relations to one another. There were no particular *iron-minded* peoples. It was a matter of quite secondary importance to everyone but the gangs and individuals concerned, *what collection of people first got hold of the new thing*. . . . But the new history is not simply an account of the general material life of mankind. . . . Its subtler and more important business is the study of the development of socially binding ideas through the medium of speech and writing. How did language, speech and writing arise? . . . The old-type historians have done nothing to show how the imposition of a language or a blending of languages gives a new twist and often a new power to the community's mental processes. . . . A language is an implement quite as much as an implement of stone or steel; its use involves social consequences; it does things to you just as a metal or a machine does things to you. It makes new precision and also new errors possible.

H. G. WELLS, *In Search of Hot Water*

The evolution of language has been almost as unconscious as that of an embryo. He (*man*) grasps, necessarily without reflection, this fascinating but gnarled product of evolution, neither he nor his relatives and teachers considering at all whether the technique of communication he is learning is modern. He is in the position of a person who has just discovered he can ride a bicycle and rushes off to buy the first he can find, irrespective of whether it is new or of the latest design. It is a bicycle and gets him along somehow, that is enough. He takes it, with all its defects. The language he learns is the unconsidered end-product of an evolution from the sound-communications of ape-like ancestors. The immemorial words change less quickly than the entities they represent, until to-day we find words often extremely misleading assistants in complex thinking. A colossal quantity of philosophizing upon every side of life is entirely vitiated because persons use words quite unsuited to describe the things they are discussing, as if men must always sculpture with a hatchet because that was (perhaps) the first instrument used for the purpose.

J. G. CROWTHER, *Outline of the Universe*



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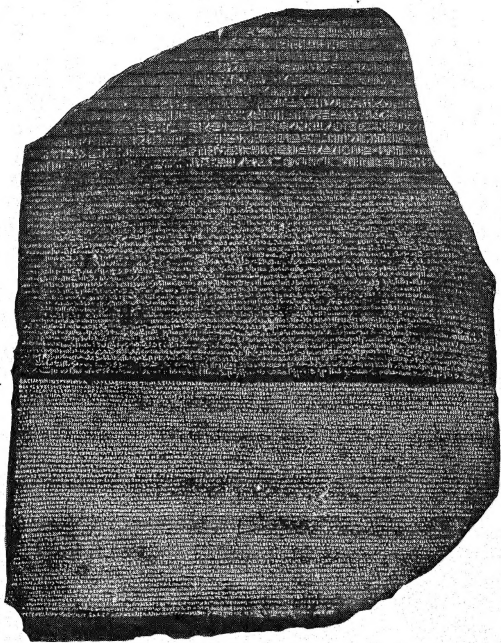
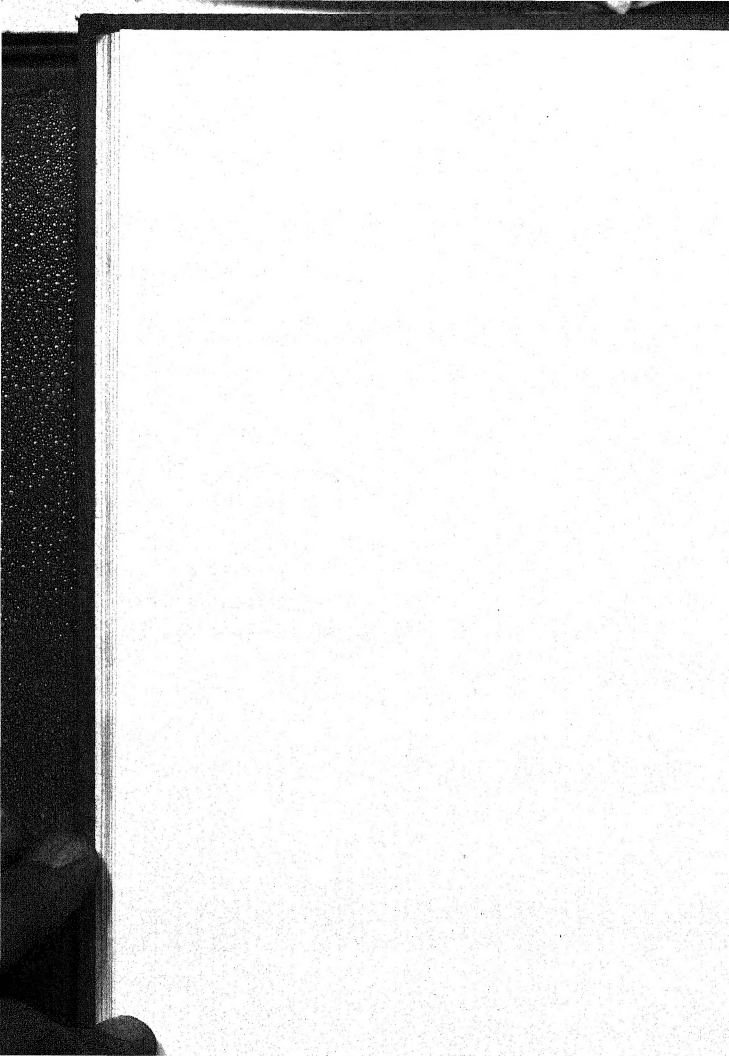


FIG. 1.—THE ROSETTA STONE

This inscription, which came to light during Napoleon's campaign in Egypt, made it possible to decipher the ancient picture writing (top third) of the Egyptian priesthood. The Greek translation is at the bottom. The middle part is the equivalent in a later form (*demotic*) of Egyptian writing. The demotic was an ideographic script of which the symbols had lost their pictorial character (see pages 58-61).



EDITOR'S FOREWORD

DURING the past fifteen years instruction in school and college has undergone a drastic reorientation in Germany and Italy. Its expressed aim is to consolidate and to promote the sentiments and institutions of the totalitarian state. During the same period no country with an ostensibly democratic form of government had an educational system designed with equal singleness of purpose to promote the democratic way of life. In England school education is the last bulwark of caste privilege. In Britain, as in Scandinavia, university education is a patchwork made up partly of relics from the catholic authoritarian tradition of medieval Europe, partly of vocational specialties reluctantly added to meet the demands of modern technics.

The basic defect of British education beyond the elementary school level—at which it has an intelligible and necessary function as an insurance policy against national illiteracy—is that selection and presentation of materials for teaching of subjects most relevant to the constructive tasks of modern society is largely in the hands of experts whose main preoccupation is to produce other experts like themselves. We learn our mathematics with scant reference to its scientific applications. We learn natural science without regard to the impact of scientific discovery on the society in which we live. We struggle with one or more modern languages in complete indifference to the part which language differences play in providing fuel for international misunderstanding and without the slightest concern for the problem of communication on a planetary scale in an age of potential plenty.

Like that of its predecessor, *Science for the Citizen*, the project of *The Loom of Language* is based on the conviction that the orientation of studies in our schools, universities, and Adult Education Movement does not provide a sufficient equipment for the constructive tasks of the society in which we live, that radical changes in the scope and methods of education are a necessary condition of continued social progress, that such educational reforms will not come about unless there is a vigorous popular demand for them, and that mere precept or controversial criticism is not likely to stimulate popular demand for reform unless the plain man can examine substantial examples of instruction vitalized by a new infusion of social relevance. Like other primers for the Age of Plenty, *The Loom of Language* does not set out to add to the number of popular books written to stimulate superficial interest

among curio hunters, to promote unnecessary veneration for professors, to provide material for light conversation at cocktail parties, or to mitigate the inconvenience of insomnia. First and foremost it is a *self-educator* for the home student, a book which members of the Adult Education Movement can use as a basis for sustained study, and a book from which teachers alert to the need for a new orientation to meet the needs of the ordinary citizen in a progressive democratic society can get helpful suggestions with a direct bearing on their daily task.

An attempt of this kind needs no apology on account of its novelty or break with traditional methods of school teaching. Less than a century ago, the introduction of modern languages into schools where language teaching had been circumscribed by translation from classical authors of antiquity, was greeted as a welcome innovation. It seemed at last as if the teaching of languages had been brought to life. After two generations of experiment, educationists are not convinced that the results of school-teaching justify the time devoted to them in English-speaking countries. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the prevailing attitude among American educationists is one of alarm at the poverty of return for effort put into the task. Subsidized by the Carnegie Corporation, the American Council of Education has undertaken a survey of methods and results in order to review the current situation in American schools. The published report is an honest admission of dismal failure.

Years ago, when Dr. Bodmer was my colleague on the staff of the University of Cape Town, we discussed the twin project of *Science for the Citizen* and *The Loom of Language* in a preliminary way. Shortly before the war we drew up a detailed plan based on joint discussion, chiefly in English country pubs during the course of a motor trip from Aberdeen to London *via* the Yorkshire moors and Suffolk, back again by way of the Lake district. There, as I expected, my job as editor finished, at least till I read the page proofs. In reality collaboration has been closer, and the author has urged me to explain the extent of it. During the writing of the book Dr. Bodmer lived in a small croft which I used to rent on Deeside. So I saw him during the week-ends continuously. I read the first drafts of each chapter, and was able to suggest how to get round difficulties of ordinary people who are like myself poor linguists. I shall always be grateful for what was a highly educative experience and one which kept me intellectually alive during a period of somewhat curtailed opportunities for my own research.

As time passed the task became more and more a co-operative effort in which I acted as a sieve, or, if you like it, as a bit of litmus paper. Dr. Bodmer submitted to suggestions for the benefit of readers who find languages as formidable as I do with more readiness than those of us who have a normal modicum of egotism and a less developed social conscience. When the rising cost of paper forced us to curtail the scope to some extent, I took a hand in the job of condensing and rewriting some sections. Consequently I have had the greatest difficulty in preventing Dr. Bodmer from refusing to publish the book without my name as a co-author on the cover. I have got him to see that limitations which vindicate my editorial qualifications for recognizing the difficulties of ordinary people would make me a laughing stock in the capacity of joint author. So we have compromised on the understanding that I make clear the extent of my contribution in a foreword.

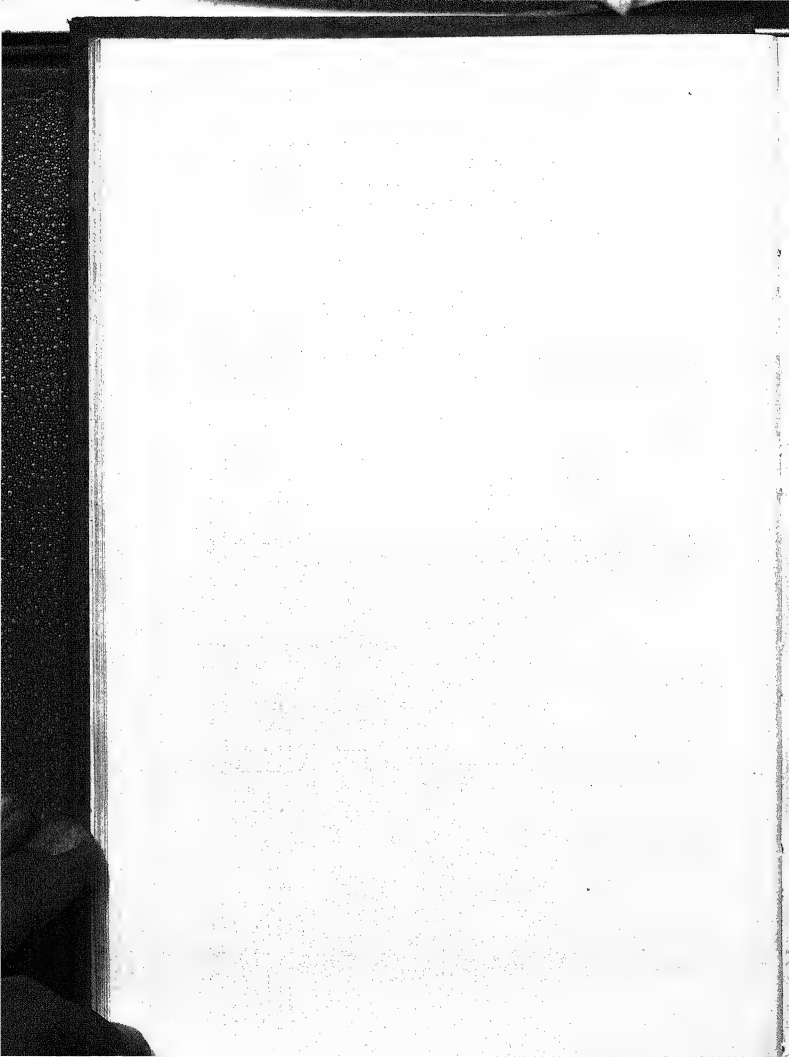
There is one thing to add. The merits of the two predecessors of *The Loom of Language* in their later editions are due in no small measure to the co-operation of scores of readers who have sent in suggestions for further clarification or have drawn attention to author's slips or to printer's errors. In a book of this size, produced under exceptionally difficult conditions, blemishes are inevitable in a first edition. Editor, author and publishers hope that readers will show appreciation of what has been achieved by contributing constructive criticism for use in later impressions or editions.

Because this book is a successor to *Mathematics for the Million* and *Science for the Citizen*, its motif is social and its bias is practical. It does not touch on the *aesthetic* aspects of language. What aesthetic merits some people find, and—we may hope—will continue to find, in their home languages have little to do with difficulties which beset the beginner learning a new one, or with technical problems of devising ways and means of communication on a planetary scale in an age of potential plenty.

LANCELOT HOGBEN

TORPHINS, ABERDEENSHIRE

October 1941



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

WHAT language we habitually speak depends upon a geographical accident. It has nothing to do with the composition of the human sperm or of the human egg. A child grows up to speak or to write the language used at home or at school. If born in a bilingual country it may grow up to use two languages without any formal instruction in either. Many Welsh, Breton, Belgian, and South African children do so. There is nothing to suggest that the chromosomes of the Welsh, Belgians, Bretons, and South Africans have an extra share of *genes* which bestow the gift of tongues. Experience also shows that adult emigrants to a new country eventually acquire the knack of communicating inoffensively with the natives. So scarcely any one can have any rational basis for the belief that he or she is congenitally incapable of becoming a linguist. If a language-phobia exists, it must be a by-product of formal education or other agencies of social environment.

By the same token it is not difficult to understand why Scandinavians or the Dutch enjoy the reputation of being good linguists. In small speech communities the market for talkies or for specialist textbooks is small, and it is not economically practicable to produce them. Thus the Norwegian boy or girl who hopes to enter a profession grows up with the knowledge that proficiency in English, German or French is an essential educational tool. In any part of Scandinavia a visit to the cinema is a language lesson. Translation of the English, German or French dialogue flashes on the screen as the narrative proceeds. To all the cultural barriers which linguistic isolation imposes on a small speech community we have to add exigencies of external trade and a stronger impulse to travel. In short, members of the smaller European speech communities experience a far greater need to study foreign languages and enjoy greater opportunities for doing so.

Special circumstances combine to encourage a distaste for linguistic studies among those who speak the Anglo-American language. One is that the water frontiers of Britain, and still more those of the United States, isolate most British and American citizens from daily experience

of linguistic contacts. Another is that formal education fails to supply a compelling reason for a pursuit which has little connexion with the needs of everyday life. Reasons commonly given for learning foreign languages are manifestly insincere, or, to put it more charitably, are out of date. For instance, it is obviously easy to exaggerate the utility of linguistic accomplishments for foreign travel. Only relatively prosperous people can continue to travel after marriage; and tourist facilities for young people of modest means rarely, if ever, take them into situations where nobody understands Anglo-American. There is even less sincerity in the plea for linguistic proficiency as a key to the treasure-house of the world's literature. American and British publishers scour the Continent for translation rights of new authors. So the doors of the treasure-house are wide open. Indeed, any intelligent adolescent with access to a modern lending library can catch out the teacher who enthuses about the pleasures of reading Thomas Mann or Anatole France in the original. People who do so are content to get their knowledge of Scandinavian drama, the Russian novel or the Icelandic Sagas from American or British translations.

In spite of all obstacles, anyone who has been brought up to speak the Anglo-American language enjoys a peculiarly favoured position. It is a hybrid. It has a basic stratum of words derived from the same stock as German, Dutch, and the Scandinavian languages. It has assimilated thousands of Latin origin. It has also incorporated an impressive battery of Greek roots. A random sample of one word from each of the first thousand pages of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* gives the following figures: words of Romance (Latin, French, Italian, Spanish) origin 53.6 %, Teutonic (Old English, Scandinavian, Dutch, German) 31.1 %, Greek 10.8 %. With a little knowledge of the evolution of English itself, of the parallel evolution of the Teutonic languages and of the modern descendants of Latin, as set forth in the second part of this book, the American or the Briton has therefore a key to ten living European languages. No one outside the Anglo-American speech community enjoys this privilege; and no one who knows how to take full advantage of it need despair of getting a good working knowledge of the languages which our nearest neighbours speak.

Though each of us is entitled to a personal distaste, as each of us is entitled to a personal preference, for study of this sort, the usefulness of learning languages is not merely a personal affair. Linguistic differences are a perpetual source of international misunderstanding, a well-

nigh inexhaustible supply of inflammable material which warmongers can use for their own evil ends. Some knowledge about the languages people speak is therefore one prerequisite of keeping the world's peace. Keeping the world's peace is everybody's proper business; but keeping the world's peace is not the only reason why study of languages concerns all of us as citizens. Linguistic differences lead to a vast leakage of intellectual energy which might be enlisted to make the potential plenty of modern science available to all mankind.

Human beings are unique in two ways. Man is a tool-bearing animal and a talkative animal. In the pursuit of their tool-bearing activities, men and women have learned to co-operate on a planetary scale; but such co-operation is perpetually thwarted by local limitations of their speech habits. What is characteristic of the intellectual achievements of mankind in the age of hydro-electricity, magnesium-aluminium alloys, broadcasting, aviation, synthetic plastics, and chemotherapy is a common possession of all nations which encourage scientific research, but nations have no common idiom through which workers by brain or hand can communicate results of research or collaborate in applying them to human welfare. Modern technology is a supernational culture which ministers to the common needs of human beings, while language limps behind the human endeavour to satisfy needs which all human beings share.

To canalize the interest of intelligent men and women into the constructive task of devising or of adopting an *auxiliary* medium to *supplement* existing national languages is therefore one of the foremost needs of our time. This concerns us all, and it calls for a lively knowledge of the limitations imposed on languages by the laws of their growth. It will therefore be one of the tasks of *The Loom of Language* to trace the history of the languages in which the technical resources of our age have been recorded. It will not be a record of deliberate and intelligent prevision. It is partly a story of confusion resulting from a continuous record of slovenliness and of obstinate complacency towards the mistakes of our grand-parents. It is also a story of ancestor-worship, and of makeshifts to conserve the ineptitudes of a supposedly heroic past. It affects us more intimately than the fate of the Dinosaurs. It unearths remains not less dramatic than the jaw-bone of the ape-man of Java. It points the way down dim paths of prehistory from which we return with imagination fired by a vista of future possibilities.

This does not mean that *The Loom of Language* is first and foremost

volume of scientific publications which record new discoveries in physics, medicine, chemistry, agriculture, and engineering appear in many different languages. Their contents do not become accessible in books till several years have elapsed. Professional scientific workers are therefore handicapped if they have no knowledge of such languages as German, French, or Spanish. What is more important from the standpoint of the wider public which *The Loom of Language* may reach is this. Challenging statistics of social welfare from foreign countries may never find their way into the columns of our newspapers. So the only way of getting a thorough first-hand knowledge of foreign affairs is to read year-books and periodicals published in other countries.

For these and other reasons many people who have little or no knowledge of foreign languages would like to have more; and many would study them, if they were not discouraged by the very poor results which years of study at school or in college produce. One thing *The Loom of Language* aims at doing is to show that there is no real reason for being discouraged. Though the difficulties of learning languages are real, they are also easy to exaggerate. Generally, the adult has more to show after a three months' course at a Commercial Institute than an adolescent after three years' study of a foreign language in a British secondary or American high school. One reason for this is that the adult pupil is clear about why he or she is taking the course. Another is that the teacher is usually clear about why he or she is giving it.

This is not the whole story. To sins of omission we have to add all the positive obstacles which early formal education places in the way of those who have no strong personal inclination for linguistic studies. The greatest impediment, common to most branches of school and university education, is the dead hand of Plato. We have not yet got away from education designed for the sons of gentlemen. Educational Platonism sacrifices realizable proficiency by encouraging the pursuit of unattainable perfection. The child or the immigrant learns a language by blundering his or her way into greater self-confidence. Adults accept the mistakes of children with tolerant good-humour, and the genial flow of social intercourse is not interrupted by a barrage of pedantic protests. The common sense of ordinary parents or customs officials recognizes that commonplace communication unhampered by the sting of grammatical guilt must precede real progress in the arts of verbal precision. Most of us could learn languages more easily if we could learn to forgive our own linguistic trespasses.

Where perfectionist pedantry has inserted the sting of grammatical

guilt a sense of social inferiority rubs salt into the wound. According to the standards of educated adults, very few adolescents can speak and write the home language with fluency and grammatical precision before eighteen years of age. To be able to speak more than two new languages without any trace of foreign accent or idiom is a life-work. So linguistic polish is a perquisite of prosperous people whose formal education has been supplemented by the attentions of foreign governesses and by frequent trips abroad. It is the cultural trademark of a leisure class. Indeed no type of knowledge has more ostentation value.

No one who wants to speak a foreign language like a native can rely upon this book or on any other. Its aim is to lighten the burden of learning for the home student who is less ambitious. One of the useful results of recent attempts to devise languages for world citizenship has been to show how educational practice, dictated by anti-social theories which gratify the itch for leisure-class ostentation, exaggerates the difficulties arising from the intrinsic characteristics of language. The intrinsic difficulties depend on the large amount of effort expended before tangible results of self-expression or comprehension bring their own reward. Self-assurance depends on reducing this period of unrequited effort to a minimum. Pioneers of international communication such as C. K. Ogden, the inventor of Basic English, have made a special study of this, because the success of their work depends on the ease with which a language for world-wide use can be learned. Whether their own proposals prosper or fail, they have revolutionized the problem of learning existing languages.

Tricks discovered in the task of devising a simple, direct, and easily acquired language for world-citizenship have not yet found their way into most grammar-books, and the reader who starts to learn a foreign language can get all the fun of tackling a new problem by applying them. To understand the essential peculiarities or similarities of languages most closely related to one another does not demand a special study of each. If you compare the following equivalents of a request which occurs in the *Lord's Prayer*, you can see this for yourself:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| Gib uns heute unser täglich Brot | (German) |
| Geef ons heden ons dagelijksch brood | (Dutch) |
| Giv os i Dag vort daglige Brød | (Danish) |
| Giv oss i dag vårt dagliga bröd | (Swedish) |
| Gef oss i dag vort daglegt brauð | (Icelandic) |

Now compare these with the following translations of the same petition in Latin and its daughter languages:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Da nobis hodie panem nostrum quotidianum | (Latin) |
| Donne-nous aujourd'hui notre pain quotidien | (French) |
| Danos hoy nuestro pan cotidiano | (Spanish) |
| Dacci oggi il nostro pane cotidiano | (Italian) |
| O pão nosso de cada dia dai-nos hoje | (Portuguese) |

By the time you have read through the first five, you will probably have realized without recourse to a dictionary that they correspond to the English sentence: *Give us this day our daily bread*. That the next five mean the same might also be obvious to a Frenchman, though it may not be obvious to us if we do not already know French, or a language like French. If we are told that all ten sentences mean the same thing, it is not difficult to see that German, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Icelandic share with English common features which English does not share with the other five languages, and that French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese share with Latin common features which they do not share with the Germanic group.

It is a common belief that learning two languages calls for twice as much effort as learning one. This may be roughly true, if the two languages are not more alike than French and German, and if the beginner's aim is to speak either like a native. If they belong to the same family, and if the beginner has a more modest end in view, it is not true. Many people will find that the effort spent on building up a small, workmanlike vocabulary and getting a grasp of essential grammatical peculiarities of four closely related languages is not much greater than the effort spent on getting an equivalent knowledge of one alone. The reason for this is obvious if we approach learning languages as a problem of applied biology. The ease with which we remember things depends on being able to associate one thing with another. In many branches of knowledge, a little learning is a *difficult* thing.

As an isolated act it is difficult, because extremely tedious, to memorize the peculiarities of each individual bone of a rabbit. When we realize that bones are the alphabet of the written record of evolution in the sedimentary rocks, the study of their peculiarities is full of interest. Biologists with experience of elementary teaching know that it is far more satisfying—and therefore more easy—to learn the essential peculiarities of the bones of representative types from *all* the various classes of vertebrates than to memorize in great detail the skeleton of

a single isolated specimen. So it may well be that many people with a knowledge of Anglo-American would benefit by trying to learn German along with Dutch, which is a half-way house between German and







































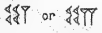

| SIGN | SOUND | SIGN | SOUND | SIGN | SOUND | SIGN | SOUND |
|--|--------------------|---|--|---|-------|---|-------|
|  | a |  | ja |  | ba |  | wi |
|  | i |  | ji |  | fa |  | ra |
|  | u |  | ta |  | na |  | ru |
|  | ka |  | tu |  | nu |  | la |
|  | ku |  | da |  | ma |  | sa |
|  | ga |  | di |  | mi |  | za |
|  | gu |  | du |  | mu |  | sha |
|  | ha |  | tha |  | ya |  | thra |
|  | cha |  | pa |  | wa |  | ha |
| Ideograms | | | | | | | |
|  | shayathiya KING | |  | bumi LAND | | | |
|  | dahyu PROVINCE | |  | auramazda NAME OF A GOD | | | |

FIG. 3.—OLD PERSIAN CUNEIFORM SYLLABARY

Cuneiform is the name for a type of syllable writing which owes its distinctive characteristics to the impress of a wedge-shaped tool on soft clay. Related syllabaries of the same type were widely distributed over the Middle East about 2000 B.C. Elamites, Babylonians, Syrians and Hittites all had cuneiform scripts.

Mayflower English. Every grammatical rule then becomes a fresh layer of rock from which to chisel vestiges of creation. Each word is a bone labelled with a question-mark.

This suggestion may not appeal to everyone or suit every type of home student. Still, most people who find it difficult to learn a foreign language can relieve themselves of some of their difficulties, if they start with a little knowledge of how languages have evolved. Part of the task which *The Loom of Language* has undertaken is to bring the dead bones to life with this elixir. Some people may say that the difficulties are too great, because we start with so little raw material for comparison. They will say that it is possible to give the general reader an intelligible account of organic evolution, only because any intelligent person who first meets a text-book definition of such words as *fish*, *amphibian*, *reptile*, *bird*, *mammal*, can already give several examples of each class. Indeed, most of us can subdivide some of them, as when we speak of dogs and cats as carnivores, mice and rabbits as rodents, or sheep and cattle as ruminants. Most of us could also give some outstanding anatomical peculiarities which serve to distinguish species placed in a particular group, as when we define ruminants as beasts which chew the cud and divide the hoof.

Admittedly, there is no such common basis of universal knowledge about language species and their anatomical peculiarities. Most Britons and most Americans speak or read only one language. At best, very few well-educated people can read more than three. Those we usually learn are not recognizably of a kind; and there are no Public Language Museums with attractive and instructive exhibits. All the same, it is not impossible for an intelligent person who has had no training in foreign languages to get some insight into the way in which languages evolve. There are no straight lines in biological evolution, and there are no straight lines in the evolution of languages. We can recognize similar processes in the growth of all languages. We can see characteristics which predominate in languages so far apart as Chinese, Hungarian, and Greek competing for mastery in the growth of Anglo-American from the English of Alfred the Great.

When we begin to take the problem of language planning for world peace seriously, we shall have public language museums in our centres of culture, and they will be essential instruments of civic education. In the meantime we have to be content with something less comprehensive. For the reader of this book, Part IV is a language museum in miniature. The home student who loiters in its corridors will be able to get a prospect of the family likeness of languages most closely allied to our own, and will find opportunities of applying rules which lighten the tedium of learning lists, as the exhibits in a good

museum of natural history lighten the tedium of learning names for the bones of the skeleton.

WHAT LEARNING A LANGUAGE INVOLVES

If supplemented by technical terms which are the same, or almost the same, in nearly all modern languages, a basic vocabulary of seventeen hundred native words is abundant for ordinary conversation and intelligent discussion of serious subjects in any European language. According to a recent article in *Nature*, a new encyclopaedia of medicine published recently in the Soviet Union, contains 80,000 technical terms, and it is safe to say that during his professional training a medical student has to master a new vocabulary of at least ten thousand new words. Indeed, the international vocabulary of modern science as a whole is immense in comparison with the number of words and rules which we have to master before we can express ourselves in a foreign language with free use of technical terms in world-wide use. This fact does not prevent the publication of a daily growing volume of good popular books which explain for the benefit of any reader with average intelligence basic principles and interesting facts dealt with in natural sciences. With the help of the exhibits in our own language museum (Part IV) there is no reason why interesting facts about the way in which languages grow, the way in which people use them, the diseases from which they suffer, and the way in which other social habits and human relationships shape them, should not be accessible to us. There is no reason why we should not use knowledge of this sort to lighten the drudgery of assimilating disconnected information by sheer effort of memory and tedious repetition.

Helpful tricks which emerge from a comparative study of language as a basis for promoting a common language of world-citizenship will turn up in the following chapters, and will be set forth collectively at a later stage. In the meantime, any one appalled by the amount of drudgery which learning a language supposedly entails can get some encouragement from two sources. One is that no expenditure on tuition can supply the stimulus you can get from spontaneous intercourse with a correspondent, if the latter is interested in what you have to say, and has something interesting to contribute to a discussion. The other is that unavoidable memory work is much less than most of us suppose; and it need not be dull, if we fortify our efforts by scientific curiosity about the relative defects and merits of the language we are studying; about its relation to other languages which people speak, and about the

social agencies which have affected its growth or about circumstances which have moulded its character in the course of history.

In short, we can stiffen self-confidence by recognizing at the outset that the difficulties of learning a language, though real, are far less than most of us usually suppose. One great obstacle to language-learning is that usual methods of instruction take no account of the fact that learning any language involves at least three kinds of skill as different as arithmetic, algebra and geometry. One is learning to *read* easily. One is learning to *express oneself* in speech or in writing. The third is being able to *follow the course of ordinary conversation* among people who use a language habitually. This distinction helps to resolve some of the greatest difficulties which confront beginners. Whether it is best to concentrate on one to the exclusion of others in the initial stages of learning depends partly on the temperament of the beginner, partly on how the foreign one resembles the home language, and partly on the social circumstances which control opportunities for study or use. We can best see what these circumstances are, if we first get clear about the separate problems which arise in reading, in self-expression, and in oral recognition, about the several uses to which we can put our knowledge of a language, and about the various opportunities for getting practice in using it.

Most educated people find that oral recognition of ordinary conversation is the last stage in mastering a language, and does not come unless they have spent at least a few weeks or months in a country where it is habitually spoken. It then comes quickly to anyone who can read and write it. The reason why it demands a skill quite different from the skill of learning to read quickly or to write and to speak correctly, is that no one pronounces distinctly the separate words of a sentence as one writes it, and as a beginner or a child speaks it. In speaking, people fuse one word with another, and blur syllables which form an essential part of the *visual* picture of the individual word. What we recognize is not a succession of separate units, but a composite pattern of which the character is partly determined by emphasis and rhythm.

This difficulty does not arise in reading or writing a foreign language. When we are learning to read or to write a language, we concentrate on the individual words as separate visual symbols, and when we are learning to speak, we concentrate our attention on the sound values and stresses of each syllable. So it is possible to detect the meaning or to pronounce flawlessly the individual words of *I am kind of fond of you baby* without recognizing it when it impinges on the ear as *yɪmkɪnnə-*

jonevubaybee. Of course, the extent of the difficulties which the beginner has to face depends partly on personal make-up, and partly on that of the language. Some people with histrionic gifts pick up word-patterns quickly, and may therefore benefit more than others from gramophone records, which are an invaluable help for getting good pronunciation. Some languages are more *staccato* than others. Individual words as spoken are more clear-cut. People who speak them habitually do not slough off syllables. Stress is evenly distributed. In this sense, German is more *staccato* than English, and English far more so than French. From knowledge of the written language, it is a small step for the student of German to follow a conversation or a broadcast. From a good reading knowledge of French to an understanding of what a French taxi-driver says when he is quarrelling with the policeman is a much longer road.

Formal instruction is at best a very laborious way of surmounting these difficulties. The element of curiosity which plays such a large part in moulding everyday speech is stifled by the certainty that the teacher is not saying anything particularly interesting, or, if interesting, anything which he or she could not explain with less trouble in a language we already understand. The same remark also applies to formal instruction in writing, to exercises in translation, or to conversational instruction. The teacher then plays the role of *critic* in a situation which proffers no vital *problem* for solution. Though this is not true of wireless which gives us opportunities for getting a new slant on foreign affairs, the time we can devote to a foreign broadcast is generally short. Radio does not impose on us the sheer necessity of proficiency, as do the disadvantages of failing to reserve a seat in a railway carriage, or the need to replace a broken collar stud. Worst of all, it will not repeat itself for the benefit of the listener.

Since the need for oral recognition does not arise in an acute form unless we are living in a foreign country, these difficulties are not as discouraging as they seem. If occasion arises, any one who can read and write or speak can quickly learn to understand a language when he or she hears it spoken *incessantly*. So the best advice for most of us is to concentrate on reading, writing, and speaking, with what help we can get from listening-in, till we go abroad. Opportunities for conversation with children are often reassuring, when we first do so. In large English and American cities there are colonies of foreigners, many of them tradespeople, who do not mind if we add to our purchases a bit of talk, however defective in grammar and pronunciation.

From a practical point of view, it is more important to be clear about the difference between what is involved in learning to read, and what is involved in learning to speak or to write a language. When engaged in ordinary conversation or letter-writing the vocabulary of most people, even highly educated people, is very small in comparison with the vocabulary of a newspaper or of a novel. In his professional capacity the journalist himself, or the novelist herself, uses many more words than suffice for the needs of everyday life, and the vocabulary of one author differs very much from that of another. If only for these reasons, the vocabulary which suffices for fluent self-expression is *much* smaller than the vocabulary needed for indiscriminate reading. There are many other reasons why this is so. One is the fact that ordinary speech rings the changes on a large assortment of common *synonyms* and common expressions which are for practical purposes interchangeable. Such equivocations are innumerable. In everyday life, few of us pay much attention to the different shades of meaning in such expressions as: *he would like to, he wants to, he prefers to, he desires to, he wishes to, he would rather.*

Another important distinction is connected with the use of *idiom*, i.e. expressions of which the meaning cannot be inferred from the usual significance of the individual words and a knowledge of the grammatical rules for arranging them. *How do you do?* is an obvious example of idiomatic speech; but everyday speech is saturated with idioms which are not obvious as such. In English, the fact that *a cat is in the room* can also be expressed by saying *there is a cat in the room*. We could not infer this from the *customary* meaning of the word *there* and the other words in the sentence, as given in a pocket dictionary.

From the standpoint of a person learning a foreign language, there is a big difference between the two forms of statement. We can translate the first word for word into Dutch, German, Swedish, or Danish. The expression *there is* must be translated by idiomatic combinations which do not literally, i.e. in the usual sense of the separate words, mean the same in any two of them. In French we have to translate *there is* by *il y a*, which literally means *it there has*. In the same context, the German would write *es ist*, literally *it is*. The Swede would say *det finns*, i.e. *it is found*. We could not use the German *es ist*, as we could still use the Danish *der er*, if we had to translate *there are no snakes in Iceland*. The English idiom *there is* would make way for *es gibt*, or literally *it gives*.

To read a language with ease we therefore need to have a *relatively* big battery of synonyms and idioms with which we can dispense in

speaking or writing. To some extent, similar remarks apply to *grammatical* conventions. In modern English it is never obligatory to use what is called the *genitive case-form* of the words *father* or *day*, as in *my father's hat*, or *his day's wages*. When speaking or writing English we are at liberty to say, *the hat of my father*, or *his wages for the day*. So we do not need to know the grammatical rule which tells us how to form the singular genitive *father's*, or the plural genitive *fathers'*. A foreigner (i.e. one who does not speak the Anglo-American language) does not need to know that it is our custom to apply the rule only to names of animate objects, astronomical or calendrical terms and measures.

To this extent, it looks as if self-expression is much easier to master than a good reading knowledge of a language. In other ways it is more difficult. On the debit side of our account we have to reckon with two other features of the art of learning. One is that our knowledge of the words we use in expressing ourselves is not prompted by the situation, as our recognition of words on a printed page is helped by the context. Though the number of words and expressions we need is *fewer*, we need to know them so *thoroughly*, that we can recall them without prompting. Another circumstance makes reading more easy than writing or speaking. Most languages carry a load of grammatical conventions which have no more value than the *coccyx* (vestigial tail) of the human skeleton. The rule that we add *-s* to the stem of the English verb, if preceded by *he*, *she*, or *it*, as when we say *he needs*, is a convention of usage. We make no distinction between the form of the verb when we say *I need*, *you need*, *we need*, *they need*. Though we should correct a child (or a foreigner), we should know what he or she meant by saying: *the train leave at 11.15*. So it contributes nothing to our facility in getting at the meaning of a sentence. From this point of view, proficient oral self-expression makes less demands than writing. Many grammatical conventions such as the apostrophe in *fathers'* have no *phonetic value*. That is to say, we do not recognize them as sounds. This is specially true of French.

What *The Loom of Language* has to say about *phonetics*, i.e. principles of pronunciation, and the practical hints it gives, will be of little use to anyone who hopes to speak a foreign language intelligibly, unless supplemented by other sources of instruction. We can surmount the particular difficulties of oral expression painlessly with the use of gramophone (p. 260) records, if we have the money to buy them. Whether speaking or writing is easier when the gramophone is avail-

able, depends chiefly on the individual. People who are good mimics will make more progress in speaking with the same expenditure of effort. Individuals of the visual or motor types, i.e. those who learn best by eye or touch, will get on better at writing. For many of us the choice is limited by whether we can find a willing correspondent or an accessible acquaintance through business connexions, or through some such organization as the educational department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers in New York. No teacher can supply the stimulus that comes from communication which is spontaneously gratifying, because novel, to both parties.

We may sum up the essential differences between the skill required for wide reading and the skill required for proficient self-expression in this way. To express ourselves correctly we need to have a *ready* knowledge of a *relatively small* number of words—fifteen hundred or two thousand at most—and a *precise knowledge* of the *essential* grammatical conventions of straightforward statement. To read widely without a dictionary, we need a *nodding acquaintance* with a *relatively large* vocabulary (fifteen thousand words may be given as a rough estimate), and a general familiarity with a *wide range* of grammatical conventions, which we can recognize at sight, if meaningful. We can waste an immense amount of time, if we are not clear at the outset about what this distinction implies, or if we proceed on the assumption that learning how to read is the same job as learning to express ourselves.

THE BASIC VOCABULARY

When we are reading a thriller or a historical novel, we continually meet unfamiliar words for articles of clothing and inaccessible items of a menu list. We also meet forbidding technical terms for architectural features, nautical expressions, hayseed dialects, and military slang. The fact that we should hesitate to attempt a precise definition of them does not bother us. We do not keep a dictionary at the bedside, and rarely ask a friend the meaning of a word which we have not met before. If we do meet a word for the first time, we often notice it several times during the course of the ensuing week. Sooner or later the context in which we meet it will reveal its meaning. In this way, the vocabulary of our home language continually grows without deliberate effort. In the same way we can acquire a good reading knowledge of a foreign language when we have mastered a few essentials. It is discouraging and wasteful to torture the meaning of every word of a foreign novel page by page,

and so destroy the enjoyment which the narrative supplies. To get to this stage with the minimum of effort involves realizing clearly what the bare minimum of essential knowledge is.

Analagous remarks apply to self-expression. When we realize what is the essential minimum for one or the other, we can decide on what we have to *memorize deliberately*, and what we can leave to look after itself. For self-expression or for reading, the essentials are of two kinds, a minimum vocabulary of individual words, and a minimum of grammatical rules, i.e. rules about how words change and how to arrange them in a sentence. Till recently, language text-books paid little attention to the problem of how to build up this minimum vocabulary. More modern ones have faced it and tackled it by basing selection on words which are used most *frequently*.

There are several objections to the method of extracting from the contents of a dictionary the thousand or so words which occur most often in printed matter. One is that many of the commonest words are synonyms. So while it is true that we can express ourselves clearly with a little circumlocution if we know about fifteen hundred words of any language (i.e. about five months' work at the rate of only ten new words a day), we might have to learn the fifteen thousand most common words before we had at our disposal all the fifteen hundred words we actually need. At best, word-frequency is a good recipe for the first step towards *reading*, as opposed to writing or to speaking. Even so, it is not a very satisfactory one, because the relative frequency of words varies so much in accordance with the kind of material we intend to read. Words such as *hares* and *hawthorn*, *byre* and *bilberry*, *plough* and *pigsty*, are the verbal stuffing of Nobel Prize novels. They rarely intrude into business correspondence, or even into the news columns.

The statistical method used in compiling word-lists given in the most modern text-books for teaching foreign languages evades the essence of our problem. If we want to get a speaking or writing equipment with the minimum of effort, fuss and bother, we need to know how to pick the assortment of words *which suffice to convey the meaning of any plain statement*. Any one who has purchased one of the inexpensive little books* on Basic English will find that C. K. Ogden has solved this problem for us. The essential list of only 850 words goes on a single sheet. Mr. Ogden did not choose these words by first asking the irrelevant question: which words occur most often in Nobel Prize novels or in Presidential orations? The question he set himself was:

* Especially *Basic English: A General Introduction and Brighter Basic*.



FIG. 4.—CUNEIFORM TABLET RECORDING BABYLONIAN LEGEND OF THE DELUGE

what other words do we need in order to define something when we do not already know the right word for it?

For example, we can define a plough as the *machine* we make use of to *get* the ground ready for the seed. For ordinary circumstances this will make sufficiently clear what we are talking or writing about. If not, we can elaborate our definition by using other general words like *machine*, or verbs like *make* and *get*, which serve for all sorts of definitions. In Basic English there are only sixteen of these *verbs* to learn. If we use only words in the 850-word list, it may take us a little longer than otherwise to explain what we mean; but the result is still correct, simple and lucid English. Indeed, the fact that we have to examine the precise meaning of words which do not occur in the list compels us to be more precise than we might otherwise be.

It is possible to go so far with so few words in good English because a large number of words which belong to the *verb* class are not essential. We do not need *burn*, *finish*, *err*, because we can *make* a fire of, *make* an end of, *make* a mistake about. We do not need to *fly* in an aeroplane, *drive* in a cab, *cycle* on a bicycle, *travel* in a train, *ride* on a horse, or *walk*. It is enough to say that we *go* on foot, on a horse, or in a vehicle. For straightforward, intelligible and correct statement in other European languages, we have to add between 300 and 600 words of the verb class to our list of essential words. This thrifty use of verbs is a peculiar characteristic of English and of the Celtic group among European languages. Where a Swede uses a different verb, when a child *goes* in a train, and when a train *goes*, or when an aviator *goes* up, and when he *goes* across the road, one English word suffices. If we also make allowance for the usefulness of having single ordinary names for common objects not included in the Basic Word-List, a vocabulary of less than two thousand words is sufficient for fluent self-expression in any European tongue. This is less than a tenth of the vocabulary which we meet when reading novels indiscriminately. So reading is a very laborious way of getting the thorough knowledge of the relatively few words we need when speaking or writing.

One of the reasons why Basic is so thrifty in its use of verbs is that we can do much in English by combining some verbs with another class of words called *directives*. We do so when we substitute *go in* for *enter*, *go up* for *ascend*, *go on* for *continue*, *go by* for *pass*, *go through* for *traverse*, *go off* for *leave*, and *go away* for *depart*. In modern European languages, these words recur constantly. There is a relatively small number of them. Unlike nouns (name-words), such as *train* or *auto-*

mobile, which are sometimes the same and often similar in different languages, they are difficult to guess. The same remarks apply to link-words such as *and*, *but*, *when*, *because*, *or*; and to a large class of words called adverbs, such as *often*, *again*, *perhaps*, *soon*, *here*, *forward*. These three groups of words together make up the class which grammarians call *particles*. Since they are essential words for clear statement, and are not the sort of words of which we can guess the meaning, it is interesting to know how many of them there are, and how frequently they occur.

Comparison of two passages printed below illustrates a type of experiment which the reader can repeat with other materials, if or when able to recognize words put in this class. The first (a) is from the *Dream of John Ball*, by William Morris. The second (b) is from *Elementary Mathematical Astronomy*, by Barlow and Bryan. So the sources represent widely different types of expression and characteristics of our language. In describing the arrival of one of Wycliffe's poor preachers, Morris tries to follow the essentially Teutonic idiom of the people for whom Wycliffe translated the Bible. The text-book specimen uses many words which are entirely foreign to the English of Wycliffe's Bible, or to the later version dedicated to James I. They come, directly or indirectly, from Latin or Greek sources, chiefly from the former. In each passage, words which cannot be traced back to the blending of Teutonic dialects in English before the Norman Conquest, are in italics.

(a) BUT WHEN John Ball FIRST *mounted* the steps OF the cross, a lad AT some one's bidding had run OFF TO stop the ringers, AND SO PRESENTLY the *voice* OF the bells fell dead, leaving ON men's minds that *sense* OF blankness OR EVEN *disappointment* which is ALWAYS *caused* BY the sudden stopping OF a *sound* one has got used TO AND found *pleasant*. BUT a great *expectation* had fallen BY NOW ON all that throng, AND NO word was spoken EVEN IN a whisper, AND all hearts AND eyes were *fixed* UPON the dark *figure* standing straight UP NOW BY the tall white shaft OF the cross, his hands stretched OUT BEFORE him, one *palm* laid UPON the other. AND FOR me AS (I) made ready TO hearken, (I) felt a *joy* IN my soul that I had NEVER YET felt.

(b) AS the result OF *observations* extending OVER a large number OF *lunar* months, it is found that the moon does NOT describe EXACTLY the same *ellipse* OVER AND OVER AGAIN, AND that THEREFORE the laws *stated* are ONLY *approximate*.

mate. EVEN IN a single month the departure FROM simple elliptic motion is QUITE appreciable, OWING CHIEFLY TO the disturbance called the Variation. The disturbance known AS the Evection causes the eccentricity TO change APPRECIABLY FROM month TO month. FURTHER, the motions described cause the roughly elliptical orbit TO change its position. The complete investigation OF these changes belongs TO the domain OF gravitational astronomy. It will be necessary HERE TO enumerate the chief perturbations ON account OF the important part they play IN determining the circumstances OF eclipses.

In these selections words belonging to the class called *particles* are in capital letters. If you count the various classes of words, you can tabulate your results as follows:

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| | <i>Dream of</i> | <i>Mathematical</i> |
| | <i>John Ball</i> | <i>Astronomy</i> |
| Words of Latin or Greek origin .. | 11 per cent | 30 per cent |
| Particles .. | 31 per cent | 27 per cent |

Though the sources of the figures are so different in content, and though they use such a different stock in trade of words, they contain almost exactly the same number of *particles*, i.e. 29 ± 2 per cent, or nearly a third of the total. A similar estimate would not be far out for languages spoken by our nearest European neighbours. Since more than a quarter of the words we meet on the printed page are particles, it is interesting to ask how many *essential*, and how many *common*, particles we need or meet. For two reasons it is impossible to cite absolute figures. One is that people who speak some languages make distinctions which others do not recognize. Thus a Swede or a Frenchman has to use different words for the English *before* according as it signifies *at an earlier time than*, or *in front of*. Apart from this, some common particles are synonymous in a particular context, as when we substitute *as* or *since* for the more explicit link-word *because*. With due allowance to these considerations, we may put the number of *essential* particles at less than one hundred, and the total number which we *commonly* meet in speech or reading at less than two hundred.

This leads us to a very simple recipe for getting ahead quickly with the task of building up a word-list which will suffice for self-expression. It also shows us how to reduce by more than 25 per cent the tedium of continual reference to a dictionary when we first begin to read. Our first concern, and it is usually the last thing grammar books help us to do, should be what a foreigner has to do when he starts to learn Basic English. We should begin our study of a modern European language

by committing to memory the *essential particles*; and a very small class of exceedingly common words, such as *I, him, who*, called *pronouns* (pages 96-102). At the same time we should familiarize ourselves with the less essential particles so that we recognize them when we meet them. That is to say, we should begin by learning the FOREIGN EQUIVALENTS for the eighty or so most ESSENTIAL ones, and, since it is always easier to recognize a foreign word we have previously met than to recall it, the ENGLISH EQUIVALENT for about a hundred and fifty other most COMMON foreign synonyms of this class. How we should choose our basic particles and pronouns, how it is best to set about memorizing them, and what we should then do, will turn up later.

ESSENTIAL GRAMMAR

First we have to decide what to do about grammar, and this means that we must be clear about what is meant by the *grammar* of a language. Having a list of words of which we know the usual meaning does not get us very far unless we have knowledge of another kind. We cannot rely on the best dictionary to help us out of all our difficulties.

To begin with, most dictionaries leave out many words which we can construct according to more or less general rules from those included in them. A Spaniard who wants to learn English will not find the words *father's, fathers, or fathers'*. In their place, the dictionary would give the single word *father*. An ordinary dictionary does not tell you another thing which you need to know. It does not tell you how to arrange words, or the circumstances in which you choose between certain words which are closely related. If a German tried to learn English with a dictionary, he might compose the following sentence: *probably will the girl to the shop come if it knows that its sweetheart there be will*. A German does not arrange words in a sentence as we do, and his choice of words equivalent to *he, she, and it* does not depend upon anatomy, as in our own language. So we should have some difficulty in recognizing this assertion as his own way of stating: *the girl will probably come to the shop if she knows that her sweetheart will be there*.

There are three kinds of rules which we need to guide us when learning a language, whether to read, to write, to speak, or to listen intelligently. We need rules for forming word derivatives,* rules for the

* Here and elsewhere *derivative* means any word derived from some dictionary item according to rules given in grammar books. So defined, its use in this book is the *editor's* suggestion, to which the author assents with some misgiving, because philologists employ it in a more restricted sense. The justification for the meaning it has in *The Loom* is the absence of any other explicit word for all it signifies.

arrangement of words, and rules about which of several related words we have to use in a particular situation. Closely allied European languages differ very much with respect to the relative importance of such rules, the difficulties which they put in the way of a beginner, and how far they are essential to a reading, writing, or speaking knowledge. Bible English has very simple and very rigid rules about arranging words, and these rules, which are nearly the same as those of Scandinavian languages, are totally different from the less simple but rigid rules of German or Dutch. Word order does not count for so much in the study of Latin and Greek *authors*. Latin and Greek writing abounds with derivatives comparable to *loves* or *loved*, from *love*, or *father's* from *father* in English. The connexion between words of a statement depends less on arrangement than on the idiomatic (p. 201) use of derivatives. Thus it is impossible to read these languages without an immense number of rules about derivative words.

If we aim at learning a language with as little effort as possible, rules of one kind or another may be more or less important from another point of view. In English we use the derivative *speaks* after *he, she, or it*, instead of *speak* after *I, you, we, or they*. Since we pronounce the final -s, it is important for a foreigner, who wishes to conform to our customs, to know how to use this rule in speaking as well as in writing. When we use *he, she, or it*, we do not add an -s to *spoke*. So the -s is not really essential to the meaning of a statement, and a foreigner would still be able to understand a written sentence if he did not know the rule. French has more complicated rules about these endings. Their usefulness depends on whether we are talking, writing or reading. If a Frenchman wants to write *I speak, you speak, we speak, they speak*, he uses different endings for each. The French equivalents of what is called the "present tense" (p. 103) of *speak*, are:

| | | | |
|-----------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| Je parle | I speak. | Nous parlons | we speak. |
| Tu parles | you speak. | Vous parlez | you speak. |
| Il parle | he speaks. | Ils parlent | they speak. |

None of these endings adds anything to the meaning of a statement. They are just there as vestiges from the time when Romans did not use words such as *I, we, they*, in front of a verb, but indicated them by the ending. As such they are not relevant to a reading knowledge of French. Four of the six, italicized because they are vestiges in another sense, are not *audibly* distinct. They have no real existence in the spoken language. Thus some rules about derivative words are important only

for writing, some for writing and speaking, others for reading as well. That many rules about correct writing deal with vestiges which have ceased to have any function in the living language does not mean that writing demands a knowledge of *more* grammar than reading. It signifies that it calls for more knowledge of a *particular type*. Complicated rules for the use of many French derivatives are not essential for self-expression because we can dispense with them as we dispense with the English derivative *day's*. For reading we need a *nodding* acquaintance with many rules which we are not compelled to use when writing or speaking.

The difficulties of learning the essential minimum of rules which are helpful from any point of view have been multiplied a thousandfold



FIG. 5.—BILINGUAL SEAL OF KING TARQUIMUWA, A HITTITE KING
The Hittite language was probably Aryan. The seal shows cuneiform syllabic signs round the margin and pictograms in the centre. (See also Fig. 9.)

by a practice which has its roots in the Latin scholarship of the *humanists*, and in the teaching of Greek in schools of the Reformation. As explained in Chapter III, Latin and Greek form large classes of derivative words of two main types called *conjugations* (p. 107) and *declensions* (p. 115). The rules embodied in these conjugations and declensions tell you much you need to know in order to translate classical authors with the help of a dictionary. Grammarians who had spent their lives in learning them, and using them, carried over the same trick into the teaching of languages of a different type. They ransacked the literature of living languages to find examples of similarities which they could also arrange in systems of declensions and conjugations, and they did so without regard to whether we really need to know them, or if so, in what circumstances. The words which do not form such derivatives,

that is to say, the *particles* which play such a large part in modern speech, were pushed into the background except in so far as they affected the endings (see p. 262) of words placed next to them. Any special class of derivatives characteristic of a particular language was neglected (see p. 272). The effect of this was to burden the memory with an immense store of unnecessary luggage without furnishing rules which make the task of learning easier.*

When sensible people began to see the absurdity of this system, still preserved in many grammar-books, there was a swing of the pendulum from the perfectionist to the nudist (or DIRECT) method of teaching a language by conversation and pictures, without any rules. The alleged justification for this is that children first learn to speak without any rules, and acquire grammar rules governing the home language, if at all, when they are word-perfect. This argument is based on several misconceptions. A child's experience is slight. Its vocabulary is proportionately small. Its idiom is necessarily more stereotyped, and its need for grammar is limited by its ability to communicate complicated statements about a large variety of things and their relations to one another. Apart from this, the child is in continuous contact with persons who can use the home language according to approved standards, and has no other means of communicating intelligibly with them. So neither the conditions of, nor the motives for, learning are those of an older person making *intermittent* efforts to acquire a language which is neither heard nor used during the greater part of the day.

Since *The Loom of Language* is not a children's book, there is no need to dwell on the ludicrous excesses of educational theorists who

* For the benefit of the reader who already knows some French, the following quotation from Dimnet (*French Grammar Made Clear*) emphasizes lack of common sense in text-books still used in the schools:

"Are the four conjugations equally important? Most grammars very unwisely lead the student to imagine that it is so. In reality there are (according to Hatzfeld and Darmester's well-known *Dictionary*) only 20 verbs in -OIR, some 80 in -RE, 300 in -IR, and all the other verbs (about 4,000) end in -ER. Whenever the French invent or adopt a new verb, they conjugate it like *aimer* (in a few cases like *finir*) and for this reason the two conjugations in -ER or -IR are called 'living,' while the less important conjugations in -OIR and -RE are termed 'dead.' The conjugation in -ER is the easiest of the four, and has only two irregular verbs in daily use."

To this we may add that there are only four common verbs which behave like *recevoir*, the type specimen of the so-called *third* conjugation of the "regular" verbs in the school-books. The *-re* verbs of the *fourth* conjugation of "regular" verbs include four distinct types and a miscellaneous collection of others.

advocated the direct method* and fooled some teachers into taking it up. The most apparent reason for its vogue is that it exempts the teacher from having any intelligent understanding of the language which he or she is teaching. Common experience shows that adult immigrants left to pick up the language of their adopted country by ear alone rarely learn to speak or to write correctly; and adults who wish to learn the language of another country rarely have the leisure to waste on time-consuming instruction of the type given in urban schools where insipid pictures of rural scenes mollify the tedium of repetitive conversation.

Because the kind of grammar you most need depends partly on how you intend to use a language, it is impossible to give a general recipe for writing a compact and useful grammar-book. The learner who wishes to get as far as possible with as little inconvenience generally has to pick and choose from books which contain more than enough. To do this intelligently is easier if we start with a general idea of how languages differ. The relative importance of rules of grammar depends, among other things, on whether the language one is learning more or less closely resembles one's own or another already mastered, and if so, in what way.

If we aim at learning to write a *modern* language, the formal grammar of conjugations and declensions explained in Chapters III and IV usually boils down to a comparatively small number of rules, far fewer than those given in most primers. On the other hand, few except the more advanced text-books have much to say about other equally important rules. One class of such rules already mentioned depends on the fact that each language or group of closely related languages has its own *characteristic* types of *derivative* words. Thus *reader* and *builder*, *childhood* and *widowhood*, *reshape*, *rebuild*, *restate* and *fellowship*, *kingship*, illustrate four ways of building new words in English and in other Teutonic languages. Such rules may be as useful as the rules for forming such derivatives as *father's*.

If two languages are closely related as are Swedish and English, or Spanish and Italian, it is also helpful to know rules which tell us how

* The silliness of the direct method when tried out on adults was pointed out by Henry Sweet in 1899:

"The fundamental objection, then, to the natural method is that it puts the adult into the position of an infant, which he is no longer capable of utilizing, and, at the same time, does not allow him to make use of his own special advantages. These advantages are, as we have seen, the power of analysis and generalization—in short, the power of using a grammar and a dictionary."

the spelling or pronunciation of a word in one of them differs from the spelling or pronunciation of a corresponding word in another. For example, the *SH* in the English *ship* becomes *SK* in the Swedish *skepp*, which means the same thing. Similarly the Swedish for *to shine* is *att skina*. The vowel symbol *JU* in Swedish generally becomes *I* in corresponding English words. Thus *att sjunga*, with the ending *-a* common to all Swedish verbs, preceded by *att* (to) means *to sing*. In English, all verbs which change as *sing* to *sang* and *sung* are old Teutonic words. So we expect to find them in Swedish, which is also a Teutonic language, and can guess correctly that the Swedish equivalent of *to sink* would be *att sjunka*.

It is essential to know one thing about the use of words before we can begin to make a basic word-list. Correspondence between the use of words in different languages is never perfect. It is more or less complete according to the grammatical class to which words are assigned. Thus numerals and name-words or nouns such as *father*, *bird*, or *ship*, offer little difficulty when we consult a dictionary. The greatest trouble arises with particles, especially *directives*, i.e. such words as *in*, *on*, *to*, *at*. There is never absolute correspondence between such words in any two languages, even when they are very closely related as are Swedish and Danish. The English word *in* usually corresponds to the Swedish *i*, and the English *on* to Swedish *på*, but the British expression, *in the street*, is translated by *på gatan*. A Swede might get into difficulties if he gave his English hostess a word-for-word translation of *en kvinna jag träffade* (a lady I met) *på gatan*.

The dictionary usually gives several synonyms for each foreign equivalent of any directive, and leaves us to find out for ourselves when to use one or the other. To tell us how to do so is one of the most important tasks of practical grammar. Thus it is quite useless to have a list of basic particles unless we know the *distinctive* use of each. If we are clear about this, we can recognize them when we are using a particle of our own language in an *idiomatic* sense. If we do not know the correct idiomatic equivalent in another language, we can paraphrase the expression in which it occurs without using it (see p. 139).

When making our word-list for another language, we have also to be wary about one of the defects of English overcome by the small number of verbs in Ogden's Basic. Idiomatic English, as usually spoken and written, has a large number of very common verbs which we should not include in the English column of our word-lists. *Try*, which is one of them, means in different contexts the same as (a)

attempt, (b) *endeavour*, (c) *test*, (d) *judge*. Another very common English verb, *ask*, can mean: (a) *question*, (b) *request*, (c) *invite*. So an English-Swedish or English-French dictionary will not give one equivalent for *try* or one for *ask*. If you look up these words you may find for the first four and for the second three foreign substitutes which are *not* true synonyms. The moral of this is: do not include such words as *ask* or *try* in the English column of an essential word-list. In place of them put each of the more explicit words given above.

A foreign language may have a fixed word-order like our own, or a fixed word-order which is quite different. If the order of words is very different from what we are accustomed to, rules of word-order are among the most important rules of its grammar; and it is impossible to get confidence in reading, in speaking, or in writing till we have got used to them. In the initial stages of learning an unfamiliar pattern of this sort makes the task of reading much more difficult than it would otherwise be. That is why German and Dutch, though closely related to English, offer greater difficulties to an Englishman or an American than French. A trick which helps to fix rules of this kind is to make a habit of twisting an English sentence into the Germanic word-order without translating it. The results are often funny, and that makes it easier to learn them. In German word-order, the last few words would be: *and that makes it easier them to learn*.

In the chapters which follow we shall first look at the way languages differ from and resemble one another. This will help us to get clearer about the best way to begin learning any particular one. We shall then be in a position to judge whether it is best to concentrate on speaking, writing, or reading in the early stages, and to decide what course to pursue in writing or speaking in order to fix the minimum vocabulary and grammatical rules we have to use. In so doing we shall also recognize defects which we ought not to perpetuate, and merits which we should incorporate, in a language of world-citizenship.

HOW TO READ THIS BOOK

Among other things, *The Loom of Language* aims at giving the reader who wishes to learn the languages spoken by our nearest European neighbours, a working knowledge of the indispensable elements of grammar, with a basic vocabulary for self-expression. Much of the material relevant to the subject-matter of the two chapters (VII and IX) primarily devoted to this is in tabular form. The tables illustrate aspects of the natural history of language discussed elsewhere. To get the best

out of it as a self-educator, the wisest plan is to read it through quickly. After getting a bird's-eye view, the reader can then settle down to detailed study with pen, paper, and a book-marker for reference backwards or forwards to tables printed in some other context, as indicated by the cross-references throughout the succeeding chapters. Pen (or pencil) and paper are essential helps. We are most apt to forget what we take in by ear, least likely to forget what we learn by *touch*. No one who has learned to swim or cycle forgets the trick of doing so.

The languages which we shall study in greatest detail to illustrate the way in which languages grow belong to the *Teutonic* and *Romance* groups, placed in the great *Indo-European* family. The latter also contains the *Slavonic* group to which Russian belongs, the *Celtic*, in which *Welsh* and *Erse* are placed, and the *Indo-Iranian* group, which includes *Persian* and numerous languages of India. The Teutonic group is made up of German, Dutch, and the Scandinavian dialects. The Romance languages, such as French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, are all descendants of Latin. English is essentially a Teutonic language which has assimilated an enormous number of words of Latin origin. So Teutonic or Romance languages have most in common with English. Fortunately for us they include all the languages spoken by the nearest neighbours of English-speaking peoples on the continents of Europe and America.

The reader, who has not yet realized how languages, like different species of animals or plants, differ from and resemble one another, will find it helpful to *browse* among the exhibits set out as tables throughout *The Loom*. Above all, the home student will find it helpful to loiter in the corridors of the home museum which makes up the fourth part of the book. On its shelves there is ample material for getting clear insight into the characteristics which French, Spanish, and Italian share with their Latin parent, as also of features common to the Teutonic family. One shelf of exhibits shows Greek words which are the bricks of an international vocabulary of technical terms in the age of hydroelectricity and synthetic plastics. The diversion which the reader of the *Loom* can get from noticing differences and detecting essential word similarities in adjacent columns in the light of laws of language growth set forth elsewhere (Chapters V and VI) will help to fix items of an essential vocabulary with a minimum of tedium and effort.

One of the difficulties which besets the home student who starts to learn a new language is the large number of grammatical terms used in most text-books. The object of the four chapters that follow is to show

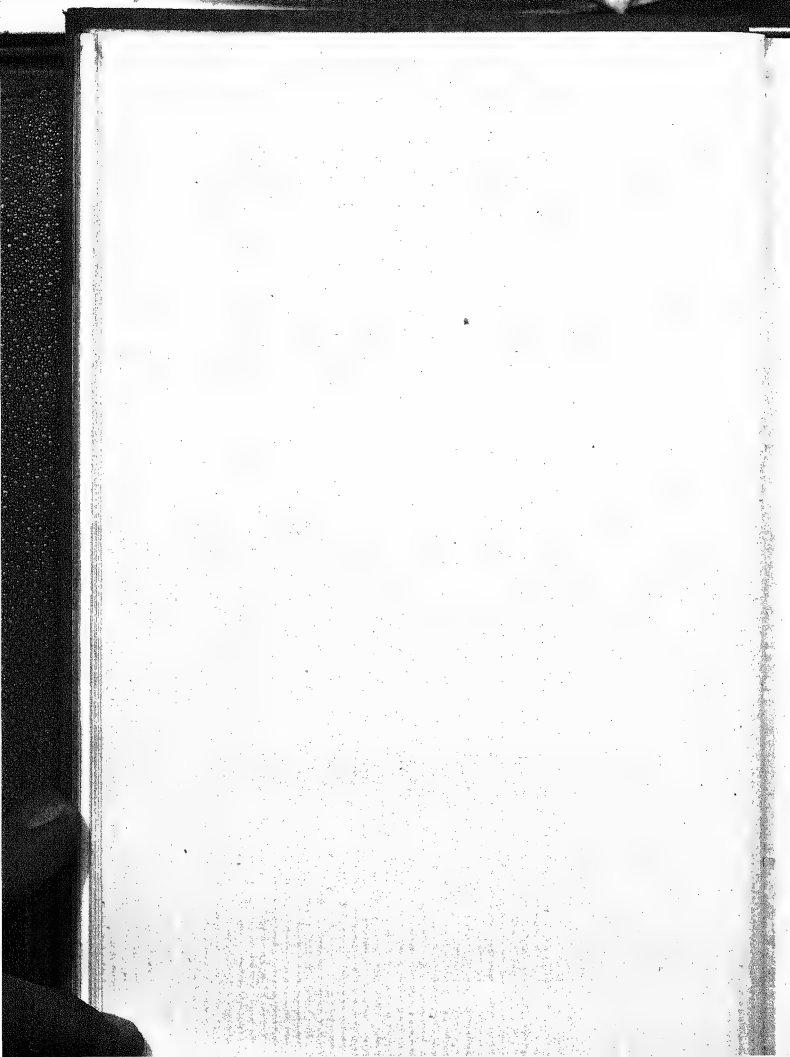
how languages grow, and the reader who does not know many grammatical terms will discover the use of important ones. The reader who already knows the sort of grammar taught in schools and colleges may make the discovery that grammar is not intrinsically dull, and may learn something about the principles which must motivate a rational judgment about language-planning for a world at peace.

The popular myth that it is more difficult for an adult than for a child to learn languages has been disproved by experimental research carried out by modern educationists. Much of the effort put into early education is defeated by the limitations of the child's experience and interests. The ease with which we remember things depends largely on the ease with which we can link them up to things we know already. Since the adult's experience of life and the adult's vocabulary are necessarily more varied than those of the child, the mental equipment of the adult provides a far broader basis of association for fresh facts. Thus an intelligent grown-up person approaches the study of a new language with knowledge of social customs and of history, with a world picture of change and growth gained by general reading or study, and with a stock of foreign words, foreign idioms or derivatives of borrowed roots gleaned from daily reading about international affairs (cf. *canard*, *démarche*, *Quai d'Orsay*, *Wilhelmstrasse*, *blitzkrieg*), advertisements of proprietary products (*glaxo*, *aspirin*, *cutex*, *innox*, *ovaltine*), or technical innovations (*cyanamide*, *carbide*, *hydrogenation*, *radio-therapy*, *calories*, *vitamins*, *selenium*). Children learn their own language and a foreign one *pari passu*. The adult can capitalize the knowledge of his or her own language as a basis for learning a new one related to it. Above all, an adult can visualize a distant goal more easily than a child.

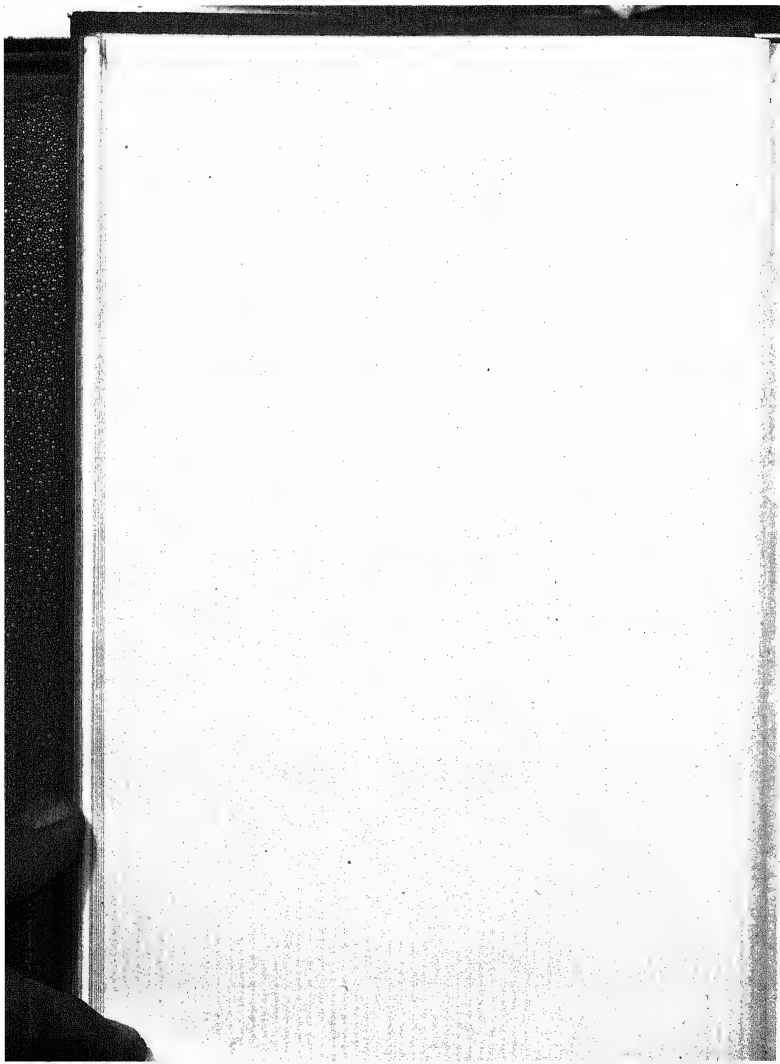
One of the difficulties with which a child has to contend is the haphazard way in which we pick up the home language. Children acquire a vocabulary with little deliberate elucidation from parents or from brothers and sisters, and they do so in a restricted environment which exempts them from dangers of misunderstanding in a larger, less intimate one. Before school age our language diet is nobody's business. So the power of definition and substitution, so essential to rapid progress in a foreign language, comes late in life, if at all. Indeed most of us never realize the inherent irrationalities and obscurities of natural language until we begin to grapple with a foreign one. The discovery may then come as a shock, discouraging further effort.

Many difficulties which beset the beginner are due to the fact that

few of us are alert to tricks of expression *peculiar to our own language*. In fact we need to know something about the language we habitually speak before we can learn another one with the minimum of effort. The object of Chapter IV of *The Loom* is to give first aid to the home student who is not as yet language-conscious in this sense. The reader who intends to use it as a preliminary to the study of a new language will find helpful hints in it to repay what has been an exploit of endurance for the publisher and type-setter. The reader who is on the lookout for a bright book for the bedside will do well to give it the go-by or drink an old-fashioned one before getting down to it.



PART I
THE NATURAL HISTORY
OF LANGUAGE



CHAPTER II

THE STORY OF THE ALPHABET

LANGUAGE implies more than learning to signal like a firefly or to talk like a parrot. It means more than the unique combination which we call human *speech*. It also includes how man can communicate across continents and down the ages through the impersonal and permanent record which we call *writing*. One difference between speech and writing is important to anyone who is trying to learn a foreign language, especially if it is closely related to a language already familiar.

The spoken language of a speech community is continually changing. Where uniformity exists, local dialects crop up. In less than a thousand years what was a local dialect may become the official speech of a nation which cannot communicate with its neighbours without the help of interpreter or translator. Writing does not respond quickly to this process. It may not respond at all. The written word is more conservative than speech. It perpetuates similarities which are no longer recognizable when people speak, and where two languages have split apart in comparatively recent times, it is often easy to guess the meaning of written words in one of them, if we know the meaning of corresponding words in the other. Indeed we can go far beyond guess-work, if we know something about the history of sound correspondence (Chapter V, p. 185). To make the best of our knowledge we should also know something about the evolution of writing itself.

The reader will meet illustrations of this again and again in subsequent chapters (especially Chapter VI), and will be able to make good use of rules given in them while wandering about the corridors of the miniature language museum of Part IV. One example must suffice for the present. The German word for *water* is *Wasser*, which looks like its English equivalent on paper. As uttered, it does not. The German letter W stands now for our sound *v*, as the German V in *Vater* (father) stands for our *f* sound. The reason for this is that the pronunciation of the sound represented by W in older German dialects (including Old English) has changed since what is now called German became a written language. Before German became a written language another change of pronunciation was taking place in the region of southern and middle Germany. Spelling incorporated this change of

the t-sound to a hiss represented by *ss*, as also various other changes (p. 231) which took place about the same time.

Thus the home student of living languages can reduce the difficulties of learning by getting to know:

- (a) how similarities of spelling which do not correspond to similarities of pronunciation may conserve identity of words in related languages that have drifted far apart;
- (b) how to recognize borrowed words by spelling conventions characteristic of the language from which they came;
- (c) how different ways of spelling equivalent words, once identical, reflect changes of pronunciation which involve nearly all words at a certain stage in the divergence of two languages with a common ancestry.

Broadly speaking, we may distinguish between two different kinds of writing. One includes *picture* writing and *logographic* writing. The others *sound* or *phonetic* writing. We can divide the latter into *syllable* writing and *alphabet* writing. Picture writing and logographic writing have no direct connexion with sounds we make. That is to say, people can communicate by picture writing or logographic writing without being able to understand one another when they talk. This is not true of Old Persian *cuneiform* (Fig. 3), of the writing of ancient Cyprus (Figs. 13 and 14), or of modern Japanese *Kana* (Figs. 44 and 45). Such writing is made up of symbols which stand for the *sounds* we make when we separate words into *syllables*. They do not stand for separate objects or directions, as do the symbols of picture or logographic writing. Individually, they have no significance when isolated from the context in which they occur. The same is true of alphabet writing, which is a simplified form of syllable writing. The dissection of the words has gone much further, and the number of elementary symbols is less. So it is easier to master.

This fact about the alphabet is of great social importance. In communities which now use alphabets, ability to learn to write and to read what is written is generally accepted as the limit of normal intelligence. We regard people who cannot be taught to do so as mentally defective. This is another way of saying that the alphabet has made the record of human knowledge accessible to mankind as a whole. The use of picture or logographic scripts, like early syllable writing, has always been the prerogative of a privileged caste of priests or scholars. The invention of the alphabet made it possible to democratize reading, as the invention of the number 0 made it possible to democratize the art of calculation. Unlike* the invention of zero, this liberating innovation has only

* *Mathematics for the Million*, pp. 65, 286, 332.

happened once in the history of mankind. Available evidence seems to show that all the alphabets of the world are traceable to one source.

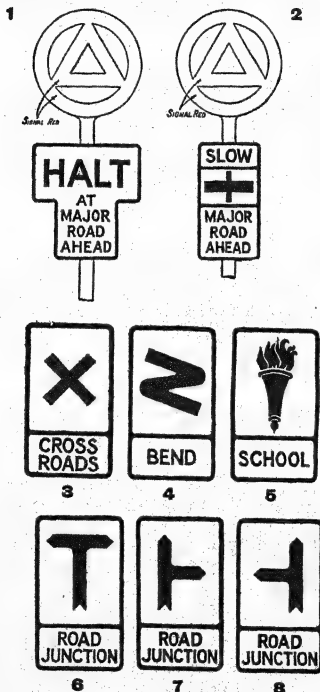


FIG. 6.—BRITISH TRAFFIC SIGNS

Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 show pictograms. No. 5 is an ideogram (logogram). No. 1 contains an ideogram with alphabetic writing. No. 2 shows a pictogram, ideogram, and alphabetic writing.

They came into use about three thousand years ago; but the inherent possibilities of an invention which we now recognize as one of the outstanding cultural achievements of mankind incubated slowly during the course of successive millenia. The first peoples who used alphabetic writing did so for short inscriptions in which individual letters might be written upside down or reversed sideways, with little consideration for the reader (Fig. 38). Even when a secular literature spread through the Greek and Roman world, the written language remained a highly artificial product remote from daily speech. Greek writing was never adapted to *rapid* reading, because Greek scribes never *consistently* separated words. The practice of doing so did not become universal among Roman writers. It became a general custom about the tenth century of our own era. When printing began, craftsmen took pride in the ready recognition of the written word, and punctuation marks, which individual writers had used sporadically without agreement, came into their own. Typographers first adopted an agreed system of punctuation, attributed to Aldus Manutius, in the sixteenth century. In the ancient world the reader had to be his own *palaeographer*. To appreciate the gap between modern and ancient reading, compare the sentences printed below:

KINGCHARLESWALKEDANDTALKEDHALFANHOURAFTERHISHEADWASCUTOFF.

King Charles walked and talked. Half an hour after his head was cut off.

To do justice to the story of the alphabet we must start by examining the meaning of a few technical terms. *Word* is itself a technical term. It is not easy to define what we mean by a separate word in all circumstances. So let us imagine what a traveller would do if he came to live with an illiterate tribe in the interior of Borneo. By pointing at things around he might soon learn which sounds stand for *picturable* objects. By comparing similar things he might also learn to recognize sounds signifying qualities such as *red*, *rough*, or *round*. By watching people together he could also detect sounds which are signals of action like *amen!* *Here!* *Come!* *Hurry!* All this would not make a complete inventory of the elements of a continuous conversation. If the language contained words corresponding to *and*, *during*, *meanwhile*, *for*, or *according*, he would take a long while to decide how to use them, because they never stand by themselves. For the same reason it would also be difficult to decide whether to regard them as separate words

The difficulty of arriving at a definition of what we call separate words is also complicated by the fact that languages are not static. Elements of speech once recognized as distinct entities become fused, as when we condense *I am* to *I'm*, or *do not* to *don't*. So long as you write *I am* in the form *I'm*, you signify that it is to be regarded as two separate words glued together. When you write it in the form *Im*, as Bernard Shaw writes it, you signify that we do not break it up when we say it. Thus we can distinguish between words of three kinds. Some are the smallest elements of speech of which ordinary people can recognize the meaning. Some, separated by careful study, are products of grammatical comparison of situations in which they recur. People of a pre-literate community would not recognize them as separate elements of speech. We recognize others as separate, merely because of the usual conventions of writing. The missionary or trader who first commits the speech of a non-literate people to script has to use his own judgment about what are separate words, and his judgment is necessarily influenced by his own language.

For the present, we had better content ourselves with the statement that *words are what are listed in dictionaries*. According to the conventions of most English dictionaries, *godfather*, *father*, and *god* are different words, and *apples* is a derivative (footnote, p. 34) of the word *apple*. We shall see later why dictionaries do in fact list some noises as words, and omit other equally common noises, i.e. *derivatives* in the sense defined on p. 34. Since dictionaries are our usual source of accessible necessary information, when we set out to learn a language we shall put up with their vagaries for the time being.

When highbrows want a word for all pronounceable constituents of a printed page, each with a distinct meaning or usage of its own, they may speak of them as *vocables*. Vocables include words listed in dictionaries, and derivatives which are not. We do not necessarily pronounce two vocables in a different way. Thus several vocables correspond to the spelling and pronunciation of *bay*, as in *dogs that bay at the moon*, a wreath of *bay leaves*, or the *Bay of Biscay*. Such vocables which have the same sound, but do not mean the same thing, are called *homophones*. We do not speak of them as homophones if derived from the same word which once had a more restricted meaning. Thus *boy*, meaning immature male of the human species, and *boy*, meaning juvenile male employee, are not homophones in the strict sense of the term, as are *sun* and *son*.

To discuss scripts intelligibly we need to have some labels for parts

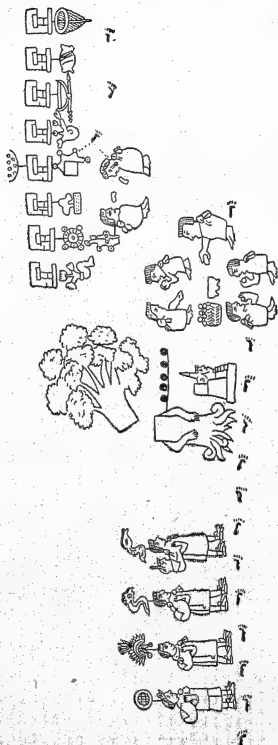


FIG. 7.—PICTOGRAPHIC WRITING OF AZTEC CIVILIZATION IN MEXICO

of words. When we separate a word with a succession of vowels into the bricks which come apart most easily as units of pronunciation, we call each brick a *syllable*. A syllable usually contains a vowel. Thus *manager* is a tri-syllabic word made up of the syllables *ma-*, *-na-*, *-ger*, or, if you prefer it otherwise: *man-*, *-ag-*, and *-er*. Syllables need have no recognizable meaning when they stand by themselves. It is an accident that the syllables *man* and *age* in the word *manage* have a meaning when they stand by themselves. It has nothing to do with the past history of the word, of which the first syllable is connected with the Latin *manus* for *hand*, hence *manual*. If we break up *manliness* into *man-*, *-li-*, and *-ness*, the fact that *man* has a meaning is not an accident. It is the foundation-brick of the word, which was originally built up as follows:

| | | | | |
|-------|---|------|---|-----------|
| man | + | ly | = | manly |
| manly | + | ness | = | manliness |

Such syllables which have a meaning relevant to the meaning of the whole word are called *roots*, though root-words are not necessarily *single* syllables. The part *-ly*, common to many English vocables, comes from the Old English word (*lic*) for *like*. Originally it stuck to names as compounds signifying qualities, i.e. *manly* is *man-like*. Later the process extended to many other words (e.g. *normal*—*normally*) long after *-ly* had lost identity as a separate element of speech. We do not call syllables of this sort *roots*. We call them *prefixes* or *suffixes* according as they occur like *un-* in *unmanly*, at the beginning, or like *-ly*, at the end. Suffixes or prefixes may be made up of more than one syllable either because they came from words of more than one syllable (e.g. *anti-*), or because the process of adding an *affix* (prefix or suffix) has happened more than once. Thus *manliness* has a bi-syllabic suffix.

The suffix *-ly* in *unmanly* reminds us that the line between an affix and a root is not a clear-cut one. Affixes are the product of growth. In this process of growth three things occur. We call one of them *agglutination*,* or gluing of native words together. A second is *analogical extension*. The third, which is self-explanatory, is *borrowing* words like *pre* or *anti* from another language.

The same native word may combine with several others to form a class of compound words like *churchyard* or *brickyard*, in which the two roots contribute to the whole meaning. At a later stage, the ori-

* *Agglutination* has also a more restricted meaning (p. 93) which is not important in this context.

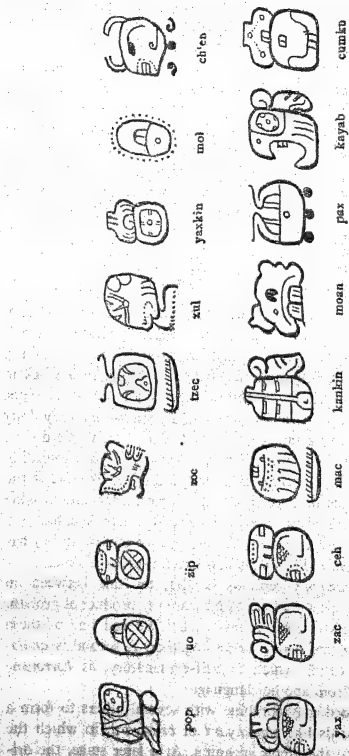


FIG. 8.—IDEOGRAMS OF THE EIGHTEEN TWENTY-DAY MONTHS OF THE CALENDAR OF THE ANCIENT MAYA CIVILIZATION OF CENTRAL AMERICA

(See also *Mathematics for the Million*, p. 331, and *Science for the Citizen*, p. 184.)

ginal meaning of one root may begin to lose its sharp outline. People may then attach it to other roots without recalling its precise meaning when it stands alone. This process, which is the beginning of *analogical extension*, goes on after the original meaning of an affix has ceased to be dimly recognizable. The affix may tack itself on to roots merely because people expect by *analogy* that words of a particular sort must end or begin in a particular way. The large class of English words such as *durable* and *commendable*, or *frightful* and *soulful*, are in an early stage of the process. The suffix *-able* has not yet lost its individuality as a separate vocable, though it has a less clear-cut meaning than it had, when the habit of gluing it on to other words began. The suffix *-ful* is still recognizable as a contraction of *full*, which preserves its literal value in *handful*.

Such words as *friendship* or *horsemanship* illustrate a further stage of the process. They belong to a large class of Teutonic words such as the German *Wissenschaft*, Swedish *vetenskap*, or Danish *videnskab*, which have glued on them a suffix formed from a common Teutonic root word meaning *shape*. Thus the Swedish *vetenskap*, Danish *Videnskab*, or German *Wissenschaft*, for which we now use the Latin *science*, is really *wit-shape*. In such words a suffix signifying *shape* or *form* in a more or less metaphorical sense of the word has tacked itself on to roots to confer a more abstract meaning. The *-head* in *godhead* and *maidenhead* has no more connexion with the anatomical term than the *-ship* in *lordship* has to do with ocean transport. Like the *-hood* in *widowhood*, it is equivalent to the German *-heit*, Swedish *-het*, and Danish *-hed* in a large class of abstract words for which the English equivalents often have the Latin suffix *-ity*. In the oldest known Teutonic language, Gothic, *haiduz* (*manner*) was still a separate word.

The ultimate bricks of a vocable are represented by the *vowel* symbols (in English script *a, e, i, o, u*) and the *consonants* which correspond to the remaining letters of our Roman alphabet. In comparison with other European languages, spoken English is astonishingly rich in simple consonants. In fact we have twenty-three simple consonants in the spoken language for which only sixteen symbols are available. Three of them (*Q, C, X*) are supernumerary and one (*J*) stands for a compound sound. English dialects have at least twelve simple vowels. For these we have five symbols supplemented by *w* after (as in *saw*), or *y* before any one of them (as in *yet*). A complete Anglo-American alphabet with a symbol for each simple vowel and

consonant would demand between forty and fifty symbols to accommodate the range found in all the dialects taken together.

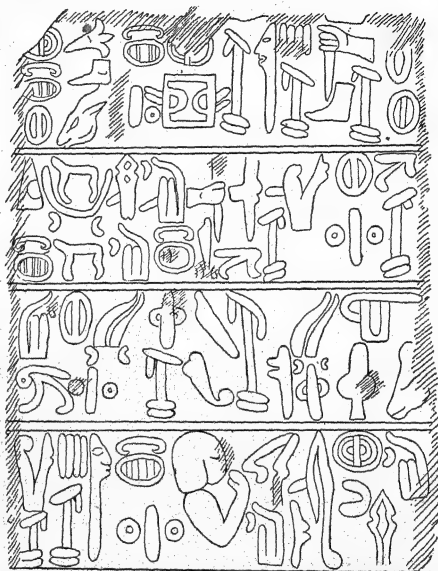


FIG. 9.—ANCIENT PICTURE WRITING OF THE HITTITES FROM AN INSCRIPTION AT HAMA IN SYRIA

PICTURE WRITING AND SYLLABLE WRITING

In so far as the difficulties of modern spelling arise from the fact that we have too few symbols, the difficulties of the earliest peoples were opposite to ours. The earliest scripts consisted of separate symbols for individual vocables, and were therefore excessively cumbersome. These word symbols, of which the earliest Egyptian and Chinese writing is made up, were of two kinds: *pictograms* and

logograms. A pictogram is a more or less simplified picture of an object which can be so represented. A logogram may be: (i) a pictorial symbol substituted for something which we cannot easily represent by a picture; (ii) any sign used to indicate an attribute of a group (*red, age, movement, noise, wet*), or a direction for action, such as *Halt!*, *Major Road Ahead!*, or *Go Slow!*

British traffic signs (Fig. 6) for motorists illustrate all such symbols. A thick line for the main road with a thinner one crossing it is a pictogram for a cross-road. The conventionalized picture of the torch of learning is a pictorial logogram which stands for *school*. The triangle and circle which stands for *Stop!* has no obvious association with any other picturable object. Like the number 4, it is a pure logogram. We still use some logograms in printed books. Besides numbers, we have signs such as &, £, and \$. The signs ♂, ♀, and ♀ in books on astronomy stand for *Mars, Venus, and Mercury*. In books on biology they stand for *male, female, and hermaphrodite*. The plural forms are ♂♂ (males), etc. Similarly the Chinese use the sign 木 for *tree*, and write 木木 for *forest*. Such signs as ♂, ♀, ♀ mean the same to astronomers and biologists all over the world, whether they do or do not *speak* the same language.

The expression *picture-writing*, in contradistinction to *logographic* writing, is a little misleading. Anything which we can properly call writing, in contradistinction to cave-painting, sculpture, or other ways of recording events visibly, must be made up of something more than conventional drawings of picturable objects. When we speak of picture-writing as the most primitive level of script (Figs. 5 and 7-10), we mean a more or less explicit record or instruction set forth in symbols, most of which are either pictograms or logograms of the *School Ahead* type. If it is not possible to represent elements of speech by simple pictures, it may be possible to suggest them represented by the picture of an object which we associate with them. Thus we hopefully associate (Fig. 6) the torch of learning with a building used for scholastic purposes. The Chinese sign for *not* is 不, originally a line drawn over the top of a plant. This suggests that something got in the way of its growth—obstruction, *not* progress, *not* getting bigger, just *not*.

When we speak of logographic writing, we mean writing in which symbols for picturable objects, general characteristics, or directions for action have lost their explicit pictorial meaning. We can no longer guess what they do mean unless we have some key. This does not

mean that all logograms start by being pictures of definite objects. At least one class of logograms (or *ideograms*, as some people call them) is as old as the art of writing. It seems clear that the chief practical advantages of the art of writing at a primitive level of human culture are twofold. One is to put on record necessary information which we should otherwise forget. The other is to convey directions or information to a distance when the carrier might forget them or betray them. The former is almost certainly the older of the two. The priestly caste, as the custodian of a calendar based on centuries of precise observation, appear on the scene at the dawn of Egyptian civilization. Men began to keep accurate records of the seasons as soon as there was settled agriculture; and it is unlikely that the need for written messages arose before man began to establish settled grain-growing communities. As man progressed from a primitive hunting or food-gathering stage to herdmanship and skilled agriculture, the need for counting his flocks and keeping track of seasonal pursuits forced him to prime his memory by cutting notches on sticks or making knots in cords.

We may thus take it for granted that one class of logograms, the number symbols, are as old as, and possibly much older, than any other elements of the most ancient forms of writing. The most ancient number symbols are pictorial in the sense that the first four Roman numerals (I, II, III, IIII) are just notches on the tally stick. Comparison of the relics of the temple civilizations of Central America, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, indicates that the impulse to record social events was mixed up with the primary function of the priests as calendar-makers at a time when the person of the priest-king was the focus of an elaborate astronomical magic and calendar ritual. Thus picture-writing was necessarily the secret lore of a priestly caste and, as such, a jealously guarded secret. Since picture-writing is too cumbersome to convey more than the memory can easily retain, its further elaboration to serve the needs of communication at a distance may have been due to the advantages of secrecy. Whether this is or is not true, the fact that writing was originally a closely guarded secret had important consequences for its subsequent evolution.

The ancient calendar priesthoods had a vested interest in keeping knowledge from the common people. The impulse to preserve secrecy possibly encouraged the gradual degradation of conventional pictures into logograms, which, like the elements of modern Chinese writing, have lost their power to suggest what they stand for. In Chinese scripts

we have examples of logographic writing still largely the monopoly of a scholar caste. Scripts of this class share one important characteristic with picture-writing. The individual symbols have *no necessary connexion with the sounds associated with them*. This is not difficult to understand if you recall one class of logograms which still survive on

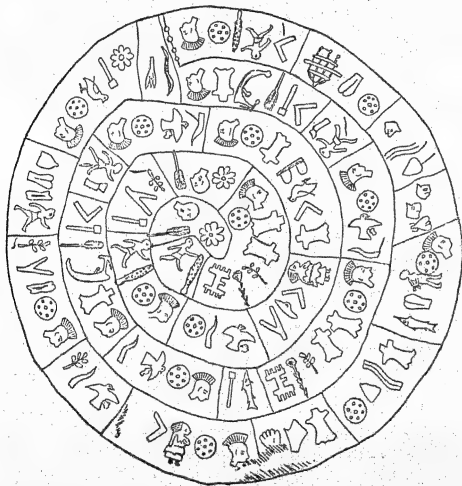


FIG. 10.—DISC OF PHAISTOS SHOWING AS YET UNDECIPHERED PICTOGRAPHIC WRITING OF THE ANCIENT CRETAN CIVILIZATION



the printed page. The Englishman associates with the ideogram 4 the noise which we write as *four* with our imperfect alphabet, or *fɔ*: in modern phonetic script (p. 83). The Frenchman writes it *quatre*, standing for the sound *katr*. The Englishman and the Frenchman both recognize its meaning, though they associate it with different sounds, and a Frenchman could learn to interpret the English traffic signs from a French book without knowing a word of English. In the same way,

| Internat. symbol | Hebrew | Greek | Slavonic | Irish | Latin | German black letter |
|---------------------|--------|-------------|----------|-------|-------|---------------------------|
| b | beth | Β β beta | Б б | ḃ | B | Ḃ b |
| d | daleth | Δ δ delta | Д д | ḋ | D | Ḏ d |
| f | | Φ φ phi | Ф ф | Ḟ | F | Ḟ f |
| g | gimel | Γ γ gamma | Г г | Ḡ | G | Ḡ g |
| h | he | " | — | h | H | Ḥ h |
| k | kaf | Κ κ kappa | К к | c | C | Ḷ k |
| l | lamed | Λ λ lambda | Л л | l | L | Ḻ l |
| m | mem | Μ μ mu | М м | m | M | Ṁ m |
| n | nun | Ν ν nu | Н н | n | N | Ṇ n |
| p | pe | Π π pi | П п | p | P | Ṕ p |
| s | samek | Σ σ sigma | С с | s | S | Ṣ s |
| t | tau | Τ τ tau | Т т | t | T | Ṭ t |
| v | vau | Ϝ ϝ digamma | В в | — | — | Ṳ v |
| w | — | — | — | — | (V) | — |
| z | zayin | Ζ ζ zeta | З з | — | Z | — |
| j | yod | — | — | — | — | — |
| r or ʀ | resh | Ρ ρ rho | Р р | Ṛ Ṛ | R | Ṙ r |
| ʃ | shin | — | Ш ш | — | — | Sch, sch |
| ʒ | — | — | Ж ж | — | — | — |
| θ | — | Θ θ theta | — | — | — | — |
| ð | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| dz | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ʈʂ | — | — | Ч ч | — | — | — |
| ps | — | Ψ ψ psi | — | — | — | — |
| kh | cheth | Χ χ chi | Х х | — | — | Ch, ch |
| ʃdʒ | — | — | Щ щ | — | — | — |
| ks | — | Ξ ξ xi | — | — | X | Ṳ x |
| ts | tsade | — | Ц ц | — | — | Ṳ z |
| kw | quof | — | — | — | QV | Ṳ u |

FIG. II.—CONSONANT SYMBOLS OF SOME CONTEMPORARY ALPHABETS

Pronunciation changes in the course of centuries. So it is somewhat arbitrary to give fixed values to Greek symbols which have retained roughly the same shape for two thousand five hundred years. It seems clear that ϕ originally stood for an aspirated p rendered as PH in Latin transcription. The symbol for p (π) replaces ϕ in the first syllable of the reduplicated past tense form of verbs

people from different parts of China can read the same books without being able to utter any mutually intelligible words.

Eventually the priestly scripts of Egypt incorporated a third class of signs as *phonograms*. The learned people began to make puns. That is to say, they sometimes used their picture symbols to build up words of syllables which had the sound associated with them. With a code of such pictograms we can combine  for *bee* with  for *leaf* to suggest the word *belief* by putting a frame round them thus:






This is just what the Egyptians *sometimes* did. The constituents of this compound symbol have now no connexion with the meaning of the word. We can know the meaning of the word only if we know what it sounds like when spoken.

A trick of this sort may be a stage in the development of one kind of phonetic script called *syllable writing*. The characteristic of syllable writing is that each symbol, like the letters of our alphabet, stands for a sound which has no necessary meaning by itself. Syllable writing in this sense did not evolve directly out of Egyptian picture scripts. Whether the first step towards phonetic combinations of this kind was part of the priestly game of preserving script as a secret code, whether the highbrow pastime of making puns and puzzles encouraged it, we do not know. Either because they lacked a sufficient social motive for simplifying their script, or because the intrinsic difficulties were too great, the Egyptian priests never took the decisive step to a consistent system of phonetic writing.

There is no reason to suppose that peoples who have taken this step have done so because they are particularly intelligent or enterprising. Many useful innovations are the reward of ignorance. When illiterate people, ignorant of its language, come into contact with a community equipped with script, they may point at the signs and listen to the sounds the more cultured foreigner makes when he utters

which begin with the letter (cf. *λυο* = *I loose* and *λαλυκα* = *I have loosed* with *φραζω* = *I declare* and *πεφρακα* = *I have declared*). This *ph* sound drifted towards *f* which takes its place in many Latin words of common Aryan ancestry, e.g. *φερω* = *fero* (*I carry*) and *φρατηρ* = *frater* (clansman, brother). With the *f* value it had in late Roman times, in technical terms from Greek roots and in modern Greek, it went into the Slavonic alphabet. By then the sound corresponding to *β* had drifted towards our *v*, its value in modern Greek. The symbol *F* occurs only in early Greek, probably with a value equivalent to *v*, though evidently akin to the Hebrew *vau* and Latin *F*.

them in his own language. In this way they learn the signs as symbols of sounds without any separate meaning. Imagine what might have happened if the English had used public notices in picture writing during the wars of Edward III. Let us also suppose that the French had been wholly illiterate at the time. When a Frenchman pointed to the pictogram , the informative Englishman would utter the sound *cock*, corresponding to the French *coq*. When he pointed at the logogram , he would get the response *lord*, sufficiently near to the French vocable *lourde*, which means *heavy*. Without knowing precisely what significance an Englishman attached to the symbols, he might proceed to make up the combination  standing

VOWELS~

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|----|----|
| Slavonic _ | Aa Ðə | Ee Ии | Ii | Oo Уу | Юю | Яя | Ыы |
| Greek -- | A α ¹ | E ε ² Ηη ³ | I ι ⁴ | O ο ⁵ Ωω ⁶ | U υ ⁷ | | |
| Roman --- | A | E | I | O | V | | |
| Irish --- | ᠘ | ᠙ | ᠊ | ᠋᠋ | ᠎ | | |
| German _ | ᠘ a | ᠙ e | ᠊ i | ᠋᠋ o | ᠎ u | | |

¹alpha ²epsilon ³eta ⁴iota ⁵omicron ⁶omega ⁷upsilon

Hebrew symbols with
no equivalents in our
alphabets.....




 ⁸aleph  ⁹ayin  ¹⁰beth
throat sounds

FIG. 12.—VOWEL SYMBOLS OF SOME CONTEMPORARY ALPHABETS

for *coquelourde* (meaning a *Pasque-flower*) in the belief that he was learning the new English trick of writing things down.

Needless to say, this is a parable. We must not take it too literally. We know next to nothing about what the *living* languages of *dead* civilizations were like; but one thing is certain. Transition from a cumbersome script of logograms, or from a muddle of pictograms, logograms, and phonographic puns, to the relative simplicity of syllable writing, demands an effort which no privileged class of scholar-priests has ever been able to make. It has happened when illiterate people with no traditional prejudices about the correct way of doing things have come into contact with an already literate culture. Whether they can succeed in doing so depends on a *lock and key* relation between the structure of the living languages involved in the contact between a literate and non-literate culture. They can succeed if, and only if,

it is easy to break up most words they use into bricks with roughly the same sounds as *whole* words in the language equipped with the parent logographic script.

Our most precise information about this lock and key relationship is based on adaptation of Chinese script by the Japanese. In order to understand it the first thing to be clear about is the range of possible combinations of elementary sounds. In round numbers, a language such as ours requires twenty distinct consonants and twenty vowels including diphthongs. This means that if our language were made up entirely of monosyllabic words of the same *open* type as *me*, or exclusively of the same open type as *at*, we could have a vocabulary of 20×20 , or four hundred words, without using any compound consonants such as *st*, *tr*, or *kw*. To a large extent Chinese vernaculars (p. 425) consist of open syllables like *my* and *so*. The Chinese have to do everything with about four hundred and twenty basic words.

The small size of its vocabulary is not a necessary consequence of the fact that Chinese is monosyllabic. If a language consisted exclusively of monosyllabic words belonging to the *closed* type such as *bed*, more common in English; we could make roughly $20 \times 20 \times 20$, or eight thousand words, without using *double* consonants. A language such as English can therefore be immensely rich in monosyllables without being exclusively made up of them. Chinese is able to express so much with about four hundred and twenty monosyllables, partly because it makes combinations like the under-graduate slang *god-box* for *church*, partly because it is extremely rich in homophones like our words *flea-flee* or *right-write*, and partly because it is able to distinguish some homophones by nuances of *tone* such as we make when we say "yes" as a symbol of deliberate assent, interrogation, suspense or excitement, ironical agreement or boredom. The number of homophones in the Chinese language is enormous, and this is inevitable because of the small number of available vocables. A Chinese dictionary lists no less than ninety-eight different meanings for the sound group, represented by CHI. Of these ninety eight, no less than forty eight have the same rising tone corresponding roughly to our questioning "ye-es?"

The Chinese way of representing a *grove* or *forest* by combining the picture symbols for *tree* illustrates one device by which a comparatively rich equipment of written words is built up by pairing a relatively small battery—i.e. 214 in all—of elementary logograms called *radicals* (see Fig. 42). Mere juxtaposition of the picture symbol

for each of them may represent a quality or an activity common to two objects. Thus the logogram for the word MING, which can mean *bright*, is made up of the character for the moon next to the character for the sun. Originally the characters were recognizable picture symbols, and the composite sign would then have been something

| Combined with | a | e | i | o | u |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|----------------------|
| Alone | ✱ | ✱ ✱ | ✱ | ≋ | Υ Υ |
| K | ↑ ↑ | ✱ ✱ ✱ | ▽ Υ | ∩ ∩ | ✱ ✱ ✱ |
| T | ┌ ┐ | ⊥ ≋ | Υ Υ ↑ | F ↑ ∩ | ≋ ≋ |
| P | ≋ ≋ | ⋈ | ≋ ✱ | ⋈ ∩ ∩ | ≋ ≋ |
| L | ∨ ∨ | 8 8 8 | ⊥ ⊥ ⊥ | + | ∩ ∩ |
| R | ▽ ∩ | ∩ ∩ ∩ | ✱ ∩ | 8 8 8 | ⋈ ✱ 8 |
| M | ✱ | ✱ ✱ | ∩ Υ | ∩ ∩ ∩ | ✱ |
| N | ┌ | ∩ ∩ ∩ | ✱ ✱ | ∩ ∩ | ∩: KC ⁽⁹⁾ |
| J | ○ △ | ✱ | | | |
| F.V | ✱ ✱ | ⊥ | ∩ | Υ ↑ Υ | |
| S | ∩ ∩ | ∩ ∩ | ∩ Υ | ≋ ≋ | ✱ |
| Z | ∩ | ∩ (?) | | ≋ | |
| X | ∩ (?) | ∩ ∩ | | | |

FIG. 13.—THE ANCIENT CYPRIOTIC SYLLABARY

Showing the five vowel signs in the top row and the symbols for open syllables made by combining any or all of them with the consonant sound represented by the letter in the left hand vertical column. Thus the symbols of the second row run: *ka, ke, ki, ko, ku*.

like this: ○ (∩). In the course of centuries the basic picture symbols have become more and more conventionalized, partly owing to changes in the use of writing instruments (style, brush, wood blocks), or of materials (bone, ink, paper).

A second sort of compound characters (Fig. 43) is a half-hearted step towards sound writing, based on the time-honoured device of punning.

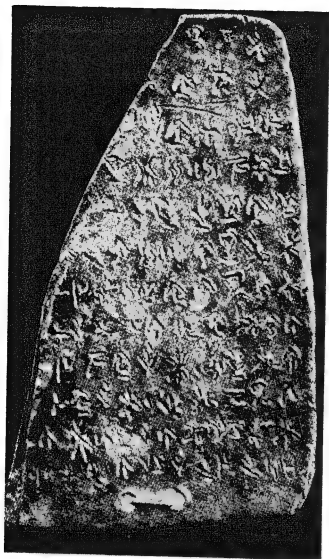


FIG. 14.—STONE INSCRIPTION FROM PAPHOS (EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.)

The language is a Greek dialect. The script is Cypriotic (Fig. 13). To represent the compound consonants of Greek words, the practice was to use two syllables with the two appropriate consonants and the same vowel value, e.g. the equivalent for the name *Stasikrates* in which we have *st* and *kr* was *sa.ta.si.kh.ra.te.se*. The difficulties and ambiguities arising from the use of a syllable script as the written medium of an Aryan language come out in the first six lines.

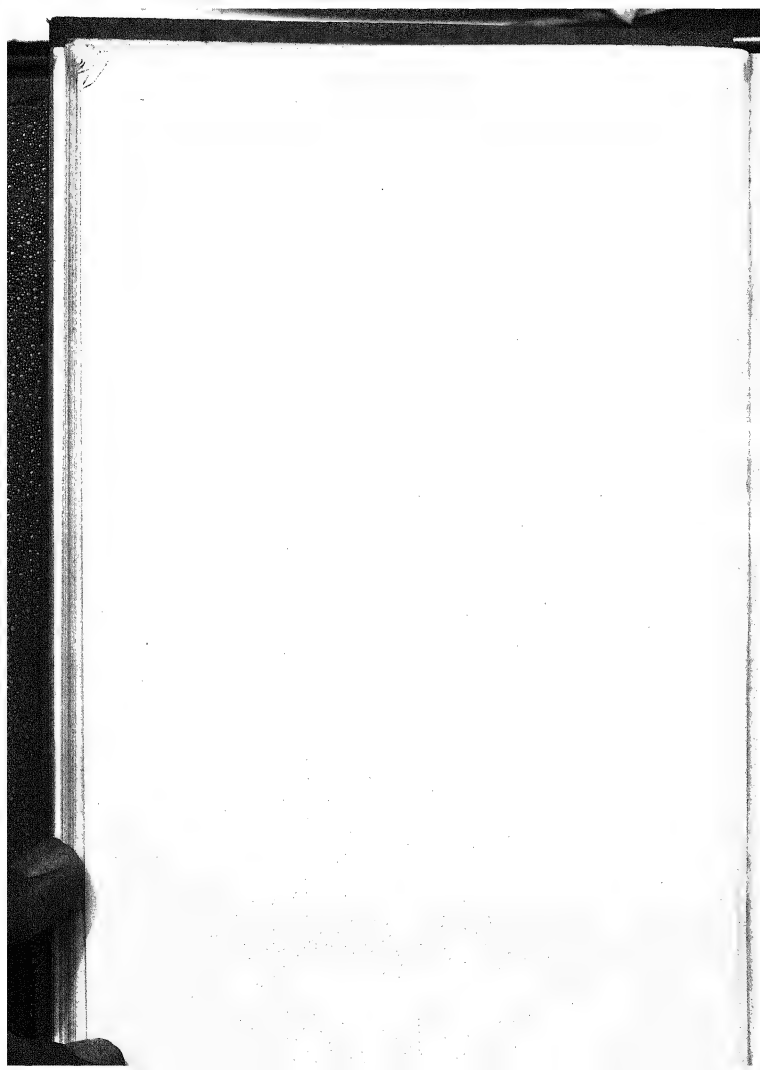
GREEK SCRIPT

Ἄνδρ
 ἰν τυχαί
 ἡς λογαρία
 λαμπάδων Ζωφάρ
 Μεγαλαθεῶ Φιλοδάμῳ
 ἀζαρφῶν Ζωφόρῳ

CYPRITIC SYLLABARY

a-to-ro
 i-tu-ka-i
 e-se-lo-ka-ri-ja
 la-pa-to-ne zo-va-ra-
 mi-ka-la-te-o pi-lo-ta
 a-za-ra-vo-ne zo-vo-ro

Andro . . . in (good) fortune. The reckoning of the torches was the business of Zovar . . ., Megalothéos and Philodamos; that of what had been gathered by collection the business of Zovoros. . .



One member of the pair suggests the meaning of the character in a general way. The other stands for a homophone, that is to say a word which has (or originally had) the same sound as the word represented by the pair taken together. A fictitious example, based on two English words which have familiar homophones, illustrates this trick. Suppose we represent the words *sun* and *buoy* respectively by the picture symbols ☉ and ⚓, as biologists use the character ♂ for *male*. What the Chinese do by this method would then be equivalent to using the combination ♂ ☉ for our word *son* (which has the same sound as *sun*) or ♂ ⚓ for *boy*. It is not certain how this practice arose. One possibility is that it developed in response to the way in which a word widens its meaning by the process called *metaphorical extension*. What this means is illustrated by our word *boy*, which originally meant a sexually immature male of the human species, and may also mean a son or a juvenile employee.

All this has led to the accumulation of an immense number of complex signs. There are between four and seven thousand relatively common ones. Anyone who wants to be an accomplished scholar of Chinese must learn them. Among the four thousand used most commonly, about three-quarters consist of a homophone element and a *classifier* analogous to the symbol for *male* in the hypothetical model cited above. Owing to changes of pronunciation in the course of centuries, the homophone part, which was once a sort of *phonogram*, or sound symbol, may have lost its significance as such. It no longer then gives a clue to the spoken word. To-day Chinese script is almost purely logographic. People who have the time to master it associate the characters with the vocables they themselves utter. These vocables are now very different in different parts of China, and have changed beyond recognition since the script came into use many centuries back. So educated Chinese who cannot converse in the same tongue can read the same notices in shops, or the same writings of moralists and poets who lived more than a thousand years ago.

The remarkable thing about Chinese script is not so much that it is cumbersome according to our standards, as that it is possible to reproduce the content of the living language in this way. This is so because the living language is not like that of any European people, except the British (p. 122). The Chinese word is invariable, like our "verb" *must*. It does not form a cluster of derivatives like *lusts*, *lusted*, *lusting*, *lusty*. What we call the grammar of an Indo-European language is largely about the form and choice of such derivatives, and it would

be utterly impossible to learn a logographic script with enough characters to accommodate all of them. A large proportion of the affixes of such derivatives are useless, e.g. the *-s* in *lusts* (see p. 96). So presumably they would have no place in a logographic script. A large proportion of our affixes do the same job, as illustrated by *paternity*, *fatherhood*, *reproduction*, *guardianship*. The same character would therefore serve for a single cluster. Hence a logographic script in which Frenchmen or Germans could communicate with their fellow citizens would be a code based on conventions quite different from the grammar of the spoken language.

The Japanese, who got their script from China, speak a language which is totally different from Chinese dialects. They use symbols (Figs. 44 and 45) for syllables, i.e. for the *sounds* of affixes which go to make up their words, and not merely for objects, directions, qualities, and other categories of meaning represented by separate vocables. The sounds corresponding to these symbols are more complex than those represented by our own letters, with four of which (*a, e, m, t*) we can make up eleven monosyllables (*a, am, at, ate, eat, mate, meat, me, mat, met, tame, tea, team*). So syllable writing calls for a larger battery of symbols than an alphabet, reformed or otherwise. None the less, it is much easier to learn a syllable script than a logographic script in which the words have individual signs. The surprising thing about Japanese script is the small number of characters which make up its syllabary.

We have examined the essential characteristics of the Chinese key. Let us now examine the Japanese lock, that is to say, the word-pattern into which symbols corresponding to Chinese root words had to fit. We can do this best, if we compare Japanese with English. If all English words were made up like *father*, we could equip it with a syllable script from the logographic or picture scripts of any language with a sufficiently rich collection of open monosyllables like *fa:* (*far*) and *ðə* (*the*). This would take at most about four hundred signs. The same would be true if all English words were built to the same design as *adage* (*ad* + *age*) in which two open syllables with a final consonant combine. The problem is immensely more complicated if a language contains a high proportion of words like *handsome* or *mandrill*. If there are twenty consonants and twenty vowels all pronounceable closed monosyllables then exceed eight thousand. This means that the word-pattern of the language which borrows its script decides whether the language itself can assimilate a syllabary which is not too cumbersome for use.

Japanese, like Finnish and Hungarian, has its place in a class called *agglutinating* languages. We shall learn more about their characteristics in later chapters. Here it is enough to say that *agglutinating* languages are languages of which root words can attach to themselves a relatively small range of affixed syllables (pp. 196-200). The significance of the affixes is easy to recognize, and the affixes themselves are relatively few and *regular*. Thus words derived from the same roots grow by addition of a limited number of *fixed* syllables like the *-ing* which we add to *love, have, go, bind* and *think*, in *loving, having, going, binding, and thinking*. They do not admit of the great variety among corresponding derivatives of another class such as *loved, had, gone, bound, thought*. This, of course, means that the word-pattern of an agglutinating language is necessarily more simple than that of such languages as our own.

The sound pattern of Japanese words is much simpler and more regular than that of English for another and more significant reason. Affixes of Japanese words are all simple vowels or open monosyllables consisting like *pea* of a simple consonant followed by a simple vowel. The only exception to this rule is that some syllables, like some *Chinese* words, end in *n*. Thus the familiar place names YO-KO-HA-MA or FU-JI-YA-MA are typical of the language as a whole. We can split up all Japanese words in this way, and the number of possible syllables is limited by the narrow range of clear-cut consonants and vowels—fifteen of the former and five of the latter. This accounts for the possible existence of seventy-five syllables, to which we must add five vowels standing alone, like the last syllable in TO-KI-O, and the terminal *n*, making a complete battery of eighty-one (Fig. 46).

Thus the Japanese are able to represent all their words by combining the signs for a small number of Chinese (see Figs. 44 and 45) vocables. Though their writing is based on syllables, the Japanese use a script which *need* not contain many more signs than the letters of an alphabet reformed to represent all English simple consonants and vowels by individual symbols.* At first, the Japanese used their *Kana*

* "In Amharic (an Ethiopian language) which is printed syllabically there are 33 consonantal sounds, each of which may combine with any of the seven vowels. Hence to print a page of an Amharic book, 7×33 , or 231 different types are required: instead of the 40 types which would suffice on an alphabet method. In Japanese this difficulty is less formidable than in many other languages, owing to the simplicity of the phonetic system which possesses only 5 vowel sounds and 15 consonantal sounds. There are therefore only 75 possible syllabic combinations of a consonant followed by a vowel. Several of these potential combinations do not occur in the language, and hence it is possible with somewhat less than 50 distinct syllabic signs to write down any Japanese word."—Taylor: *The Alphabet*, vol. 1, p. 35.

or syllable signs exclusively, and still do so, for telegrams or in school-books for the young. Otherwise (p. 438) they have gone back to the old school tradition. In books printed to-day they generally use Chinese characters for root words, with Kana signs for the affixes.

We do not certainly know whether the people who first made up Japanese syllable writing were scholars. Like the Oriental traders who revolutionized our number system by using a dot for the modern zero sign to signify the empty column of the counting-frame, they may well have been practical men who earned a livelihood in the counting-house, or as pilots on ships. Scholars naturally favour the view that they were men of learning directly skilled in the use of Chinese. Undoubtedly such men existed in Japan, when it adapted Chinese symbols to its own use somewhere about A.D. 750; but if it was a scholar who first hit on the trick, it is quite possible that he learned it from the mistakes of his pupils. From what we do know we may be certain of this. Those who introduced Japanese *kana* were men who had no sacrosanct national tradition of writing in this way, and therefore brought to their task the unsophisticated attitude of the Island Greeks who absorbed the practical advantages of Egyptian or Semitic learning without assimilating all the superstitions of their teachers. In the ancient world and in medieval times, mankind had not got used to rapid change. Great innovations were possible only when circumstances conspired to force people to face new problems without the handicap of old habits. The Japanese had to take this step because their language was polysyllabic and comparatively rich in derivative words. They were able to take it because the affixes of their derivative words were few, and because the sound values of individual syllables correspond to those of Chinese words.

When the Chinese is up against a situation comparable to that of the Japanese at the time when they first got their syllabic scripts, he treats his own characters in the same way. For foreign names the Chinese use their characters purely as sound syllables, as we might write 3.40 to suggest the sound *three for tea*. This emphasizes how favourable combinations of unusual circumstances influence the possibility of rapid advance or retardation in the cultural evolution of different communities. It is one of the many reasons why we should be suspicious when people attribute one or the other to national and racial genius or defect. The simplicity of the Chinese language made it easy for the Chinese to develop a more consistent and workable system of picture-writing than any other nation at an early stage

in its history. Since then it has been a cultural millstone round their necks.

If the Russians, the Germans, or any other Aryan-speaking people had come into contact with Chinese script while they were still barbarians, they could not have used the Chinese symbols to make up a satisfactory battery of affixes for two reasons. One reason for this is that the total number of affixes in derivative words of an Indo-European language is far greater than the number of Japanese affixes. A second is that Chinese has no sounds corresponding to the large class of closed monosyllables which occur as affixes, such as the *-ness* in *manliness*. A third is that words of the Aryan languages are rich in consonant clusters. So a European people would have reaped little advantage by using Chinese characters as symbols of sound instead of as symbols of meaning. That transition from logographic script to sound-writing depends on the lock as well as on the key is easy to test. Make a table of English monosyllabic words of the *open* type and use it to build up English, French, or German polysyllables with the aid of a dictionary. You will then discover this. The possibility of achieving a more simple method of writing for such languages as English, French, or German involved another unique combination of circumstances.

THE COMING OF THE ALPHABET

In the ancient Mediterranean world, syllable scripts were in use among Semitic peoples, Cypriots, and Persians. They got the bricks, as the Japanese got their syllabaries from the Chinese, from their neighbours of Mesopotamia and Egypt, where forms of picture-writing first appeared. None of these syllabaries has survived. All have made way for the alphabet.

The dissection of a word into syllables—especially the words of an agglutinating language—is not a very difficult achievement. The splitting of the syllable into consonants and vowels was a much more difficult step to take. The fact that all true alphabets have an unmistakable family likeness if we trace them back far enough forces us to believe that mankind has once only taken this step (Fig. 15). We know roughly when this happened, who were responsible, and in what circumstances it took place. Through inscriptions in the mines of the Sinai peninsula (Fig. 2) about 1500 B.C., and in other places between this date and about 1000 B.C., archaeologists can trace the transformation of a battery of about twenty Egyptian pictograms into the symbols

of the early Semitic alphabet. This early Semitic alphabet was not an ABC. It was a BCD. It was made up of consonants only.

One peculiarity of the Semitic languages gives us a clue to the unique circumstances which made possible this immense simplification. Semitic *root-words* nearly always have the form which such proper names as *Moses, Rachel, David, Moloch, Balak* or *Laban* recall. They

| Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics | Sinai script | Moabite Stone & early seals | Early Phoenician | Western Greek | Early Latin | Oldest Indian |
|--------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | | K, K̄ | A, α | A | 𑀓 |
| | | | B | B, β | B | 𑀕 |
| | | | Y, Ȳ | V, V̄, Υ | V | 𑀔 |
| | | | Ξ, Ξ̄ | M, M̄ | M | 𑀖 |
| | | | N | N, N̄ | N | 𑀗 |
| | | | O | O | O | 𑀘 |
| | | | D, R, P | R, R̄ | R, R̄ | 𑀙 |
| | | | + | T | T | 𑀚 |
| | | | W | Σ, Σ̄ | Σ, Σ̄ | 𑀛 |

FIG. 15.—SOME SIGNS FROM EARLY ALPHABETS

(Adapted from Firth's *The Tongues of Men*.)

are made up of three consonants separated by two intervening vowels, and the three consonants in a particular order are characteristic of a particular root. This means that if *cordite* (ko:dait) were a Hebrew word, all possible combinations which we can make by putting different vowels between *k* and *d* or *d* and *t* would have something to do with the explosive denoted by the usual spelling. This unique regu-

larity of word-pattern led the old Rabbinical scholars to speak of the consonants as the body and the vowel as the soul of the word. In so far as we can recognize bodies without theological assistance the metaphor is appropriate. Consonants are in fact the most tangible part of the *written* word. A comparison of the next two lines in which the same sentence is written, first without consonants, and then without vowels, is instructive from this point of view:

. . e . e a . e . u . . . o . e e a . y . o . e a .

Then turn the page upside down and read this:

p . i . i . i . s . . . i . u u p . u . i . . s . u

If you carry out experiments of this kind you will discover two things. One is that it is easy to read a passage without vowels in English if there is something to show where the vowels should be, as in the above. The other is that it is much less easy to do so if there is nothing to show *where the vowels ought to come*. Thus it would be difficult to interpret:

th s r mch mr s t r d

Owing to the build-up of Semitic root-words, we have no need of dots to give us this information. Once we know the consonants, we hold the key to their meaning. Any syllabary based on twenty-odd open monosyllables with a different consonant would therefore meet all the needs of a script capable of representing the typical root-words of a Semitic language. The Semitic trading peoples of the Mediterranean took twenty-two syllable signs from Egyptian priestly writing, as the Japanese took over the Chinese monosyllabic logograms. They used them to represent the sounds for which they stood, instead of to represent what the sounds stood for in the parent language. Because they did not need to bother about the vowels, they used twenty-one of the Egyptian symbols to represent the consonant sounds of the root, without paying attention to the vowel originally attached.

Thus the alphabet began as an alphabet of consonants (Fig. 15). Such an alphabet, or B-C-D, was only workable in the hands of the Semitic peoples. If we had no English vowel symbols, the succession of consonants represented by *mlch* could stand for *milch* (in *milch cow*), or for the Bible name *Moloch*. Similarly *vt* could stand for *vest* or *visit*, and *pts* could stand for *pities* or *Patsy*. This was the dilemma of the Aryan-speaking colonizers and traders of island Greece who came into contact with the syllable writing of Cyprus (Figs. 13 and 14) and

the consonant writing of the Phoenicians. They used a language which was extremely rich in consonant combinations. The Greek word for *man* is *ανθρωπος*, from which we get *philanthropy* and *anthropology*. If you write the consonants only in phonetic script (p. 83), this is *nθrps*. There is nothing in the word-pattern of the Greek language to exclude all the possible arrangements which we can make by filling

| Phoenician | Old | | Classical | |
|------------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | Greek | Latin | Greek | Latin |
| Δ | Δ | ▷ | Δ | D |
| Λ | Γ | ◁ | Γ | G |
| Λ | Λ | Λ | Λ | L |
| Π | Π | Π | Π | P |
| Ρ | Ρ | Ρ | Ρ | R |
| Σ | Σ | Σ | Σ | S |

FIG. 16.—EARLY AND LATER FORM OF SOME GREEK AND LATIN LETTERS
The reader should compare these with the writing in Figs. 35-38

up each of the blanks indicated below with each of a dozen simple or compound vowel sounds:

a . n . θ . r . p . s

The number of pronounceable arrangements of twelve different vowel sounds in combination with this range of consonants is about 3,000,000. It would be surprising if some of them were not true vocables. So it is easy to see that the same succession of consonants might stand for several different Greek words. It is equally easy to see why the syllable script of Cyprus (Figs. 13 and 14) was an unsatisfactory way of dealing with the same difficulty.

To adapt the Phoenician alphabet to their own use, the Greeks had to introduce vowels, which were probably monosyllables, like our own words *a* or *I*, taken from syllabaries of other peoples, such as the Cypri-

otes, with whom they came in contact. This step was momentous. The primitive Semitic alphabets which had no vowels were good enough for simple inscriptions or for Holy Writ to be read again and again. They could not convey the grammatical niceties which result from internal vowel change of the sort illustrated by *sing-sang-sung*. Since Semitic languages abound in tricks of this sort, the ancient Semitic scripts were not well adapted to produce the rich secular literature which germinated in the Greek world.

The Greek alphabet (Figs. 11 and 12) had seven vowel symbols, namely, α ϵ η ι υ ω \omicron . The Italian peoples who got* their alphabet from the Greeks also spoke dialects poor in vowels, and they discarded two of the Greek signs, i.e. η and ω . Divergence of the form of the symbols which make up the classical Greek and Latin alphabets came about owing to a variety of circumstances. The first people to use alphabetic writing did not write at length and were not fussy about whether they wrote from right to left or from top to bottom. Quite ephemeral reasons would influence the choice, as for example the advantage of inscribing a short epitaph vertically on a pole or horizontally on a flat stone. Thus the orientation of letters underwent local change through the whims of scribes or stone-masons, so that the same symbols were twisted about vertically or laterally, as illustrated in Fig. 16, which shows the divergence of the Greek and Latin symbols for D, L, G, P, R. While the art of writing and reading was still the privilege of the few, the need for speedy recognition was not compelling, and the urge for standardization was weak.

In one or other of the earliest specimens (Figs. 37 and 38) of Island Greek writing of the sixth or seventh centuries B.C., we can find any one of the old Phoenician consonant symbols unchanged. The absence of printing type to standardize the use of letter symbols, the effect of the writing materials on the ease with which they could be written, the limitation of primitive writing to short messages, records, or inscriptions, the small size of the reading public, and the fact that pronunciation changes in the course of several generations and varies among people still able to converse with difficulty in their own dialects, were other circumstances which contributed to the divergence of the alphabets. So there is now no recognizable resemblance between the classical Hebrew and Greek alphabets (Figs. 11 and 12) which came from the same Semitic source. Though Arabic is a Semitic language with a script written like Hebrew from right to left, the symbols of the Arabic consonants have no obvious resemblance to those of Hebrew. In the

five different Arabic scripts, only the symbols for L, M, and S are now recognizable derivatives of their Phoenician ancestors.

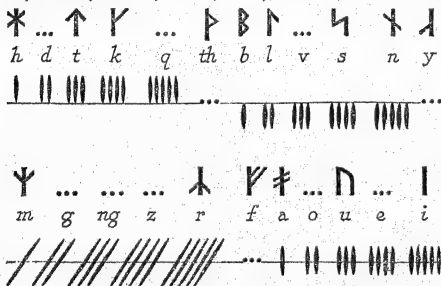
Throughout the East, an enormous variety of alphabetic scripts do service for peoples with languages which, like Persian or many of those spoken in India, belong to the great Indo-European family, and like Burmese or Tibetan belong to the same family as Chinese. They are also in use among peoples with other languages, e.g. Manchu, Korean, Turkish, or Javanese. These belong to none of the three great language families which have been the chief custodians of knowledge and literature. Most scholars now believe that all these alphabetic scripts were offshoots of those used by Semitic pedlars who set forth across the great trade routes bridging the gulf between Eastern and Western culture in ancient times. To a Western eye, familiar with the simple lines and curves of the printed page in contradistinction to ordinary writing, they have a superficial resemblance due to the complex curvature of the symbols. It is not likely that any of these *cursive* scripts will overcome the direct appeal of the simpler signs, which printing and typewriting have now standardized in all highly industrialized countries.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, when the Chinese invention of printing came into Europe, several forms of the Latin alphabet were in use in different countries. The more rectilinear Italian symbols, being better adapted to movable type, eventually superseded the more cursive variants such as the German *Black Letters* (Fig. 11) of the monkish missals. Partly perhaps because the Lutheran Bible was printed in this script, it persisted in Germany, where it has been fostered by nationalism. Before the Nazis took over, one newspaper had begun to follow the practice of scientific text-books, drama, and modern novels in step with Western civilization. The brown shirts brought back the black letters.

Circumstances which have influenced the choice and character of scripts in use may be material on the one hand, and social on the other. Among the material circumstances are the nature of the surface (stone, bone, clay, ivory, wax, parchment, paper), and the nature of the instrument (chisel, style, brush, pen, wood block, or lead type), used for the process of transcription. Among social circumstances of first-rate importance we have to reckon with the range of sounds which a speech community habitually uses at the time when it gets its script, and the range of sounds represented by the parent alphabet. Intelligent planning based on the ease with which it is possible to adapt an alien script to the speech of an illiterate people played little, if any, part in selection

before Kemal Atatürk introduced the Roman alphabet in Turkey (Fig. 40). Missionary enterprise has been the single most significant social agency which has influenced choice. This circumstance has left a permanent impress on the study of speech habits.

Conquests, political, religious, or both, have imposed scripts on languages ill-adapted for them. This is true of Burmese and Siamese which have Sanskrit and Pali scripts. It is even more true of Arabic script, which Islam has forced upon communities with languages of a phonetic structure quite different from that of the Semitic family, e.g. Berber, Persian, Baluchi, Sindhi, Malay, Turkish, Swahili, etc. The



Scandinavian Runic & Ogam Symbols

FIG. 17.—KEY TO RUNIC AND OGAM SCRIPTS

Compare with Runic and Ogam inscriptions of Figs. 18 and 29.

The Runic symbols lie above the Roman equivalents, the Ogam below them.

secular impetus which trading gave to the spread of writing among the Mediterranean civilizations of classical antiquity extended to Northern Europe without having a permanent influence upon it. Before they adopted Roman Christianity, and with it the Roman alphabet, some Teutonic peoples were already literate. In various parts of Northern Europe, and especially in Scandinavian countries, there are inscriptions in symbols like those which pre-Christian invaders from the Continent also brought to Britain. This *Runic* script (Figs. 17 and 29) has no straightforward similarity to any other. Supposedly it is a degenerate form of Greek or Roman writing carried across Europe by migratory Germanic (Goths) and probably also by Celtic tribes, who learned it

from trade contacts. It probably reached Scandinavia during the third century A.D. The letters illustrate the influence of the materials used. They are the sort of marks which are easy to chip on wood. We can recognize them as such in some of the Runic *clog almanacs* still in existence. The first surviving specimen (Fig. 30) of Runic comes from Gallehus in Schleswig. It is an inscription on a horn, and is worth quoting to illustrate the modest beginnings of writing for secular use: *ek hlewagastir holtingar horna tawido* = I LUTGAST THE HOLTING MADE (this) HORN.

There are inscriptions of another type (Figs. 17, 18, and 39) on stone monuments in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The script is pre-Christian

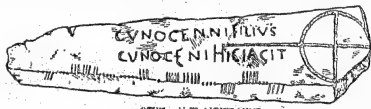


FIG. 18.—BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION IN LATIN (ROMAN LETTERS) AND CELTIC (OGAM SIGNS) FROM A CHURCH AT TRALLONG IN IRELAND

The Celtic reads from right to left.

but probably not older than the beginning of the Roman occupation of Britain. This *Ogam* writing, as it is called, has an alphabet of twenty letters. Each letter is a fixed number of from one to five strokes, with a definite orientation to a base line which was usually the edge of the stone. Five letters (h, d, t, k, q) are represented by one to five vertical strokes above the line; five (b, l, v, s, n) by one to five vertical strokes below the line; five (a, o, u, e, i) by vertical strokes across the line; and five (m, g, ng, z, r) by one to five strokes across the line sloping upward from left to right. One surmise is that the number of strokes has something to do with the order of the letters in the Roman alphabet, as the people who made this script received them. What led Celtic peoples to devise this system we do not know. It is clear that the Ogam signs are not degenerate representatives of Greek or Roman symbols, as are the Runic letters. Ogam script is a sort of code substitute for the Latin alphabet analogous to the Morse code used in telegraphy. Like the latter, it was probably adopted because it was most suitable for the instruments and for the materials available.

The meaning of such inscriptions long remained a mystery like that of others in dead languages still undeciphered. Among the latter

Etruscan and Cretan (Fig. 10) are a sealed book to this day. The story of the Rosetta Stone discloses the clues which have made it possible for scholars to decipher (Figs. 1, 5, and 18) lost languages. It is told in the following quotation from Griffith's helpful book, *The Story of Letters and Numbers*:

"There were strange stories and fictions about the learning of the Egyptians, so that for a long time men had a strong desire to get back a clear knowledge of the writings. They had nothing to go on; there were no word-books or other helps. Then in 1799, by the best of good chances, a man in the French Army, working under Napoleon, saw an old stone in a wall at Rosetta on one of the branches of the river Nile, with three sorts of writing on it. One was the old Egyptian picture-writing, which was the same as the writing on the walls of buildings; the second was another of which men had no knowledge, but the third was in Greek, clear and simple. The reading of this was no trouble to men of letters. From the Greek it was seen that the stone gave an account of a king named PTOLEMAIOS, and of the good things which he had done as a mark of his respect for the religion of Egypt. The last line of the Greek says that 'a copy of the writing is to be made on hard stone in the old writing of the men of religion, and in the writing of the country, and in Greek.' The year this was done was 196 B.C. So it was certain that the two strange writings were in Egyptian, but in different sorts of letters, and that the Greek gave the sense of the Egyptian.

"In the Greek, the name PTOLEMAIOS comes eight or nine times, sometimes by itself, and sometimes with the words LOVED OF PTAH in addition. Part of the top of the stone, where the picture-writing comes, is broken off, but fourteen lines are there, and in these are five groups of letters or pictures with a line round them, having two long parallel sides and curved ends with a short upright line at one end. This seems to have been the Egyptian way of 'underlining' important words. Three of the groups are shorter than the other two, but the longer ones are started with the same, or almost the same, letters or pictures. So it seems probable that the outlined words are PTOLEMAIOS and PTOLEMAIOS LOVED OF PTAH. Ptah was one of the higher beings of the religion of Egypt.

"On other stones to the memory of the great dead, groups of letters are to be seen with the line round them, which makes us more certain that such outlined words are the names of Kings and Queens. One such name on an old stone was KLEOPATRA, the name of a Queen who was living in Egypt two hundred years before the Cleopatra of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*.

"This much and a little more was the discovery of Dr. Thomas Young, an English man of science, who made, in addition, some attempt at reading the second form of the Egyptian writing on the stone. The reading of the picture-writing in full was the work of J. F. Champolion,

a Frenchman. He was able to do this as he had a good knowledge of the Coptic language. The Copts were, and still are, Egyptian Christians, and in the old days their language was Egyptian. In time small changes came about, as is natural. Their writing was in Greek, with seven special letters for sounds which are not in Greek. In Coptic churches to this day the books of religion are in Coptic, though only a small number, even of the readers, have knowledge of the language. It went out of common use five hundred years back. With the help of this language, Champollion was able to make out the other signs after the name PTOLMÆS, and much more, for the Copts had word-books giving Egyptian words in the Coptic writing."

The preceding account does not expose all the relevant circumstances

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|
| Semaphore | | | | | | | |
| ↑ | T | ↑ | ↑ | ↓ | ↑ | ↓ | ↑ |
| Morse (lights, written dots & dashes, needle movement) | | | | | | | |
| | ... | --- | --- | .. | --- | --- | --- |
| BRAILLE | | | | | | | |
| ⠏ | ⠗ | ⠕ | ⠃ | ⠁ | ⠃ | ⠇ | ⠽ |
| P | R | O | B | A | B | L | Y |

FIG. 19.—SEMAPHORE, MORSE AND BRAILLE CODES
(By kind permission of Mr. I. J. Pitman.)

which led to this discovery. The reader will find further details in *Science for the Citizen* (p. 1080). On his expedition to Egypt, Napoleon took with him a staff of savants, including some of the greatest men of science of that time. A discovery which may seem remote from *useful* knowledge, if we overlook the deplorable social consequences of arrogantly dismissing the cultural debt of any favoured race or nation to the rest of mankind, was the direct outcome of encouraging research with a practical end in view. We may hope for greater progress in our knowledge of the evolution of languages when there are fewer scholars who cherish their trade-mark of gentlemanly uselessness, and more real *humanists* who, like Sweet, Jespersen, Ogden, or Sapir, modestly accept their responsibility as citizens, co-operating in the task of making language an instrument for peaceful collaboration between nations. A civilization which produces poison gas and thermite has no need for humanists who are merely grammarians. What we now need is the grammarian who is truly a humanist.

RATIONAL SPELLING

The fact that all alphabets come from one source has an important

bearing on the imperfection of all existing systems of spelling. Although there are perhaps about a dozen simple consonants and half a dozen vowels approximately equivalent in most varieties of human speech, the range of speech sounds is rarely the same in closely related languages. Thus the Scots trilled *r*, the *U* in *guid*, and the throaty *CH* in "it's a braw bricht munelicht nicht the nicht" are absent in other Anglo-American dialects. When a pre-literate community with a language of its own adopts the alphabetic symbols of an alien culture it will often happen that there will be no symbols for some of its sounds, or no sounds for some of the symbols available. English spelling illustrates what then happens.

(i) Scribes may invent *new* letters. Thus Old English, like modern Icelandic (Fig. 31), had the two symbols *þ* (*thorn*) and *ð* (*etha*) for the two sounds respectively represented by *TH* in *thin* and *then*. Our letter *J* is not in the Latin alphabet, which is the basis of Western European scripts. It has acquired different values in different languages. In Teutonic languages (e.g. in Norwegian and in German) it is equivalent to our *Y* in *Yule* (Scandinavian *Jul*). In French it is the peculiar consonant represented by *S* or *SI* in *pleasure*, *treasure*, *measure*, or *vision*, *incision*, *division*. In English it stands for a compound consonant made by saying *d* softly before the French *J*. The initial *w* (cf. *wait*) in Teutonic words was represented by *uu* (*oo-oo-ait*). Eventually the two *us* fused to form a single letter. In Welsh spelling *w* stands for a vowel sound. It is now a signpost pointing to the Old English origin of a word.

(ii) Scribes may give arbitrary combinations of old symbols a special value. This is true of the two *TH* sounds, the *SH* or *TI* sound in *short* or *nation*, and the *NG* in *singer* (as contrasted with *hunger*). Aside from these arbitrary combinations for simple consonants, we use *ch* for a combination of *t* followed by *sh*.

These combinations and their vagaries are valuable signposts for the home student. Neither of the sounds represented by *th* exists in Latin or French, the soft one (*ð*) exists only in Teutonic languages and the hard one (*þ*) only in Teutonic languages and in Greek, among languages which chiefly supply the roots of our vocabulary. The *SH* sound so spelt is Teutonic. The *SH* sound spelt as *TI* (e.g. *nation*) is always of French-Latin origin.

For this reason many words carry the hall-mark of their origin. There is another way in which the irregularities of English spelling help us to recognize the source of a word. Pronunciation may change in

the course of a hundred years, while writing lags behind for centuries. This explains the behaviour of our capricious GH, which is usually silent and sometimes like an *f*. It survives from a period when the pronunciation of *light* was more like the Scots *licht*, in which there is a rasping sound represented by χ in phonetic symbols. In such words the earlier English conventional GH stands for a sound which was once common in the Teutonic languages, and is still common in German. When we meet GH, we know that the word in which it occurs is a word* of Teutonic origin; and it is a safe bet that the equivalent German word will correspond closely to the Scots form. Thus the German for light is *Licht*, for brought *brachte*, for eight *acht*, for night *Nacht*, for right *Recht* and for might *Macht*. English is not the only language which has changed in this way. At one time the German *W*, now pronounced like an English *V*, stood for a softer sound, more like ours. So phonetic spelling would make it more difficult to recognize the meaning of *Wind, Wasser, und Wetter* (wind, water, and weather).

A third way in which spelling gets out of step with speech is connected with how grammar evolves. Like other languages in the same great Indo-European or Aryan family, English was once rich in endings like the *'s* in *father's*. Separate words have now taken over the function of such endings, as when we say of *my father*, instead of *my father's*. Having ceased to have any use, the endings have decayed; and because writing changes more slowly than speech, they have left behind in the written language, relics which have no existence in the spoken. This process of simplification, dealt with in Chapter III, has gone much further in English than in her sister languages. On this account written English is particularly rich in *vowel* endings which are not audible.

This way in which pronunciation changes in the course of time is responsible for spelling anomalies in most European languages. Two English examples illustrate it forcibly. On paper there is a very simple rule which tells us how to form the *plural* (i.e. the derivative we use when we speak of more than one object or person) of the overwhelming majority of modern English nouns. We add *-s*. There is also a simple paper rule which usually tells us how to form the *past* form of most English verbs. We add *-ed*, or *-d* (if the dictionary form ends in *-e*), as when we make the change from *part* to *parted*, or *love* to *loved*. Nowadays we rarely pronounce the final *-ED* unless it follows *d* or *t*. Till comparatively recently it was always audible as a separate syllable. Sometimes we still pronounce it as such in poetic drama. If we are

* Notable exceptions are *haughty* (French *haut*) and *delight*.

church addicts, we may also do so in religious ritual. All of us do so when we speak of a beloved husband or a learned wife. In Chaucer's English the plural *-s* was preceded by a vowel, and the combination *-es* was audibly distinct as a separate syllable. When fusion of the final *-s* of the plural, and *-ed* of the past with the preceding consonant of the noun or verb-stem took place, *necessary* changes occurred. We pronounce *cats* as *kats* and *cads* as *kadz*. We pronounce *sobbed* as *sobd*, and *helped* as *helpt*. Thus the grammatical rules of English would be a little more complicated, if we spelt all words as we pronounce them. We should have a large new class of plurals in *-z*, and many more past forms of the verb ending, like *slept*, in *-t*.

The reason why these changes had to occur is that certain combinations of consonants are difficult to make, when we speak without effort. When we do speak without effort, we invariably replace them by others according to simple rules. Such rules can shed some light on the stage of evolution a language had reached when master printers, heads of publishing houses, or scholars settled its spelling conventions. One simple rule of this kind is that many consonants which combine easily with *s* or *t* do not combine easily with *z* or *d*, and vice versa. We can arrange them as follows:

With S } *p f k th (p) ch (tʃ) sh (ʃ)* "voiceless"
or T }

With Z } *b v g th (ð) j (dʒ) si (ʒ)* "voiced"
or D }

This rule is easy to test. Compare, for instance, the way you pronounce *writhed* (ðd) and *thrived* (vd), with the way you pronounce (*without effort*) *pitied* (tɪ) and *laughed* (ft). In the same way, compare the pronunciation of the final consonants in *crabs* and *traps*, *crabbed* and *trapped*, or notice the difference between the final *-s* in *lives* and *wife's*. Vowels illustrate sources of irregularity in the spelling conventions of European languages more forcibly than do the consonants, because Italic-Latin which bequeathed its alphabet to the West of Europe had a very narrow range of vowel sounds, for which five symbols suffice. This is one reason why Italian spelling is so much more regular than that of other European languages, except the newest Norwegian reformed *rettskriving*. Another reason is that Italian pronunciation and grammar have changed little since Dante's time. In English dialects we have generally about twelve simple and about ten compound vowels (diphthongs) for which the five Roman vowel signs are supplemented by

a Teutonic W and a Greek Y. The situation is much the same with most other European languages, except Spanish which stands close to Italian. Several devices are in use to deal with shortage of vowel symbols.

(i) Introduction of new vowel symbols. Thus modern Norwegian (Fig. 32) has two, the *ø* of Danish and the *å* of Swedish. The Russian alphabet, based on the Greek, has nine instead of seven vowel symbols, of which four correspond precisely to the Greek models.

(ii) Introduction of accents, such as the dots placed above *ö* or *ä* in Swedish and German, or those used to distinguish the two French sounds *é*, *è*.

(iii) Use of combinations such as *aa* to distinguish the long *a* of *father* from the short *a* of *fat* in *bazaar* is specially characteristic of Dutch spelling. On this account Dutch words look rather long. The same plan (see table of vowels on p. 84) would meet all the needs of a reformed English spelling. As things stand we have only three combinations which we use consistently—*aw* (in *claw*), *ee* (in *meet*), and *oi* or *oy* (in *soil*, *joy*). The last is a signpost of Norman-French origin.

(iv) The more characteristically English trick of using a silent *e* after a succeeding consonant to distinguish the preceding vowel, as in *mad-made*, *Sam-same*, *pin-pine*, *win-wine*. A silent *h* may also lengthen the preceding vowel in German, as in our words *ahl*, *ehl*, *oh!*

(v) The use of a double consonant to indicate that the foregoing vowel is short. German and the newest Norwegian spelling (1938) rely on this consistently.

From rhymes in poems, we have good reason to believe that English spelling was regular at the time of the Norman Conquest. The present chaos, especially with reference to the vowels, is partly due to the practice of Norman scribes when a large number of French words invaded English during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This coincided more or less with a profound change in the pronunciation of English vowels, and the decay of endings. In other words, the spelling conventions we now use became current coinage at a time when the sound values of English words were in a state of flux. The Norman scribes were responsible for several important changes affecting the consonants as well as the vowels. They introduced J for a new sound which came with the Conquest. The Old English C became K. The symbols *þ* and *ð* for two sounds which do not occur in French disappeared in favour of TH and Y. After a time the Y (as in the solecism *ye olde tea shoppe*)

acquired a new use, and TH served for both sounds. At a later date the breach between spelling and speech widened through the interference of classical scholars in the light of current and often mistaken views about word origin. Thus *debt* though derived directly from the French word *dette*, sucked in a silent *b* to indicate the common origin of both from the Latin *debitum*. For what regularities do exist we owe far more to the printers than to the scholars. Printing checked individual practices to which scribes—like stenographers—were prone, when the art of writing was still (like stenography) a learned profession.

ENGLISH CONSONANTS IN PHONETIC SCRIPT

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-----|-------------|-------|--------|
| 1. b | as in | bib | 13. t | as in | ten |
| 2. d | " " | did | 14. v | " " | vet |
| 3. f | " " | fed | 15. w | " " | wet |
| 4. g | " " | get | 16. z | " " | zest |
| 5. h | " " | hit | 17. j = y | " " | yet |
| 6. k | " " | kit | 18. ʃ = sh | " " | shin |
| 7. l | " " | lit | 19. ʒ = si | " " | vision |
| 8. m | " " | men | 20. θ = th | " " | thin |
| 9. n | " " | nib | 21. ð = th | " " | then |
| 10. p | " " | pit | 22. ŋ = ng | " " | sing |
| 11. r | " " | red | 23. dʒ = j | " " | jam |
| 12. s | " " | sit | 24. tʃ = ch | " " | chat |

Even when two languages which share the same alphabet enjoy the benefit of a comparatively regular system of spelling as do Norwegian, German, and Spanish, many of the symbols have different values when we pass from one to another. So spelling is never a reliable guide to pronunciation of a foreign language. For this reason linguists have devised a reformed alphabet for use as a key to help us to pronounce words of any language with at least sufficient accuracy to make intelligible communication possible without recourse to personal instruction. In this international alphabet, sixteen of the consonant symbols (see above) have their *characteristic* English values common to European usage in so far as a specific sound usually corresponds to one alone. With these good European symbols are others which do not occur in the Latin alphabet. One of them, *j*, stands for the sound it represents (our initial *Y*) in Scandinavian languages and in German. Three of the supplementary ones are taken from the Greek, Irish, and Icelandic scripts (Fig. 11). The remainder are inventions.

In our table of English vowels in phonetic script, some of the individual symbols which stand for simple vowel sounds in other European languages occur only in compounds (diphthongs). Other symbols such as those which stand for the French nasal vowels do not occur at all. The majority of the consonant sounds of European languages are approximately alike. For that reason many of the consonant signs of different scripts exhibited on p. 60 correspond with one another, and with the equivalent symbols of the international script devised for

ENGLISH VOWELS IN PHONETIC SCRIPT

| SIMPLE | | DIPHTHONGS | |
|--------|------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| a | = a as in <i>hat</i> | ai | = ei as in <i>Einstein</i> |
| a: | = aa " " <i>bazaar</i> | au | = ow " " <i>how</i> |
| e | = e " " <i>bed</i> | ei | = ai " " <i>bait</i> |
| i | = i " " <i>bid</i> | ea | = air " " <i>pair</i> |
| i: | = ee " " <i>meet</i> | ie | = ier " " <i>pier</i> |
| o | = o " " <i>hot</i> | oi | = oi " " <i>boil</i> |
| o: | = au " " <i>ought</i> | ou | = oa " " <i>moat</i> |
| u | = oo " " <i>foot</i> | ju | = ew " " <i>few</i> |
| u: | = ou " " <i>boot</i> | | |
| ʌ | = u " " <i>cut</i> | | |
| ə | = er " " <i>worker</i> | | |
| ɔ: | = or " " <i>worker</i> | | |

all nations. So the symbols for the consonants are less difficult to handle, and a few hours' practice will suffice for proficiency in using them. With the help of the tables you can translate the following sentence, and thereafter write out others:

frɒm ðə teɪblz əv vaʊəlz n kɒnsənənts ju ʃd bi eɪbl tə fɔ:m ə
kliərə dʒədʒmɪnt əbaʊt ðə tʃi:f ri:znz fə ʃərə meʒəz ɪf wi wɒnt ə hapi
sɛl(j)u:ʃn əv aʊə prɛznɪ speliŋ difɪkltɪz.

From the tables of vowels and consonants you should be able to form a clearer judgment about the chief reasons for thorough measures if we want a happy solution of our present spelling difficulties.

Because the same symbols may have different values in different languages—Z stands for *θ* in Spanish, and for *ts* in German—the larger dictionaries use phonetic alphabets in which a symbol represents one sound and one only. For each word listed the phonetic spelling is printed

side by side with the ordinary one. Once you have mastered the key to this phonetic spelling you know how to pronounce a foreign word, however fantastic its spelling may be. If your dictionary uses the *International Phonetic Alphabet* you may find at the beginning a list incorporating the two on pp. 83 and 84 respectively. With the help of this key you are able to pronounce the following French words even if you do not know any French:

| | | | |
|---------|---------|----------|----------|
| bête | (bɛ:t) | commerce | (kɔmɛrs) |
| bord | (bɔ:r) | fédéré | (federe) |
| chaîne | (ʃɛ:n) | plaine | (plɛ:n) |
| clocher | (kloʃe) | prix | (pri) |
| | toute | (tut) | |

EYE AND GESTURE LANGUAGE IN THE WORLD TO-DAY

A bird's-eye view of visual language, in contradistinction to that of the ear, would be distorted if it took in nothing but the evolution of signs used in ancient stone inscriptions, manuscripts or modern books, and newspapers. Visual communication may be of two kinds, transient or persistent. The first includes gesture which reinforces daily speech, and the several types of gestural language respectively used for communication between deaf and dumb people, or in military and naval signalling. Signalling may be of two types. Like deaf and dumb gesture language, it may depend on human movements which recall symbols used in alphabetic writing. Signalling by flag-displays based on codes is like logographic writing. The signs used by bookies or hotel porters are a logographic gesture-script.

Codes used in telegraphy overlap the territories of audible communication, visual communication which is transient, and visual communication for permanent record. Like the Ogam script, it depends on the alphabet; and, since each alphabet symbol is made up of long or short strokes like prolonged or sharp taps, the same system serves equally well for recognition by eye, ear, or tactile sensation. A two-stroke system of this kind is a mechanical necessity dictated by the design of the first telegraphs to take advantage of the fact that a magnetic needle turns right or left in accordance with the direction of an electric current. The inventors of the telegraphic codes lived in a less leisurely age than the Ogam stone-masons, and took full advantage of the possibility of varying the *order* in which it is possible to arrange a limited number of strokes of two different types (Fig. 19). Like Ogam script a telegraphic code is suitable for purely tactile recognition by the blind, who were

cut off from access to the written record when parchment, papyrus, or paper took the place of stone, wax, or clay tablets as writing material. In practice, the Braille script, based on different arrangements of raised dots, is more satisfactory, because it takes up less space.

Within the narrower limits of the permanent record different types of scripts may serve different ends. Apart from cryptographic scripts

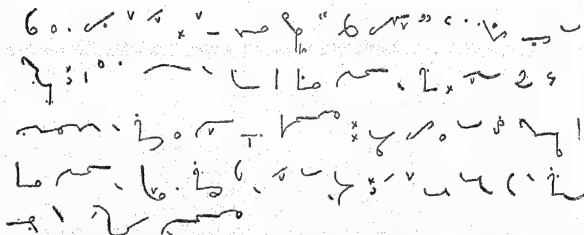


FIG. 20.—FACSIMILE NOTE IN PITMAN'S SHORTHAND BY BERNARD SHAW

Mr. Shaw has told us that much of his writing has been done in trains, and that practically all of it is written in shorthand for subsequent transcription by a secretary typist. The specimen of his shorthand reproduced here reads: "This the way I write. I could of course substitute (here follows an abbreviation) with an apparent gain in brevity, but as a matter of fact it takes longer to contract. Writing shorthand with the maximum of contraction is like cutting telegrams: unless one is in constant practice it takes longer to devise the contractions than to write in full; and I now never think of contracting except by ordinary logograms."

devised for secret inventions and recipes, political messages or military dispatches, we can broadly distinguish two types. In books, periodicals, and correspondence, the convenience of the *reader* is the main desideratum, and ready *visual recognition* is all-important. What is most important about a script for habitual and *personal* use is whether it is adapted to rapid *transcription*. For this reason an increasing proportion of transcription in commerce, law-courts, and conference is taken down in scripts which are not based on the alphabet, and have been designed for speedy writing. For such purposes ready recognition by anyone except the writer is of secondary usefulness.

Roman writers of the age of Cicero were alive to the inconvenience

of alphabetic writing from this point of view, and used various abbreviations for particles and other common elements of speech. A consistent system of shorthand is an English invention. The first attempt was made by Timothy Bright, who dedicated his book called *Characterie, the art of short, swift and secret writing* to Elizabeth in 1588. Timothy Bright's system, which was very difficult to memorize, paved the way for others, notably Willis's *Art of Stenography* (1602). In 1837, when Sir Isaac Pitman perfected what is still the most successful shorthand script "for the diffusion of knowledge among the middle classes of society," about two hundred different sorts of shorthand had been put forward. Shorthand as we know it to-day is the product of many experiments in which some of the most enlightened linguists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took a hand. It is the fruit of close study of the merits or demerits of different systems of writing and typography in general use.

Modern shorthand, like Japanese script, is a synthesis. In so far as the basic stratum is alphabetic, advantages of speed are due to the combination of three principles, two of them suggested by characteristics of Semitic scripts. One is that the letter symbols are simple strokes, easily joined. We recognize them by *direction* as opposed to *shape*. A second is that the vowels are detached from the consonants, so that we can leave them out, when doing so would lead to no doubt about the identity of a word. The third is that arbitrary combinations of consonants or vowels give place to a complete battery of *single* signs in a consistently phonetic system. This phonetic alphabet is only part of the set-up. There are *syllable signs* for affixes which constantly recur, and *logograms* for common words or phrases.

No tracts about the Real Presence, treatises on marginal utility and table-turning, or expositions of the Hegelian dialectic and the Aryan virtues are accessible in Morse Code or Shorthand editions. Still, students of language-planning for the Age of Plenty have something to learn from the work of those who have contributed to such inventions and from the efforts of those who have worked to make the written record available to the deaf and blind. Of the two foremost pioneers of language-planning in the seventeenth century, one, George Dalgarno, was the inventor of a deaf-and-dumb alphabet; the other, Bishop Wilkins, put forward an early system of phonetic shorthand. One result of early controversies over shorthand systems was a lively interest in the defects of spelling, and hence in the sound-composition of words. An evolutionary attitude to language was not

possible until students of language began to study how the sound of a word changes in the course of a few generations.

To organize prosperity on a world-wide scale, we need to supplement the languages of local speech-communities with an international medium of discourse. Whether such a world-wide language will eventually displace all others, we cannot say. What is certain is that such a change will not happen till many centuries have elapsed. In the meantime, the most we can aim at is to make every citizen of the Age of Plenty bilingual, that is to say, equally fluent in a home language, and in the common language of world citizenship, or of some unit larger than the sovereign states of the present day. Hardly less important is another need. Few but experts realize the Babel of scripts in the modern world. Many of them are ill-suited for their purpose, laborious to learn and space-consuming. Non-exploitive collaboration between East and West requires international adoption of the Roman alphabet, supplemented where necessary by additional symbols. Lenin said this to comrade Agamaly-Ogly, president of the Central pan-Soviet Committee of National Alphabets: *Romanization, there lies the great revolution of the East.*

Regularization of script on a world-wide scale is alike prerequisite to liquidation of illiteracy in the Orient and worth-while spelling reform in the West. Spelling reform is long overdue; but it is not a purely national affair, nor merely the task of devising consistent rules based on *a priori* principles. It must necessarily be a compromise between conflicting claims—recognition of language affinities in the form of the written word, preservation of structural uniformities, such as our plural -s, which transgress phonetic proprieties, the disadvantage of an unwieldy battery of signs and the undesirability of setting up an arbitrary norm without due regard to dialect differences.*

FURTHER READING

| | |
|------------|--|
| GRIFFITH | <i>The Story of Letters and Numbers.</i> |
| LYDD JAMES | <i>Our Spoken Language.</i> |
| JENSEN | <i>Geschichte der Schrift.</i> |
| KARLGREN | <i>Sound and Symbol in Chinese.</i> |
| RIPMAN | <i>English Phonetics.</i> |
| TAYLOR | <i>The Alphabet.</i> |
| THOMPSON | <i>The ABC of our Alphabet.</i> |

* The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has published a report (1934), prefaced by Jespersen, on the promotion of the use of the Roman alphabet among peoples with unsuitable scripts or no script at all.

CHAPTER III

ACCIDENCE—THE TABLE MANNERS OF LANGUAGE

MEN built hotels for celestial visitors before they devoted much ingenuity to their own housing problems. The temple observatories of the calendar priests, and the palaces of their supposedly sky-born rulers, are among the earliest and are certainly the most enduring monuments of architecture. In the dawn of civilization, when agriculture had become an established practice, the impulse to leave a record in building and in decoration went hand in hand with the need for a store-house of nightly observations on the stars and a record of the flocks and crops. So writing of some sort is the signal that civilization has begun. The beginning of writing is also the beginning of our first-hand knowledge of language.

Our fragmentary information about the speech-habits of mankind extends over about 4,000 of the 80,000 or more years since true speech began. We know nothing about human speech between the time when the upright ape first used sounds to co-operate in work or defence, and the time when people began to write. It is therefore unwise to draw conclusions about the birth of language from the very short period which furnishes us with facts. We can be certain of one thing. If we had necessary information for tracing the evolution of human speech in relation to human needs and man's changing social environment, we should not approach the task of classifying sounds as the orthodox grammarian does. The recognition of words as units of speech has grown hand in hand with the elaboration of script. In the preliterate millennia of the human story, social needs which prompted men to take statements to pieces would arise only in connexion with difficulties of young children, and through contacts with migrant or warring tribes. We can be quite sure that primitive man used gestures liberally to convey his meaning. So a classification of the elements of language appropriate to a primitive level of human communication might plausibly take shape in a fourfold division as follows:*

* Grammarians have oscillated between two views. According to one, primitive speech was made up of discrete monosyllables like Chinese. Under the influence of Jespersen and his disciples, the pendulum has now swung to the

- (a) *Substantives*, or individual words used for distinct objects or events which can be indicated by pointing at things, i.e. such as our words *dog* or *thunder*, and at a later stage, for qualities of a group, such as *red* or *noisy*.
- (b) *Vocatives*, or short signals used to call forth some response, such as our words *where?*, *stop*, *run*, *come*, *pull*, and names of individuals.
- (c) *Demonstratives*, or gesture substitutes which direct the attention of the listener to a particular point in the situation, e.g. *that*, *here*, *behind*, *in front*.
- (d) *Incorporatives*, or recitative combinations of sound used in ritual incantations without any recognition of separate elements corresponding to what we should call *words*.

From a biological point of view, it is reasonable to guess that the last antedate anything we can properly call speech, that they take us back to the monkey-chorus of sundown when the mosquitoes are about, that they persisted long after the recognition of separate words emerged out of active co-operation in hunting, fishing, or building, and that they were later refined into sequences of meaningful words by a process as adventitious as the insertion of the vocables into such a nursery rhyme sequence as "Hickory, dickory, dock! The mouse ran up the clock. . . ." Perhaps we can recognize the first separate vocables in warning signals of the pack leader. If so, the second class, or *vocatives*, are the oldest sound elements of co-operation in mutually beneficial activities. What seems almost certain is this. Until writing forced people to examine more closely the significance of the sounds they used, the recognition of words was confined to sounds which they could associate with gesture.

opposite extreme, and primitive speech is supposed to be holophrastic, i.e. without discrete words. This sing-song view, like nonsense written at one time about so-called *incorporative* languages (e.g. those of the Mexicans or Greenland Esquimaux), and now disproved by the work of Sapir, is essentially a concoction of the study. It is the product of academic preoccupation with the works of poets or other forms of sacred composition. Practical biologists or psychologists have to give consideration: (a) to how children, travellers, or immigrants learn a language without recourse to interpreters and grammar-books, (b) to how human speech differs from the chatter of monkeys or the mimetic exploits of parrots. In contradistinction to such animal noises, human speech is above all an instrument of co-operation in productive *work* or mutual defence, and as such is *partly* made up of discrete signals for *individual* actions and manipulation of *separate* objects. To this extent (see p. 51) the recognition of some sounds as *words* is presumably as old as the first flint instruments. Conversely, other formal elements which we also call *words* are products of grammatical comparison. They do not emerge from the speech matrix before the written record compels closer analysis.

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Here we are on speculative ground. It will not be possible to get any further light on the early evolution of speech till anthropologists have made more progress in researches for which Professor Malinowski has made an eloquent plea:*

The point of view of the philologist who deals only with remnants of dead languages must differ from that of the ethnographer who, deprived of the ossified, fixed data of inscriptions, has to rely on the living reality of spoken language *in fluxu*. The former has to reconstruct the general situation, i.e. the culture of a past people, from the extant statements; the latter can study directly the conditions and situations characteristic of a culture and interpret the statements through them. Now I claim that the ethnographer's perspective is the one relevant and real for the formation of fundamental linguistic conceptions and for the study of the life of languages. . . . For language in its origins has been merely the free, spoken sum total of utterances such as we find now in a savage tongue.

Study of speech in backward communities from this point of view is still in its infancy. Many years must elapse before it influences the tradition of language-teaching in our schools and universities. Meanwhile, the infant science of language carries a load of unnecessary intellectual luggage from its parental preoccupation with sacred texts or ancient wisdom. Grammar, as the classification of speech and writing habits, did not begin because human beings were curious about their social equipment. What originally prompted the study of Semitic (p. 421), Hindu (p. 408)—and to a large extent that of European—grammar was the requirements of ritual. Though the impact of biological discovery has now forced European scholars to look at language from an evolutionary point of view, academic tradition has never outgrown the limitations imposed on it by the circumstances of its origin.

Modern European grammar began about the time when the Protestant Reformation was in progress. Scholars were busy producing an open Bible for the common people, or translations of texts by the political apologists of the Greek city state. Those who did so were primarily interested in finding tricks of expression corresponding to Greek and Latin models in modern European languages. Usually they had no knowledge of non-European languages, and, if they also knew languages now placed in the Semitic group, gained their knowledge by applying the classical yardstick. It goes without saying that they did not classify ways of using words as they would have done if they had been interested in finding out how English has changed since the time

* *Vide The Meaning of Meaning*, by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards.

of Alfred the Great. Since then a language, which once had many of the most characteristic features of Latin or Greek, has changed past recognition. It now shares some of the most remarkable peculiarities of Chinese.

What schools used to teach as English grammar was really an introduction to the idiosyncrasies of Latin. It was not concerned with the outstanding characteristics of the English language; and most educationists in America or England now condemn time wasted in the mental confusion resulting from trying to fit the tricks of our own terse idiom into this foreign mould. Without doubt learning grammar is not of much help to a person who wants to write modern English. None the less, the so-called English grammar of thirty years ago had its use. Other European languages which belong to the same great Indo-European family as Bible English and Latin and Greek, have not travelled so far on the road which English has traversed. So knowledge of old-fashioned grammar did make it a little easier to learn *some* peculiarities of French, German, or other languages which are still used. Anyone who starts to learn one of them without some knowledge of grammatical terms meets a large class of unnecessary difficulties. The proper remedy for this is not to go back to grammar of the old-fashioned type, but to get a more general grasp of how English resembles and differs from other languages, what vestiges of speech-habits characteristic of its nearest neighbours persist in it, and what advantages or disadvantages result from the way in which it has diverged from them. To do this we shall need to equip ourselves with some technical terms. They are almost indispensable if we want to learn foreign languages.

HOW WORDS GROW

None of us needs to be told that we cannot write a foreign language, or even translate from one with accuracy, by using a dictionary or learning its contents by heart. From a practical point of view, we can define grammar as the rules we need to know *before we can use a dictionary with profit*. So we shall take the dictionary as our foundation stone in this chapter and the next. We have already seen that dictionaries of languages do not contain all vocables we commonly use. They include certain classes of *derivative** words, and exclude others.

* It is often impossible to say what is root and what is affix, but many English words can be *derived* by adding affixes like *-s*, *-ed* or *-ing* to the dictionary form. In what follows the Editor suggests that we should speak of them as derivatives of the latter. As explained in the footnote on p. 34, this is not precisely the way in which linguists use the word *derivative*.

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Thus an ordinary English dictionary which contains *behave* and *behaviour*, does not list *behaved*, *behaves*, or *behaving*. The part of grammar called *accidence* consists of rules for detecting how to form such derivatives and how they affect the meaning of a dictionary word which shares the same root. Our first task must therefore be to recall (p. 53) how single words can *grow*.

First of all, they can do so by fusing with one another or with *meaningful* affixes:

- (a) Because the meaning of the *compound word* (e.g. *brickyard*) so formed is sufficiently suggested by the ordinary meaning of its separate parts in a given context. This is a trick specially characteristic of Teutonic languages, Greek and Chinese.
- (b) Because two native words constantly occur in the same context and get glued together through slipshod pronunciation, as in the shortened forms *dont*, *wont*, *cant*, *shant* for *do not*, *will not*, *can not*, *shall not*, as also *don* (= do on) and *doff* (= do off).
- (c) Because an affix (p. 53) *borrowed* from another language is attached to them, as the Latin *ante-* (before) is used in *antenatal clinic*, or the Greek *anti-* (against) in *anti-fascist*, *anti-comintern*, and *anti-anything-else-which-we-do-not-like*.

It is useful to distinguish fusion due to speech-habits, i.e. (b) from fusion associated with meaning, i.e. (a) and (c). The word *agglutination* refers to the former, i.e. to fusion arising from *context and pronunciation without regard to meaning*. Once fusion has begun another process begins to work. The meaning like the form of a word part becomes blurred. People get careless about the meaning of an affix. We expect a word to end (or to begin) in the same way, when we have made a habit of using similar words with the same affix in a similar *context*. This leads to a habit of tacking on the same affix to new words without regard to its original meaning. Having made a word *mastodon*, we add the *-s* of *mastodons* because we are used to treating animals in this way.

What grammarians call *analogical extension* includes this process of extending the use of an affix by analogy with pre-existing words built up in the same way. Children and immigrants (see p. 168), as well as native adults, take a hand in the way languages change for better or for worse. For instance, an American or British child who is accustomed to saying *I caught*, when he means that he has made his *catch*, may also say *the eggs haught* for *the eggs hatched*; or, being more accustomed to adding *-ed*, may say *I catchted* for *I caught*. This process is immensely important (see p. 203) in building up new words or in changing old ones. We should therefore recognize its limitations at the outset.

Analogical extension may explain what is responsible for the origin of the majority of word-derivatives of a particular type. It cannot explain how the habit of building them up began.

People who make dictionaries do not leave out all derivatives formed according to simple rules. The reason why some derivatives of the word *bake*, such as *bake-house*, *baker*, or *bakery* are in English dictionaries, while *bakes*, *baking*, or *baked* are not, has nothing to do with whether the rules for adding *-house*, *-er*, or *-ery* are more easy to apply than the rules for adding *-s*, *-ing*, or *-(e)d*. We can tack the ending *-er*, now common to an enormous class of Danish, German, and English vocables, on the dictionary words *write*, *fish*, *sing*, or *teach*; but we can add the suffix *-ed* only to the second (cf. *wrote*, *fished*, *sang*, or *taught*). Since the way in which the meaning of a word is affected by both affixes is obvious, the fact that *-er* derivatives are in our dictionaries, and that we do not find the *-ed* derivatives in them, shows that people who compile dictionaries do not decide to leave out a vocable because the meaning of the root or dictionary form and that of its affix are equally clear. The real reason has to do with the original job the grammarians had to undertake. Broadly speaking, it is this. Vocables are put in grammar books instead of in dictionaries because they correspond to the class of derivatives most common in Latin or Greek.

Grammarians call such derivatives, or their affixes, *flexions*. Flexion is of two kinds, *internal* (root inflexion) and *external* (affixation). The change from *bind* to *bound*, or *foot* to *feet* illustrates one type of internal flexion, i.e. root vowel change. External flexion, or true flexion, which is more common, is simply change of meaning by affixes, like the *-ed* in *baked*. We do not speak of affixes as flexions when they are recognizable as borrowed elements or relics of separate native words, as in the enormous class of English derivatives with the common affix *-ly* in *happily* or *probably*, corresponding to *-lich* in German, *-lijk* in Dutch, *-lik* in Swedish, *-lig* in Danish or Norwegian. Whether derivatives formed by adding affixes are called flexions depends largely on whether they correspond to derivatives formed from a root with the same meaning in Latin or Greek.

According to the way in which derivatives modify its meaning, or are dictated by the context of, a root, grammarians refer to different classes most characteristic of the sacred Indo-European languages, i.e. Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, as flexions of *number*, *tense*, *person*, *comparison*, *voice*, *case*, *mood*, and *gender*. We can classify root words of Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit according to which of two or more classes of

these derivatives they form. Thus *nouns* and *pronouns* have number and case flexion; *verbs* have tense, person, voice, and mood flexions. Words which do not have such derivatives are called *particles*. The distinction between these classes would be meaningless, if we tried to apply it to Chinese. For reasons which we shall now see, it is almost meaningless when we try to classify English words in the same way.

The number of flexional derivatives in the older languages of the Indo-European family is enormous. In English comparable derivatives are relatively few, and are chiefly confined to flexions of number, time, person, and comparison. Formation of the derivative *houses* (external) or *lice* (internal) from *house* or *louse* illustrates flexion of number. The derivatives *bound* (internal) and *loved* (external) from *bind* and *love* illustrate tense flexion. Person flexion turns up only in the addition of *-s* to a verb e.g. the change as from *bind* to *binds*. Comparison is the derivation of *happier* and *happiest*, or *wiser* and *wisest*, from *happy* and *wise*. English has a few relics of case (e.g. *he, him, his*), and a trace of mood (p. 119) flexion. Flexion of gender has disappeared altogether, and voice flexion never existed in our own language.

Knowing the names for the flexions does not help us to speak or to write correct English, because few survive, and we learn these few in childhood. What it does help us to do is to learn languages in which the flexional system of the old Indo-European languages has decayed far less than in English or in its Eastern counterpart, modern Persian. The study of how they have arisen, and of circumstances which have contributed to their decay, also helps us to see characteristics to incorporate in a world medium which is easy to learn without being liable to misunderstanding.

FLEXION OF PERSON

It is best to start with flexions of person and tense, because we have more information about the way in which such flexions have arisen or can arise than we have about the origin of number, case, gender, and comparison. Person flexion is probably the older of the two. Since something of the same sort is cropping up again (p. 99), it is easy to guess how it began. Unlike tense, voice, number, and comparison, flexion of person is absolutely useless in many modern European languages. All that remains of it in our own language is the final *s* of a verb which follows certain words such as *he, she, it*, or the names of *single* things, living beings, groups or qualities, e.g. in such more or less intelligible statements as *he bakes, she types, or love conquers all*. The

derivative forms *bakes*, *types*, or *conquers*, are dictated by *context* in accordance with the conventions of our language. The final *-s* adds nothing necessary to the meaning of a statement.

This flexion is our only surviving relic of a much more complicated system in the English of Alfred the Great, and still extant in most European languages. To understand its importance in connexion with correct usage in many other languages, we have to distinguish a class of words called *personal pronouns*. Since the number of them is small, this is not difficult. Excluding the *possessive* forms *mine*, *ours*, etc., the personal pronouns are:—*I* or *me*, *we* or *us*, *you*, *he* or *him*, *she* or *her*, *it*, and *they* or *them*. *I* or *me* and *we* or *us* are modestly called pronouns of the *first* person, *you* is the English pronoun of the *second* person, and *he* or *him*, *she* or *her*, *it*, *they* or *them* are pronouns of the *third* person. The pronouns of the first person stand for, or include, the person making a statement. The pronoun of the second person stands for the person or persons whom we address, and the pronouns of the third person stand for the persons or things about whom or about which we make a statement or ask a question.

To make room for all the flexions of person in foreign languages, we have to go a stage further in classifying pronouns. If the statement is about *one* person or thing, the pronoun which stands for it is *singular*; if it is about more than one person or thing, the pronoun is said to be *plural*. Thus *I* and *me* are pronouns of the first person singular; *we* and *us* pronouns of first person plural. *He* and *him*, *she* and *her*, together with *it*, are pronouns of the third person singular, and *they* or *them* are pronouns of the third person plural. In modern English or, as we ought to say and as we shall say in future when we want to distinguish it from Bible English, in *Anglo-American*, there is only one pronoun of the second person singular or plural. In the Bible English of *Mayflower* days there were two. *Thou* and *thee* were the pronouns of the second person singular, and *ye* was for converse with more than one person. *Thou* is *de rigueur* in churches as the pronoun of address for a threefold deity. Orthodox members of the Society of Friends use *thee* when speaking to one another. When ordinary people still used *thou*, there was another flexion of person. They said *thou speakest*, in contradistinction to *you speak* or *he speaks*.

Classification of the personal pronouns in this way would be quite pointless if everybody used *Anglo-American*. We can appreciate its usefulness if we compare *Anglo-American* and French equivalents on p. 35. The simple English rule for the surviving *-s* flexion is this.

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We use it only when a word such as *speak, love, type, write, bake, or conquer* follows *he, she, or it*, or the name of any *single* person, quality, group, or thing which can be replaced by *it*. The example on p. 35 shows that there are *five* different personal forms of the French *verb*, or class to which such words as *love* belong. In more old-fashioned languages the verb root has all six different derivatives corresponding to the singular and plural forms of all the personal pronouns or to the names they can replace. Thus the corresponding forms of the equivalent Italian verb are:

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|
| (io) | do | I give | (noi) | diamo | we give |
| (tu) | dai | thou givest | (voi) | date | you give |
| (egli) | dà | he gives | (essi) | danno | they give |

The Danish equivalent for all these derivative forms of the Italian root *da-* present in our words *donation* or *dativo* is *give*. This is just the same whether the Danish (or Norwegian) equivalent of *I, we, thou, you, he, she, it, or they* stands in front of, or as in a question, immediately after it. Since Danes, who produce good beer and good bacon, have no personal flexions, and since Benjamin Franklin could discuss electricity with only one, it is not obvious that the five of Voltaire's French are really necessary tools. If we do not wish to encourage the accumulation of unnecessary linguistic luggage, it is therefore instructive to know how people collected them. The first step is to go back to the common ancestor of French and Italian. The table on p. 98 furnishes a clue.

One thing the table exhibits is this. It was not customary to use the personal pronoun equivalent to *I, he, we, etc.*, in the older languages of the Indo-European family. The ending attached to the verb really had a use. *It had to do the job now done by putting the pronoun in front of it.* So the ending in modern descendants of such languages is merely the relic of what once did the job of the pronoun. This leads us to ask how the ending came to do so. A clue to a satisfactory answer is also in the table, which exposes a striking family resemblance among the endings of the older verbs of the Indo-European family. Of the five older representatives, four have the suffix *MI* for the form of the verb which corresponds to the first person singular.* This at once reminds you of the English pronoun *me*, which replaces the first person *I* when it comes after the verb in a plain statement. Our table (p. 99) of

* The exception is Latin with the terminal *-O*. The Latin *I* is *ego*, shortened in Italian to *io*, Spanish *yo*.

THE EVOLUTION OF IMPERSONALITY IN VERBS

A. FOSSIL LANGUAGES*

| SANSKRIT | OLD PERSIAN | GREEK | OLD SLAV | LATIN | BIBLICAL ENGLISH |
|---|--|---|--|--|--|
| dadami dadasi dadati dadmas datta dadati | dadami dadahi dadati dademahi dasra dadenti | didomi didos didoti didomes didote didonti | dami dasi dasti damu dasite dadanti | do das dat damus datis dant | I give thou givest he (etc.) giveth we give ye give they give |

B. LIVING LANGUAGES

| ITALIAN | FRENCH | ICELANDIC | DUTCH | ANGLO-AMERICAN | DANISH |
|---|---|---|--|--|--|
| io do tu dai egli dà noi diamo voi date essi danno | je donne tu donnes il donne nous donnons vous donnez ils donnent | eg gef thú gefur hann gefur vör gefum thjær gefið thair gefa | ik geef ij geeft hij geeft wij geven jullie geven zij geven | I give you give he gives we give you give they give | jeg giver du giver han giver vi giver de giver de giver |

* The spelling conventions follow Bopp, *Vergleich. Gramm.*, vol. 2, p. 334.

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corresponding pronouns of several languages placed in the Indo-European group, encourages us to believe that the correspondence between the English pronoun *ME* and the ending *MI* is not a mere accident.

The meaning of this coincidence would be more difficult to under-

FAMILY RESEMBLANCE OF ARYAN PRONOUNS

| | | SCOTS GAELIC | RUSSIAN | ITALIAN* | LATIN | EARLY GREEK* | ICELANDIC |
|------|------|-----------------|---------|----------|-------|-----------------|-----------|
| I | | | YA | IO | EGO | EGO | EG or JEG |
| ME | Acc. | MI | MENYA | ME | ME | ME | MIG |
| | Dat. | | MNE | | MIHI | MOI | MJER |
| THOU | | | TI | TU | TU | TU | THU |
| THEE | Acc. | TU | TEBYA | TE | TE | TE | THIG |
| | Dat. | | TEBE | | TIBI | TOI | THJER |
| WE | | | MI | NOI | NOS | NO | VJER |
| US | Acc. | SINN | NAS | | | | OSS |
| | Dat. | | NAM | | NOBIS | NON | |

stand if it were not due to a process which we can see at work in Anglo-American at the present day. When we speak quickly, we do not say *I am, you are, he is*. We say *I'm, you're, he's*; and Bernard Shaw spells them as the single words *Im, youre, hes*. The fact that the agglutinating, or gluing on of the pronoun, takes place in this order need not bother us, because the habit of invariably putting the pronoun before the verb is a new one. In Bible English we commonly meet with constructions such as *thus spake he*. Even in modern speech we say *sez you*. In certain circumstances this inversion generally occurs in other Teutonic languages as in Bible English. It was once a traffic rule of the Aryan family;

* The Italian forms are the stressed ones (p. 363). The later Greek forms of *tu, te, toi* were *su, se, soi*. The Greek *NO, NON* are dual forms (p. 109). The corresponding plural forms in Doric Greek were *hemes, hame, hemin*. The first is comparable to the Russian *mi* and to the first person plural terminal of the Greek, Latin, or Sanskrit verb.

and it is still customary in one group of Aryan languages. This group, called the Celtic family, furnishes suggestive evidence for the belief that the personal flexions which do the work of the absent pronoun in Latin or Greek were originally separate pronouns placed after the verb.

The Celtic languages, which include Welsh, Gaelic, Irish, and Breton, have several peculiarities (p. 416) which distinguish them from all other members of the Indo-European group. In Celtic languages, words which are equivalent to a Latin "verb" may or may not have personal flexions. In Old Irish, *as*, which corresponds to our *is* (spelt in the same way in Erse, i.e. modern Irish) has two forms, one used with the pronoun placed after it, and a contracted form corresponding to our *I'm* (= '*'tis me who*) in which we can recognize the agglutinated part as we still recognize the *not* in *dont*, *shant*, *wont*, or *cant*. The two forms are in the table below:

| LITHUANIAN | SANSKRIT | OLD IRISH | | BIBLE ENGLISH |
|------------|----------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| | | Extended Form | Contracted | |
| esmi | asmi | as me | am | I am |
| essi | asi | as tu | at | thou art |
| esti | asti | as é | as or is | he is |

We must not conclude that the Celtic verb is more primitive than the Sanskrit. Sir George Grierson has shown that modern Indic dialects have sloughed off person flexions and subsequently replaced them by new pronoun suffixes. Since pronouns are the most conservative words of the Indo-European fund of vocables, the result may be very much like the preceding inflected form. The English *am* and *is* do not come directly from the speech of the early Britons. Our English *IS* is one form of a common Aryan root, *IS*, *ES*, or *AS*, which also turns up in Greek and in Latin, as in Sanskrit and Lithuanian. In Welsh it is not inflected when spelt *OES*. There must have been several primitive Aryan root-words corresponding to what grammarians call "parts of the verb to be" (in English, *am*, *is*, *are*, *was*, *were*, *be*, *being*, *been*). The English or Erse *am* or *im* is an agglutinative contraction from the *ES* root, like the German *sind* (Latin *sunt*). The BE-BA-BO-BU root of *being* and *been* turns up again in Russian, Welsh, or Gaelic, and in the German and Dutch *ich bin* or *ik ben* (I am). The AR-ER root which

TEUTONIC BE VERB

| ENGLISH | GOTHIC | OLD ENGLISH | GERMAN | DUTCH | SWEDISH | DANISH |
|--|--|--|---|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| I <i>am</i> thou <i>art</i> he <i>is</i> we <i>are</i> you <i>are</i> they | im is ist sijum sijuth sind | am <i>or</i> beo arh " bist is " bih sint " beoth | ich bin du bist er ist wir sind ihr seid sie sind | ik ben ij bent hij is wij jullie zijn zij | jag Du han vi Ni de | jeg Du han vi De de |
| I <i>was</i> thou <i>wast</i> he <i>was</i> we <i>were</i> you <i>were</i> they | was wast was wesum wesuth wesun | weas waere was waeron | ich war du warst er war wir waren ihr wart sie waren | ik ij hij wij jullie waren zij | jag Du han vi Ni de | jeg Du han vi De de |
| TO BE | wisan | wesan <i>or</i> beon | zu sein | te zijn <i>or</i> wezen | att vara | at vaere |
| BEING | wisands | wesende <i>or</i> beonde | seind | zijnd | varende | vaerende |
| BEEN | wisans | gewesen | gewesen | gewest | varit | vaeret |
| BE | sijais | wes <i>or</i> beo | sei | wes <i>or</i> zij | var | vaer |
| <i>Imper. sing.</i> | | | | | | |

turns up in *are*, is the single uninflected form *er* of the Danish or Norwegian "present tense" given above. We meet it again in the Latin imperfect (p. 105). What is most characteristic of the Teutonic groups is the *WAS-WAR* root corresponding to our English *was* and *were*.

The modern forms of the verb *to be* in languages most closely allied to English are on p. 101. Those of languages nearest to French are on p. 183. If we go back to Old English, to Old Norse, and to the earliest known Teutonic language, which is the Gothic of the Bible translated by Bishop Ulfilas somewhere about A.D. 350, the sharp contrast between the forms used in contemporary Teutonic and Romance languages is blurred. The next table shows this:

FOSSIL FORMS OF THE PRESENT TENSE OF *TO BE*

| | LATIN | GOTHIC | OLD NORSE | OLD ENGLISH | |
|----------|-------|--------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| I am | sum | im | em | am | or biom (beo) |
| thou art | es | is | est | arþ | bist |
| he is | est | ist | es | is | bip |
| we are | sumus | sijum | erom | } sint | } bioþ |
| you are | estis | sijup | eroþ | | |
| they are | sunt | sind | ero | | |

Agglutination of pronouns to other words is a very characteristic feature of the Celtic languages. In all of them pronouns also form contracted derivatives by fusion with *directives* (prepositions), i.e. such words as *with*, *in*, *to*, *from*. Welsh has two forms of the first personal pronoun, *mi* and *fi*, recognizable in corresponding personal flexions of the prepositions, e.g.:

i (to or into) + mi = im (to me)
 at (to or towards) + fi = ataf (to me)

The tenses of the old Aryan *be* verb in its Welsh form (BOD) have two corresponding types of flexion in the first person singular. We recognize them without difficulty in the endings of:

bum = I was byddaf = I shall be

Any doubt about the meaning of this coincidence disappears when we compare them with the corresponding forms of the second person plural. The Welsh for *you* is *chwi* and the Welsh for *they* is *hwynt*. The agglutinative character of the personal flexion is therefore unmistakable in:

danoch, under you buoch, you were byddwch, you will be
 danynt, under them buont, they were byddant, they will be

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Though the Welsh use their verb *to be* of the written language without a separate pronoun, they usually insert a pronoun *after* it in speech. The necessities of daily intercourse compensate for the supposititious merits of a flexional system when its agglutinative origin is no longer recognizable to anybody except the grammarian. The need is greater when a language is imposed on a conquered people, or adopted by its conquerors. The absent pronoun of written Latin has come back in its daughter dialect, French.

TENSE FLEXION

Tense flexion, illustrated by the derivative forms *loved* or *gave*, may be external or internal. We call the English dictionary form (e.g. *love* or *give*) the *present* in contradistinction to the derivative *past* form. The words *past* and *present* suggest that tense flexion *dates* an occurrence. This would be a true description of what the French future tense (p. 105) endings do. It is not an accurate description of what the choice of our English present tense form does in *she plays the piano*. If we want to date the occurrence as *present*, we do not use the so-called present tense form. We resort to the roundabout expression: *she is playing the piano*. In reality the tense forms of a verb have no single clear-cut function. To a greater or less extent in different European languages two distinct functions blend. One is the *time* distinction between past, present, and future. The other, more prominent in English, especially in Russian and in Celtic languages, is what grammarians call *aspect*. Aspect includes the distinction between what is habitual or is going on (*imperfect*) and what is over and done with (*perfect*). This is the essential difference involved in the choice of tense forms in the following:

- (a) *the earth moves round the sun* (imperfect)
- (b) *he moved the pawn to queen four* (perfect)

The last two examples might suggest that the distinction between the meaning of the simple present and past tense forms of English is straightforward. This is not true. We imply future action when we use the present tense form in: *I sail for Nantucket at noon*. We imply knowledge of the past when we use the present in *he often goes to Paris*. The particle *often* and the expression *at noon* date the action or tell us whether it is a habitual occurrence. In fact we rely, and those who speak other European languages rely more and more, on roundabout expressions to do what tense flexion supposedly does.

Such roundabout expressions are of two kinds. We may simply, as in the last examples, insert some qualifying expression or particle which denotes time (e.g. *formerly, now, soon*), or aspect (e.g. *once, habitually*). Alternatively we may use the construction known as a compound tense by combining a *helper* with the dictionary form of the verb (e.g. *I shall sing*) or with one of two derivatives called the *present* and *past participles*. The *present* participle of English verbs is the *-ing* derivative, as in *I am singing*. The *past* participle is the corresponding form in *I have sung*. We can use both to qualify a noun, e.g. *a singing bird* or an *oft-sung song*. All English verbs (except some helpers) have an *-ing* derivative. Verbs which take the *-ed* or *-t* suffix have one form which we can use to qualify a noun (e.g. *a loved one*), as the simple past tense form (e.g. *she loved him*) or with helpers (e.g. *she had loved him* or *she is loved*). In Anglo-American usage the Chinese trick of relying on particles often overrides the distinction otherwise inherent in the use of the helper verb, as in: (a) *I am leaving to-morrow*; (b) *I am constantly leaving my hat behind*.

There is therefore nothing surprising about the fact that so few of us notice it when we have no tense flexion to lean on. A student of social statistics finds himself (or herself) at no disadvantage because the verb in the following sentences lacks present and past distinction:

Oats cost x dollars a bushel to-day
Oats cost y dollars a bushel last fall

Indeed, few people who speak the Anglo-American language realize how often they use such verbs every day of their lives. Below is a list of common verbs which have only three forms: the dictionary verb, its *-ing* derivative and the *-s* derivative of the third person singular present:

| | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| bet | cost | hurt | quit | shed | split |
| burst | cut | let | rid | shut | spread |
| cast | hit | put | set | slit | thrust |

The foreigner who wishes to learn the language of Francis Bacon and Benjamin Franklin has nothing more to learn about them, and the time of young children is not wasted with efforts to memorize such anomalies as:

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|-------|---------|---------|
| give | gave | given | sing | sang | sung |
| live | lived | lived | bring | brought | brought |

Fortunately most English verbs are *weak*. That is to say, they have a single past derivative with the suffix *-ed* (or *-t*) added to the dictionary

form, as in *placed* or *dreamt*. This corresponds to the German terminal *-te* (*schmarchte* = snored) or *-ete* (*redete* = spoke).

In Gothic, the oldest known Teutonic language, we meet such forms as *sokida* (I sought), and *sokidedum* (we sought). Some philologists believe that this is an agglutination of the same root as German *tun*, and English *do* with the verb root. It is as if we said in English *I seekdid* (= *I did seek*), or in German *ich suchetät*. In some hayseed districts a similar combination (e.g. *he did say* = *he said*) is quite customary. The example below shows the old English past of the verb *andswerian* (to answer) and how it may have come about by contraction with *dyde* (did) if this view is correct:

| | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Sing. | I. andswerian + dyde | = <i>answered</i> |
| | II. andswerian + dydest | = <i>answeredest</i> |
| | III. andswerian + dyde | = <i>answered</i> |
| Plural (all persons) | andswerian + dydon | = <i>answeredon</i> |

The English verb of Harold at the Battle of Hastings had personal flexions of the past as of the present forms. All such personal flexions corresponding to a particular class of time or aspect derivatives make up what is called a single *tense*. In Slavonic, Celtic, and Teutonic languages, as in English, there are two simple tenses, corresponding more or less to our present and past. Some of the ancient Indo-European languages and the modern descendants of Latin have a much more elaborate system of derivatives signifying differences of time or aspect. The following table shows that Latin verbs have six forms of tense flexion, each with its own six flexions of person and number, making up six tenses, respectively called (i) *present*, (ii) *past imperfect*, (iii) *past perfect*, (iv) *pluperfect*, (v) *future*, and (vi) *future perfect*. French,

| LATIN | FRENCH | ANGLO-AMERICAN |
|---------------|--------------|--|
| (i) amo | j'aime | I love I am loving |
| (ii) amabam | j'aimais | I used to love I did love I was loving |
| (iii) amavi | j'aimai | I loved I (have) loved |
| (iv) amaveram | j'avais aimé | I had loved |
| (v) amabo | j'aimerai | I shall love |
| (vi) amavero | j'aurai aimé | I shall have loved |

Spanish, and Italian have two past tenses and one future, making four in all. One of the French past tenses has died out in conversation.

The examples cited show that the French future is not much like the Latin form. The latter ceased to be used in the later days of the Roman Empire. It made way for an idiom analogous to our way of expressing future action when we say: "I have to go to town to-morrow." This is just what St. Augustine does. Writing about the coming of the Kingdom of God, he declares: *petant aut non petant venire habet* (whether they ask or do not ask, it will come). The combination of the infinitive *venire* (to come) with the common Aryan *have* verb (*habere* in Latin) means what the French or the Italian future conveys in a slightly more compact form. Fusion took place in the modern descendants of Latin. You can see this if you compare the flexions of the present tense of the French verb "to have" with the future forms. The present tense of the verb *have* in French is as follows:

| PERSON | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|--------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. | (j') ai I have | (nous) avons we |
| 2. | (tu) as you have | (vous) avez you |
| 3. | (il) a he has | (ils) ont they |

We can get four out of the six personal forms of the French future tense by simply adding the appropriate forms of the present *have* to the "infinitive" form *aimer* (to love) as follows:

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| aimer + ai = aimeraï | aimer + (av)ons = aimerons |
| aimer + as = aimeras | aimer + (av)ez = aimerez |
| aimer + a = aimera | aimer + ont = aimeront |

This example, representative of the origin of the future tense and conditional mood forms of the verb in other modern Romance dialects (p. 339), shows that tense flexion, like flexion of person, can originate from a process of contraction like what we see at work in such words as *you're* and *don't*. It is likely that the Latin pluperfect and future perfect endings correspond to personal derivatives of the *are* root of our verb *to be*, because all their endings are identical with corresponding personal forms of tenses of its Latin equivalent tacked on to the same stem, i.e. *amav* in the example cited. To anyone who is English-speaking this is not surprising, because we use our verb *to be* in expressions which signify past and future time, e.g. *I was coming* or *I am going*. Indeed it is not improbable that the BE root turns up in the past imperfect (e.g. *amabam*) and the simple future (e.g. *amabo*).

Tense flexions with the same common meaning may have begun by agglutination of the root to *different* elements which decay to a greater

or less extent because of the difficulties of pronouncing them distinctly in a new context. This would explain why languages rich in such derivatives generally have several types of tense formation. The irregularities of the English strong verb, which has few surviving flexions, sufficiently illustrate the difficulties to which such irregularities give rise when a foreigner tries to learn a language. The forms of the English verb (including the *-ing* derivative) are typically *four* in number (e.g. *say, says, saying, said*), or at most *five*, in strong verbs which have internal flexion (e.g. *give, gives, giving, gave* and *given*). The Latin verb root has over a hundred flexional derivatives.

In English there are many verb families such as *love-shove-prove, drink-sing-swim, think-catch-teach*, of which the first includes more than ninety-five per cent. Grammarians put Latin verbs in one or other of four different families called *conjugations*, of which the third is a miscellany of irregularities. There are also many exceptional ones that do not follow the rules of any conjugation. So it is not surprising that the flexional system of Latin began to wilt when Roman soldiers tried to converse with natives of Gaul, or that it withered after Germanic tribes invaded Italy, France, and the Iberian Peninsula. Personal endings were blurred, and roundabout ways of expressing the same thing replaced tense derivatives.

Our last table shows that we can express the meaning of six Latin tenses by combining our helpers *be, have, shall*, with the *-ed* (*loved*) or *-en* (*given*) form (*past participle*), with the combination *to* and the dictionary verb, or with the *-ing* form. Since there can be no difference of opinion about whether an *analytical* language, which expresses time, aspect, and personal relations in this way is more easy to learn than a *synthetic* (i.e. flexional) language, it is important to ask whether Europe lost anything in the process of simplification.

Clearly there is no tragedy in the removal of an overgrowth of mispronunciation that led to flexion of person. Similar remarks apply with equal force to the loss of tense flexion. The fine distinctions of time or aspect which old-fashioned grammarians detect in the tense flexions of a language such as Latin or Greek have very little relation to the way in which a scientific worker records the correspondence of events when he is concerned with the order in which they occur; and few tense distinctions of meaning are clear-cut. It is sheer nonsense to pretend that provision of modern scientific ideas about process and reality guided the evolution of the seven hundred or more disguises of a single Sanskrit verb root. Tenses took shape in the letterless beginnings of language

among clockless people into whose nomadic experience the sun-dials and clepsydras of the ancient Mediterranean priesthoods had not yet intruded.

Again and again history has pronounced its judgment upon the merits of such flexions in culture contacts through trade, conquest, or the migrations of peoples. International intercourse compels those who speak an inflected language to introduce the words which make the flexions useless. If the flexions persist as mummies in the mausoleum of a nation's literature, a large part of its intellectual energy is devoted to the pursuit of grammatical studies which are merely obstructive, while the gap between popular speech and that of highly educated people prevents the spread of technical knowledge essential to intelligent citizenship.

In nearly (see p. 419) all languages of the Indo-European family personal flexion is confined to the class of words called *verbs*; and tense flexion is exclusively characteristic of them. We can still recognize as verbs some English words which have no tense flexion by the personal ending, -s, as in *cuts*, or -ing, as in *hurting*, but some helpers (*may, can, shall*) have neither -s nor -ing forms. The outlines of the verb as a class of English words have now become faint. In *written* Swedish, the verb has one ending common to the first, second, and third person singular and another ending common to the first, second, and third person plural. This process of levelling is still going on in Swedish. Only the singular ending is customarily used in speech or correspondence. There is no trace of personal flexion in Danish and Norwegian.

NUMBER

Owing to accidental uniformities which have accompanied the levelling down of the personal flexion, grammar books sometimes refer to the *number* flexion of the verb. What is more properly called number flexion is characteristic of the class of words called *nouns*. In most modern European languages, number flexion, illustrated by the distinction between *ghost* and *ghosts*, or *man* and *men*, simply tells us whether we are talking of *one* or *more than one* creature, thing, quality, or group. The terms *singular* and *plural* stand for the two forms. The singular form is the dictionary word. Some of the older Indo-European languages, e.g. Sanskrit and early Greek, had *dual* forms, as if we were to write *catwo* for *two cats*, in contradistinction to one *cat* or several *cats*.

In the English spoken at the time of Alfred the Great, the personal pronoun still had dual, as well as singular and plural forms. The dual form persists in Icelandic, which is a surviving fossil language, as the duck-bill platypus of Tasmania is a surviving fossil animal. At one time

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all the Indo-European languages had dual forms of the pronouns. The ensuing table shows the Icelandic and Old English alternatives. At an early date the hard Germanic *g* of English softened to *y*, as in many Swedish words. The pronunciation of *git* and *ge* became *yit* and *ye*. The latter was still the plural pronoun of address in *Mayflower* English.

| | ICELANDIC | ANGLO-AMERICAN | OLD ENGLISH |
|--------|-----------|----------------|-------------|
| Dual | við | we (two) | wit |
| Plural | vjer | we (all) | we |
| Dual | okkur | us (both) | uncit |
| Plural | oss | us (all) | us |
| Dual | okkar | ours | uncer |
| Plural | vor | ours | ure |
| Dual | þið | you (two) | git |
| Plural | þjer | you (all) | ge |
| Dual | ykkur | you (both) | incit |
| Plural | yður | you (all) | cow |
| Dual | ykkar | yours | incer |
| Plural | yðar | yours | cower |

Dual forms of the pronoun are widely distributed among earlier representatives of different language families and among living dialects of a few backward communities. So it is not surprising that distinctive dual personal flexions of the verb occur also, e.g. in Sanskrit, early Greek, Gothic. Though we meet them both in the old Aryan languages, dual forms of the noun and of the adjective which goes with it are less widely spread than those of the pronoun. Dual forms of one sort or the other now survive *only* in technically backward or isolated communities. They disappeared in Greek in the fourth century B.C., and no distinctive dual forms are found in the earliest Latin. They have persisted in Lithuanian dialects of the western Aryan group, in the Amharic of Abyssinia within the Semitic family, and in two remote dialects of the Finno-Ugrian (p. 197) clan.

Separate dual and plural forms of the pronoun may go back to a time when many human beings lived in scattered and isolated households made up of *two* adults and of their progeny. At this primitive level of culture the stock in trade of words is small, and a relatively considerable proportion would refer to things which go in pairs, e.g. *horns, eyes, ears, hands, feet, arms, legs, breasts*. If so the distinction may have infected other parts of speech by analogical extension. The fate of the two pronoun classes throws light on the fact that the family likeness

of Aryan pronouns and verb flexions of the singular is far less apparent in corresponding plural forms. In the everyday speech of Iceland and of the Faeroes the dual now replaces the plural form of the personal pronoun, and one Bavarian dialect has *enk* (equivalent to our Old English *inc*) for the usual German accusative plural *euch* corresponding to the intimate nominative plural *ihr* (p. 126). This means that what is now called the plural form of a personal pronoun or personal flexion of an Aryan verb may really be what was once a dual form. (cf. Latin plural *nos* (we), Greek dual *noi*, and plural *hemeis*.)

The number flexion *-s* of *houses* is not useless, as is the personal *-s* of *bakes*, nor pretentious like the luxuriant Latin tense distinctions. This does not mean that it is an essential or even universal feature of language. Some English name-words, such as *sheep* and *grouse*, and a much larger class of modern Swedish words (including all nouns of the *baker-fisher* class and neuter monosyllables) are like their Chinese or Japanese equivalents. That is to say, they have no separate plural form. The absence of a distinctive plural form is not a serious inconvenience. If a fisherman has occasion to emphasize the fact that he has caught *one* trout, the insertion of the number itself, or of the "indefinite article" *a* before the name of the fish, solves the problem in sporting circles, where the number flexion is habitually shot off game. Number flexion does not give rise to great difficulties for anyone who does not already know how to write English. Nearly all English nouns form their plural by adding *-s* or replacing *y* and *o* by *-ies* and *-oes*. As in other Germanic languages, there is a class with the plural flexion in *-en* (e.g. *oxen*), and a class with plurals formed by internal vowel change (*louse*, *mouse*, *goose*, *man*). The grand total of these exceptions is less than a dozen. They do not tax the memory. So we should not gain much by getting rid of number flexion.

COMPARISON, AND ADVERB DERIVATION

The same is true of another very regular and useful, though by no means indispensable, flexion called *comparison*. This is confined to, and in English is the only distinguishing mark of, some members of the class of words called *adjectives*. The English equivalent of a Latin or German adjective had already lost other flexions before the Tudor times. We make the two derivatives, respectively called the *comparative* and *superlative* form of the adjective as listed in the dictionary by adding *-er* (*comparative*), and *-est* (*superlative*), as in *kinder* and *kindest*. There are but few irregularities, e.g. *good—better—best*, *bad—worse—worst*, *many* or *much—more—most*. With these three outstanding

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exceptions, use of such derivatives has ceased to be obligatory in Anglo-American. It is quite possible that they will eventually make way for the roundabout expressions illustrated by *more firm*, or the *most firm*. We do not use a comparative or superlative form of long adjectives which stand for qualities such as *hospitable*. Since grammarians also use the word *adjective* for numbers, pointer-words (such as *this*, *that*, *each*), and other vocables which do not form flexional derivatives of this class, no clear-cut definition of an adjective is applicable to a rational classification of the Anglo-American vocabulary.

The monosyllables *more* and *most* in the roundabout expressions that are squeezing out flexion of comparison in Anglo-American are equivalent to words which have almost completely superseded it in all the modern descendants of Latin. They are examples of a group of particles called *adverbs*, including also such words as *now*, *soon*, *very*, *almost*, *quite*, *rather*, *well*, *seldom*, and *already*. We use words of this class to limit, emphasize, or otherwise qualify the meaning of a typical adjective such as *happy*. We can also use such words to qualify the meaning of a verb, as in *to live well*, *to speak ill*, *to eat enough*, or *almost to avoid*. The class of English words which form flexional derivatives in *-er* and *-est* generally form others by adding *-ly*, as in *happily*, *firmly*, *steeply*. We use such derivatives in the same way as adverbial particles. Thus we speak of an individual on whom we can depend as a *really* reliable person.

These adverbial derivatives are troublesome to a foreigner for two reasons. One is that the suffix *-ly* is occasionally (as originally) attached to words which have the characteristics of nouns, e.g. in *manly*, *godly*, or *sprightly* (originally *sprite-like* or *fairy-like*). Unlike *happily* or *firmly*, such derivatives can be used in front of a noun, as in Shaw's *manly women* and *womanly men*. Another difficulty for the foreigner is that the adverbial flexion is disappearing. Such expressions as *to suffer long*, or *to run fast*, are good Bible English, and Elizabethan grammarians who gave their benediction to a *godly* heritage did not put a fence of barbed wire around the adverbial suffix. If we accept the expression *to run fast*, we ought not to resist *come quick*, or to object to the undergraduate headline, *Magdalen man makes good* (i.e. the Duke of Windsor has been promoted by the death of his father). No reasonable man wants to suffer *lengthily*. English has never been consistent about this custom. It is at best a convention of context, and the complete decay of the adverbial derivative would be a change for the better. Americans are more sensible about it than the British.

GENDER

At one time the adjective (including the "articles" *a* and *the*) was a highly inflected word. It had flexions dictated by the noun with which it kept company. The only trace of this *agreement* or *concord* in English is the distinction between *this* and *these* or *that* and *those*. We say that *this* "agrees" with *goose* because *goose* is singular, and *these* "agrees" with *men* because the latter word is a plural noun. In the time of Alfred the Great, all English words classed as adjectives had number flexion dictated by the noun in this way. They also had flexions of *case* and *gender*. Gender-concord is the diagnostic characteristic which labels the adjective and pronoun when a clear-cut distinction between adjectives and other words is recognizable. Grammarians give the name *gender* to three different characteristics of word behaviour. In English, two of them are relatively trivial, and offer no difficulty to anyone who wants to learn the language. The third has disappeared completely.

The first is connected with the fact that male and female animals or occupations may have different names derived from the same stem, as illustrated by *lion-lioness*, *tiger-tigress*, *actor-actress*, or *poet-poetess*. Although the English word *distress* has the same ending as *adulteress*, grammarians do not call it a *feminine* noun. So far as English is concerned, the distinction implied by calling *poet* or *lion* *MASCULINE* and *lioness* or *actress* *FEMININE* nouns, is not specifically grammatical. It is purely anatomical.

Corresponding to it we have a second distinction connected with the use of the *third* person singular pronoun. When we use the latter to replace an English noun, we have to take sex into account. We say *he* instead of *heir* or *nephew*, and *she* instead of *heiress* or *niece*. When we speak of animals we are not so particular. Even if we know the sex, as when we talk of bulls or cows, we are not bound to choose between the masculine *he* and the feminine *she*. More often we use the neuter form *it*, which always replaces a plant, a part of the body, a dead object, a collection, or an abstraction. To speak Anglo-American correctly, all we need to know about "gender" in this sense is:

- (a) That the masculine and feminine pronouns are used in accordance with sex differences when referring to human beings.
- (b) That the so-called neuter form *can* replace any other singular noun.

So defined, gender is still a biological distinction, and as such offers no difficulty to anyone who wants to learn our language. What gram-

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marians mean by gender extends far beyond the simple rules which suffice as a guide to correct Anglo-American usage. We get a clue to its vagaries in poetry and in local dialects, when *she* stands for the *moon* or for a *ship*. This custom takes us back to a feature of English as spoken or written before the Norman Conquest, when there was no universal rule about the proper use of the pronoun. Any general rules which could be given to a foreigner who wished to learn the English of Alfred the Great would have had more to do with the endings of names than with the sex or natural class to which an object belongs. If English had preserved this complication, we might call *distress* feminine because it has the same ending as *actress*, and *tractor* masculine because it has the same ending as *actor*. We should then have to say: "his *distress* was so great that he could not speak of *her*," or "the management has inspected the *tractor* and has decided to buy *him*."

These fictitious illustrations do not fully convey the flimsy connexion between biological realities and the classification of words as masculine, feminine, or neuter when such terms are applied to Latin and Greek or German and French nouns. Most nouns have no ending to recall anything which is recognizably male, like *actor*, or female, like *actress*. Names of common animals of either sex may belong to the so-called masculine and feminine categories in most European languages. Whether it has ovaries or testes, the French frog (*la grenouille*) is feminine. In French or in Spanish, there are no neuter nouns, and the foreigner has to choose between two forms of the pronoun respectively called masculine and feminine. Danish and Swedish have two classes of nouns, respectively called *common* and *neuter*. The Scandinavian child like the Scandinavian or German sheep is neuter. A quotation from Mark Twain (*A Tramp Abroad*) illustrates how much unnecessary and useless luggage this adds to the memory. "I translate this," he says, "from a conversation in one of the German Sunday-school books:"

Gretchen: Where is the turnip?

Wilhelm: She has gone to the kitchen.

Gretchen: Where is the accomplished and beautiful maiden?

Wilhelm: It has gone to the Opera.

Greater feats of memory imposed on the beginner by the gender-concord of the *adjective* complicate the effort of learning Aryan languages other than English or modern Persian. Since we have no surviving vestige of this, we have to fall back on a fictitious illustration or rely on examples from another language. First, suppose that we had

six forms corresponding to the two *this* and *these*: three singular, *thor* (to go with words of the *actor* class), *thess* (to go with words of the *actress* class), *thit* (to go with words like *pit*), and three corresponding plurals *thors*, *thesses*, and *thits*. This gives you a picture of two out of three sets of disguises in the wardrobe of the Old English adjective. The foreigner who tried to speak Old English correctly had to choose the right gender as well as the right number form of a noun, and many so-called masculine, feminine, or neuter nouns had no label like the *-or* of *actor*, the *-ess* of *actress*, or the *-it* of *pit* to guide the choice. Below is an illustration of the four forms of the French adjective.

| CORRESPONDING PRONOUN | | CORRESPONDING PRONOUN | |
|--------------------------|------|--------------------------|------|
| le grand homme | il | le grand mur | il |
| the great man | he | the big wall | it |
| la grande femme | elle | la grande table | elle |
| the great woman | she | the big table | it |

Because sex is all that is left of gender in English we must not fall into the trap of assuming that the chaotic system of labelling nouns, pronouns, and adjectives as masculine, feminine, common, or neuter forms in other languages arose because of animistic preoccupation with sex at a more primitive level of culture. This is not likely. A more plausible view will emerge when we have learned something more about the languages of backward peoples such as the Australian aborigines, Trobriand Islanders, or Bantu. Meanwhile, let us be clear about one thing. Although many nouns classified by grammarians as masculine and feminine may share the same suffixes (or prefixes) as *newer* names (e.g. *actor-actress*) for males and females, the *older* sex pairs of the Aryan languages, such as *father-mother*, *bull-cow*, *horse-mare*, *boar-sow*, *ram-ewe* in English, carry no sex label. Even when they stand for adult human beings, the so-called masculine and feminine forms of the pronoun do not invariably replace nouns of the class which their name suggests. Thus the German word *Weib* (woman) is neuter, i.e. the pronoun which takes its place is the neuter *es*, not the feminine *sie* (she).

Since names for objects carry no gender label such as the *-ess* in *actress* in most Aryan languages, gender flexion is not necessarily a characteristic of the noun as such. It is the trade-mark of the adjective. When there is no gender flexion, as in English, *comparison* is the only basis for a clear-cut distinction between adjective and noun. Since we can indicate which adjective refers to a particular noun by its position immediately before (English) or after (French) the latter, it goes

without saying that gender concord, like number concord, adds to the labour of learning a language without contributing anything to the clarity of a statement. If every adjective has three gender forms (masculine, feminine, and neuter) corresponding to each of three numbers (singular, plural, and dual), we have to choose between nine different ways of spelling or pronouncing it whenever we use it; and if there are no certain rules to help us to decide to what gender-class nouns belong, correct judgment demands memorizing many exceptions.

The pathology of adjectives does not end here. When nouns have case flexion, which we shall come to next, adjectives may have corresponding *case* forms. If there are eight cases, as in Sanskrit, which is fortunately a dead language, *case concord* implies that an adjective-root may have as many as seventy-two derivatives. The entire battery is called the *declension* of the adjective. In the old Teutonic languages, including modern Icelandic, one and the same adjective has two declensions, i.e. alternative forms for the same number, gender, and case; and it is necessary to learn when to use one or the other (see p. 269).

CASE

The word *declension* stands for all the flexions of the adjective, noun, or pronoun, as the word *conjugation* stands for all the flexions of a verb. The declension of an adjective, noun, or pronoun includes this third class of flexions which must now be discussed. English pronouns have two or three case-forms listed below:

SUBJECT FORM (NOMINATIVE CASE).

I, we, you, he, she, it, they, who, which.

POSSESSIVE FORM (GENITIVE OR POSSESSIVE CASE).

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------------|
| my, | our, | your, | } his, | } her, | } its, theirs, whose. |
| mine, | ours, | yours, | | | |

OBJECT FORM (OBLIQUE CASE).

me, us, you, him, her, it, them, whom, which.

Of these three case-forms one, the genitive, *sometimes* fulfils a use denoted by its alternative name, the *possessive*. The English genitives of the personal pronouns other than *he* and *it* have two forms, one used in front of the possessed (*my, your, etc.*), the other (*mine, yours, etc.*) by itself. Grammarians usually call the first the *possessive adjective*. In English as in modern Scandinavian languages the genitive *-s* flexion is all that remains of four case-forms (*singular and plural*) for each noun, as for each pronoun and adjective in Old English, Old Norse, or in

modern Icelandic, which does not differ from Old Norse more than Bible English differs from Chaucer's. This genitive flexion of the noun has almost completely disappeared in spoken Dutch and in many German dialects. When we still use it in English, we add it only to names of living things, to some calendrical terms (e.g. *day's*), and to some astronomical (e.g. *sun's*). It is never obligatory, because we can always replace it by putting *of* in front of the noun. The French, Italian, and Spanish noun has completely lost case-flexion, and the fact that Frenchmen, Italians, and Spaniards can do without it raises the same kind of question which disappearance of other flexions prompts us to ask, Is it an advantage to be able to say *my father's* in preference to the more roundabout *of my father*?

In the number flexion *-s* of the noun there is a common element of meaning, viz. *more than one*. This is characteristic of all plural derivatives, whatever the root represents. Though the English genitive often indicates possession, as in *father's* pants, it is stretching the meaning of the word to say that the same is obviously true of *uncle's* death, *man's* duty, *father's* bankruptcy, or the *day's* work. In the older Teutonic languages, the genitive was also prescribed for use after certain directives, of which there are fourteen in Icelandic. A few idiomatic survivals of this exist in modern Scandinavian languages, e.g. in Norwegian, *til fots* (*on foot*), *til sengs* (*to bed*), *til tops* (*to the top*). German has many adverbial genitives, e.g. *rechts* (to the right), *links* (to the left), *nachts* (at night). The use of the genitive flexion then depends on the context of the word to which it sticks. There was no common thread of clear-cut meaning which governed its use when it was still obligatory in Teutonic dialects. It is a trick of language dictated by custom, for reasons buried in a long-forgotten past.

The same verdict applies with equal justice to the distinction between the *nominative* and *objective* (or *oblique*) case-forms of the pronoun. We are none the worse because *it* and *you* each have one form corresponding to such pairs as *he-him*, *they-them*. The grammar book rules for the use of these two pronoun cases in English, or Dutch or Scandinavian languages are: (a) we have to use the nominative (*I*, *we*, *he*, etc.) when the pronoun is the subject of the verb; (b) we have to use the oblique case when the pronoun is not the subject of a verb. The *subject* is the word which answers the question we make when we put *who* or *what* in front of the verb. Thus *this sentence* is the subject of *this sentence is short*, because it answers the question *what is short*? This and nothing more is the grammarian's subject. The subject of the grammarian is not neces-

sarily the agent, as it is in the sentence, *I wrote this*. It becomes the grammarian's *object* when we recast the same sentence in the *passive* form, *this was written by me*. It is not even true to say that the subject is necessarily the agent when the verb is *active* (p. 120) as in *I wrote this*. The grammarian's subject is not the agent in the sentence *I saw a flash*. Plato would have said so, because Plato believed that the eye emits the light. We, who use cameras, know better. Seeing is a result of what the *flash* does to my retina. It is not what *I* do to (or with) the flash.

So far as they affect our choice of the case-forms *I* or *me*, the only features common to such statements are: (a) if the answer to the question constructed by putting *who* in front of the verb (e.g. *who wrote?* or *who saw?*) is a personal pronoun, it must have the *nominative* form *I*, (*thou*), *he*, *she*, *it*, *we*, *you*, or *they*; (b) if the answer to the question formed by putting *whom* or *what* after the verb (*I wrote* or *saw*) (*what?*) is a personal pronoun, it must have the objective form *me*, (*thee*), *him*, *her*, *it*, *us*, *you*, or *them*. It gets you no further to have a word *subject* for (a) and another word *object* for (b), as if subject and object really had a status independent of what the verb *means*. To say that the subject is the nominative case-form means as much and as little as the converse. Neither is really a definition of what we mean by the subject, or what the choice of the nominative involves.

Only the customs of our language lead us to prefer *I* to *me* for A or B in such a statement as *A saw him* or *he saw B*. We have no doubt about its meaning when a child or a foreigner offends the conventions by using *I*, as we already use *it* and *you* for A or for B. Till the great Danish linguist *Jespersen* drew our attention to the customs of Anglo-American speech, old-fashioned pedagogues objected to *that's me* or *it's him*, because grammarians said that the pronoun after *am* or *is* also stands for the subject itself. They overlooked the fact that the authorized version of the Bible contains the question: "*whom* say ye that I am?" i.e. "*I am whom*, say you?"

In the time of Alfred the Great, English pronouns had four case-forms, as Icelandic and German pronouns still have. Corresponding to our single object or oblique case-form of the pronoun were two, an *accusative* and a *dative*. Icelandic nouns still have four case-forms, as have the adjectives, and there is a *distinct* dative ending of plural German nouns placed in the neuter and masculine gender classes. In Old English, in German, or in Icelandic the choice of the accusative or dative case-form depends partly on *which preposition* accompanies the noun or pronoun. When no preposition accompanies a noun or pro-

noun other than the subject of the verb, it depends on how we answer questions constructed by putting the subject and its verb in front of (a) *whom* or *what*, (b) *to whom* or *to what*. The *direct object* which answers (a) must have the accusative case-ending. The *indirect object* which answers (b) must have the dative case-ending.

A sentence which has a direct and an indirect object is: *the bishop gave the baboon a bun*. *The bun* answers the question: *the bishop gave what?* So it is the direct object. *The baboon* answers the question: *the bishop gave to whom?* It is therefore the indirect object. The example cited means exactly the same if we change the order of the two objects and put *to* in front of *the baboon*. It then reads: *the bishop gave a bun to the baboon*. When two nouns or pronouns follow the English verb, we can always leave out the directive *to* by recourse to this trick, i.e. by placing the word which otherwise follows *to* in front of the direct object. What we can achieve by an economical device of word-order applicable in all circumstances, languages with the dative flexion express by using the appropriate endings of the noun, pronoun, adjective or article.

Two sentences in English, German, and Icelandic given below illustrate this sort of pronoun pathology:

- (a) Fate gave *him* to *her* in her hour of need.
 Das Geschick gab *ihm* *ihr* in der Stunde ihrer Not (German).
 Örlogin gáfu *henni* *hann* á stund hennar þurftar (Icelandic).
- (b) Fate gave *her* to *him* in his hour of need.
 Das Geschick gab *sie* *ihm* in der Stunde seiner Not (German).
 Örlogin gáfu *honum* *hana* á stund hans þurftar (Icelandic).

If all nouns had the same dative ending attached to the plural and to the singular forms, this would not be an obvious disadvantage. The trouble with case-flexion in Aryan languages, as with all other flexions, is this. Even when they convey a common element of meaning (e.g. *plurality*) they are not uniform. In languages which have case-flexion, the affixes denoting number and case fuse beyond recognition, and the final result depends on the noun itself. Before we can use the Icelandic dative equivalent of *to the baboon* or *to the bishop*, we have to know which of four different dative singular and two different dative plural case-endings to choose. Thus teaching or learning the language involves classifying all the nouns in different *declensions* which exhibit the singular and plural case-endings appropriate to each.

Latin and Russian have a fifth case respectively called the *ablative* and *instrumental*, which *may* carry with it the meaning we express by putting *with*, as the dative may express putting *to*, in front of an English noun; but Romans used the ablative and Russians use their instrumental

case forms in all sorts of different situations. There is some reason to believe that the directive used to come after, instead of before, the noun, as the verb once came before the pronoun in the beginnings of Indo-European speech—and still does in the Celtic languages. It is therefore tempting to toy with the possibility that case endings began by gluing directives to a noun or pronoun. Several facts about modern European languages lend colour to this possibility.

It is a common-place to say that directives easily attach themselves to pronouns as in Celtic dialects (p. 102), or to the definite article as in German or French. In German we meet the contractions *im* = *in dem* (to the), *zum* = *zu dem* (to the), *am* = *an dem* (at the), in French *du* = *de le*, *des* = *de les* (of the) and *au* = *à le*, *aux* = *à les* (to the). Almost any Italian preposition (p. 361) forms analogous contracted combinations with the article, as any Welsh or Gaelic preposition forms contracted combinations with the personal pronouns. The directive glues on to the *beginning* of the word with which it combines in such pairs; but it turns up at the end in the small still-born English declension represented by *skyward*, *earthward*, *Godward*. One member of the Aryan family actually shows something like a new case system by putting the directives at the end of the word. The old Indic case-endings of the *Hindustani* noun (p. 412) have completely disappeared. New independent particles like the case suffixes of the Finno-Ugrian languages (p. 197) now replace them.

Here we are on speculative ground. What is certain is that, once started in one way or another, the habit of tacking on case-endings continues by the process of analogical extension. The English genitive ending in *kangaroo's* got there after Captain Cook discovered Australia. If the *-s* ever was part of a separate word, it had lost any trace of its identity as such more than a thousand years before white men had any word for the marsupial.

MOOD AND VOICE

We have now dealt with all the flexions characteristic of words classified as nouns, pronouns, or adjectives, and with the two most characteristic flexions of the verb. The six tense-forms of Latin already shown, with the three corresponding persons in the singular and plural, account for only thirty-six of the 101 forms of the ordinary verb. Besides time, person, and number, Latin verbs have two other kinds of flexion. They are called MOOD and VOICE. There are three moods in Latin. To the ordinary, or *indicative* mood of a plain statement, as

already mentioned on p. 105, we first have to add four tenses, adding twenty-four other forms which make up a "*subjunctive*" mood. This is reserved for special situations. The only vestige of such purely conventional flexions in Anglo-American is the use of *were* instead of *was* after *if*, in such expressions as *if I were*, or the use of *be*, in *be it so*, for conventional situations of rather obscure utility.

Flexions of person, tense, and mood do not exhaust all the forms of a Latin verb listed in dictionaries under what is called the *infinitive* (with the ending *-are*, *-ere*, or *-ire*). We shall come to the use of the infinitive later (p. 263). There is no *distinctive* infinitive form of the English verb. What grammarians call the infinitive of modern European languages is the dictionary form we use when we translate the English verb after *to* (*a book to read*) or after helper verbs other than *have* or *be* (*I shall read*). Latin had several verb derivatives more or less equivalent to our present and past *participles* (see p. 277). Another form of the Latin verb is the *imperative*, in expressions equivalent to *come here*, or *give me that*. Its English equivalent is the same as the dictionary form.

Voice flexion duplicates the flexions already mentioned. It has disappeared in the modern descendants of Latin, and is absent in German and English. It exists in the Scandinavian languages, as illustrated by the following Danish expressions with their roundabout English equivalents:

| | | |
|----------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Active: | vi kaller (<i>we call</i>) | vi kallede (<i>we called</i>) |
| Passive: | vi kalles (<i>we are called</i>) | vi kaldedes (<i>we were called</i>) |

The Scandinavian passive has come into existence during the last thousand years, and we know its history. Its origin depends upon the use of what are known as *reflexive* pronouns to signify that subject and object are the same in such expressions as *you are killing yourself*. In Anglo-American we do not use the reflexive pronoun when the meaning of the verb and its context indicate that the action is self-inflicted. We can say *I have just washed* without adding *myself*. Such expressions often have a passive meaning, illustrated by the fact that *I shot myself* implies that *I am shot*. The passive inflexion of modern Scandinavian languages originated in this way during Viking times, or even before, from the agglutination of the reflexive pronoun (*sik* or *sig*) with the active form of the verb. Old Norse *finna sik* (German "*finden sich*"; English "*find themselves*") became *finnask*, which corresponds to the modern Swedish *finnas* or Danish *findes* (are found). The Scandinavians

therefore got their passive flexion independently by the method which Bopp (p. 188) believed to be the origin of the Greek and Latin passive.

The Scandinavian model is instructive for another reason. It is already falling into disuse. Perhaps this is because it is not easy to recognize when speaking quickly. Whatever reason we do give for it, the simple truth is that passive flexion is a device of doubtful advantage in the written as well as in the spoken language. The passive flexion, which is quite regular in modern Scandinavian languages, is not an essential tool of lucid expression. We can always translate the passive form of a Latin or of a Scandinavian verb in two ways. We can build up the sentence in the more direct or *active* way, or we can use the type of roundabout expression given above. Thus we can either say *I called him* or *he was called by me*. The first is the way of the Frenchman or Spaniard. It is what an Englishman prefers if legal education has not encouraged the habit of such preposterous alien circumlocutions as *it will be seen from an examination of Table X. Table X shows* would be more snappy, and would not devitalize the essentially social relation between author and reader by an affectation of impersonality.

DECAY OF FLEXIONS

Our account of the decay of the flexions in English may lead a reader who has not yet attempted to learn another European language to take a discouraging view of the prospect. Let us therefore be clear about two things before we go further. One is that though Anglo-American has shed more of the characteristic flexions of the older Indo-European languages than their contemporary descendants, all of the latter have travelled along the same road. The other is that many of the flexions which still survive in them have no use in the written, and even less in the spoken, language.

In two ways French has gone further than English. It has more completely thrown overboard noun-*case* and adjective-*comparison* in favour of roundabout or, as we shall henceforth say, *analytical* or *isolating* expressions equivalent to our optional "*of*," and "*more . . . than*" or "*the most*." Though French has an elaborate tense system on paper, some of its verb flexions never intrude into conversation, and we can short-circuit others by analytical constructions such as our "*I am going to . . .*" The Danish, Norwegian, and the *conversational* Swedish verb has lost personal flexion altogether; and the time flexion of German, like that of the Scandinavian languages, is closely parallel to our own. The personal flexion of French is sixty per cent a convention of writing,

with no existence in the spoken language. We might almost say the same about the gender and case flexions of the German adjective, because they do not stick out in quick conversation. The mere fact that proof readers overlook wrong flexional endings far more often than incorrect spelling of the root itself shows how little they contribute to understanding of the written word.

In Teutonic languages such as Dutch, Norwegian, or German, and in Romance languages such as Spanish or French, many flexions for which English has no equivalent contribute nothing to the meaning of a statement, and therefore little to the ease with which we can learn to read quickly or write without being quite unintelligible. So we can make rapid progress in doing either of these, if we concentrate our attention first on the rules of grammar which tell us something about the meaning of a statement. This is the part of grammar called *syntax*. We are going to look at it in the next chapter.

Syntax is the most important part of grammar. The rules of syntax are the only general rules of a monosyllabic language such as Chinese. Since Chinese monosyllables have no internal flexion, e.g. change from *man* to *men* or *mouse* to *mice*, all Chinese root words are particles. Because rules of syntax are also the most essential rules of English, it is helpful to recognize how English, more particularly Anglo-American, has come to resemble Chinese through decay of the flexional system. Three features of this change emphasize their similarities. The first is that English is very rich in monosyllables. The second is the great importance of certain types of monosyllables. The third is that we can no longer draw a clear-cut line between the parts of speech.* In other words, the vocabulary of English is also becoming a vocabulary of particles.

To say that English is rich in monosyllables in this context does not mean that an Englishman necessarily uses a higher proportion of monosyllables than a Frenchman or a German. It means that in speaking or in writing English, we can rely on monosyllables more than we can when we write or speak French or German. The following passage illustrates how the translators of the authorized version of the English Bible drew on their native stock of monosyllables. It is the first ten verses of the fourth Gospel, and the only words made up of more than one syllable are in italics:

* Jagger (*English in the Future*) boldly uses the two Chinese categories in the forthright statement; "English words may be classified into what are known as *full* or *empty* words."

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In the *beginning* was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the *beginning* with God. All things were made by him, and *without* him was not *any* thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light *shineth* in *darkness* and the *darkness* *comprehended* it not. There was a man sent from God whose name was John. The same came for a *witness* to bear *witness* of the Light that all men through him might *believe*. He was not that Light but was sent to bear *witness* of that Light. That was the true Light which *lighteth* every man that *cometh* into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not.

A word-count of the corresponding passage in some other European languages (British and Foreign Bible Society editions) gives these figures:

| LANGUAGE | NO. OF WORDS | NO. OF MONOSYLLABLES | PERCENTAGE |
|-----------|--------------|----------------------|------------|
| ENGLISH | 139 | 124 | 90 |
| ICELANDIC | 138 | 100 | 73 |
| GERMAN | 135 | 100 | 74 |
| FRENCH | 121 | 78 | 64.5 |
| LATIN | 92 | 26 | 28 |

A comparison between the figures for French and its highly synthetic parent Latin, or between Bible English and German or Icelandic, which are nearer to the English of the Venerable Bede, shows that this feature of English is not an accident of birth. It is a product of evolution due to the disappearance of affixes. Decay of these affixes has gone with the introduction of roundabout expressions involving the use of particles such as *of*, *to*, *more than*, *most*, or of a special class of verbs some of which (e.g. *will*, *shall*, *can*, *may*) have more or less completely lost any meaning unless associated with another verb. These *helper* verbs have few if any of the trade-marks of their class. None of them has the one surviving English flexion *-s* of the third person singular; and their alternative forms (*would*, *should*, *could*, *might*) would be difficult to recognize as such unless we know their history. Three of them (*shall*, *can*, *may*) never had the *-ing* derivative characteristic of other English verbs; and one helper, not included among the examples cited, has no single distinctive feature of its class. The helper *must* has no flexion of person or tense, and we cannot say *musting*. Called a verb by courtesy in recognition of its versatile past, it is now a particle.

In other Indo-European languages, including the modern Scandi-

navian dialects which have lost personal flexion, the uninflected verb stem turns up as a separate word only in the *imperative*. Both the present tense and the infinitive after helper verbs in roundabout expressions equivalent to Latin tenses have their characteristic affixes. One invariant English word does service for the present tense form (except in the third person singular), the imperative and the infinitive of other Indo-European verbs. Many verb-roots are identical with those of nouns; and English nouns of this type are often identical with the verb form which serves for the present tense, infinitive and imperative of other European languages. In very many situations in which English verbs occur, there is therefore no distinction between the form of what we call the verb and the form of what we call a noun. The following comparison between English and Norwegian illustrates this:

| | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|---------------|
| a motor | .. | .. | .. | .. | en bil |
| I motor | .. | .. | .. | .. | jeg biler |
| I shall motor | .. | .. | .. | .. | jeg skal bile |

A pedant may object to the choice of so new a word. Bible English provides many examples of the same thing, for instance *fear, sin, love, praise, delight, promise, hope, need, water*; and the day's work supplies many others which have been in use as long as *hammer, nail, screw, use, dust, fire*. When an electrician says he is going to *earth* a terminal, a bacteriologist says that he will *culture* a micro-organism, or a driver says that he will *park* his taxi, each of them is exploiting one of the most characteristic idiosyncrasies of Shakespeare's English. He is doing something which would be quite natural to a Chinaman but very shocking to the Venerable Bede.

We can press the comparison between English and Chinese a stage further. By dropping gender-concord, English forfeited the distinguishing characteristic of the *adjective* about the time of Chaucer. The only trade-mark left is that certain words equivalent to Latin, Greek, or German adjectives still have (a) *comparative* and *superlative* derivatives; (b) characteristic endings such as *-ical* or *-al* in *biblical, commercial, logical*, or *-ic* in *aesthetic, electric, magnetic*. These adjectival words are different from words (e.g. *Bible, commerce, logic, aesthetics, electricity, magnetism*) equivalent to corresponding German or Greek nouns. A distinction of this sort was breaking down before the Pilgrim Fathers embarked on the *Mayflower*. Bible English contains examples of adjectives identical both with the dictionary forms of nouns such as

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gold, silver, iron, copper, leather, and with the dictionary form of verbs such as *clean, dry, warm, free, open, loose*.

Since *Mayflower* times the number of adjective-nouns, or, as Jespersen calls them in recognition of the fact that they are no longer distinguishable, *substantives*, has increased yearly. Some pedants who have forgotten their *Bible lessons* in *Sunday school* object to *night starvation, ice man, sex appeal, petrol pump, or road traffic signal*, without realizing that they follow such impressive leadership as the *Knight Templar, Gladstone bag, and our Lady mother*. These objections usually come from the gentry who call a man a *Red* if he wants *income tax relief for working-class parents*. What is specially characteristic of Anglo-American is the large and growing group of words which can be verbs, nouns, or adjectives in the sense that we use them to translate words belonging to each of these three classes in languages which have preserved the trade-marks of the parts of speech. Even in this class, some have the sanction of long usage.

For instance, we speak of *water lilies* or *water power*, and we use the municipal *water* supply to *water* the garden, when there is a shortage of *water*. If we have too little *water*, our local representative can put a *question* at *question* time; and does not *question* our grammar when we *test* his professions of goodwill by making the *water* shortage a *test* case. Even headmistresses who do not think that *sex* is a genteel word can put *love* to the *test* by looking for a *love* match in books they *love*. Such words as *water, question, test, and love* in this sequence have a single flexion *-s* which can be tacked on the same dictionary form as a functionless personal affix, or as a signal of the plural number. They may also take the affixes *-ing* and *-ed*. Other words of this class, such as *cut* (a *cut* with the knife, a *cut* finger), or *hurt*, have no *-ed* derivative. From Chinese, which has no flexions at all, it is a small step to a language in which the same root can take on the only three surviving flexions of the Anglo-American verb, or the single surviving flexion of the English noun, and can do service as the flexionless English adjective.

LEARNING A MODERN LANGUAGE

Like the story of *Frankie and Johnnie*, our review of the decay of the flexional system has a moral. It is neither the plan of the text-books which begin with the declension of the noun on page 1, nor the advice of phoneticians who advocate learning by ear. Though we cannot use a dictionary with profit unless we know something about accidence, we can lighten the tedium of getting a reading knowledge of a language, or of writing it intelligibly, if we concentrate first on learning: (a) flexional derivatives least easy to recognize, when we look up the standard form

TEUTONIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS*

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN | ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------|---------|--------|-------|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| I | jag | jeg | ik | ich | he | han | | hij | er ihn (acc.) ihm (dat.) |
| me | | mig | mij | mich (acc.) mir (dat.) | him | honom | ham | hem | sie |
| (thou) | | Du | ijij | du | she | hon | hun | zij | ihl |
| (thee) | | Dig | jou | dich dir | her | henne | hende | haar | es |
| we | | vi | wij | wir | it (subject) | den (com.) det (neut.) | | het | es (acc.) ihm (dat.) |
| us | oss | os | ons | uns | it (oblique) | den det | | zij | sie |
| you (subject) | Ni | De | | Sie | they | de | | | sie (acc.) ihnen (dat.) |
| you (oblique) | Er | Dem | U | Sie (acc.) Ihnen (dat.) | them | dem | | hen (acc.) hun (dat.) | |

* The English *thou*, *thee* correspond to familiar, the English *you* to formal address. Dutch has a familiar form for plural address (*jullie*), and so has German (subject *thr*, object *each*). In correspondence Swedes sometimes use *mej* and *dej* for *me* and *dig*, and the Dutch use *je* for *ji*, *we* for *wij*, and *ze* for *zij*.

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given in a dictionary; (b) flexional derivatives which still affect the meaning of a statement.

To the first class belong the personal pronouns. It should be our first task to memorize them, because we have to use them constantly, and because they often have *case-forms* which are not recognizably like the dictionary word. Fortunately they are not numerous. The accompanying tables give their equivalents in the Teutonic languages. Their Romance equivalents are on pp. 331, 332, 363, 369, 372. In subsequent chapters the *Loom* will set out the minimum of grammar necessary for the reader who wants to get a reading or writing knowledge of them.

TEUTONIC POSSESSIVES*

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------|---|-------------------|--|--|
| my | <i>min</i> (etc.) | | <i>mijn</i> † | mein (etc.) |
| (thy) | <i>Din</i> (etc.) | | <i>jouw</i> | dein (etc.) |
| our | <i>vår</i> (etc.) | <i>vor</i> (etc.) | <i>onze</i> or <i>ons</i> (n.) | unser (etc.) |
| your | <i>Er</i> (etc.) | Deres | <i>Uw</i> | Ihr (etc.) |
| his | | <i>hans</i> | <i>zijn</i> | sein (etc.) |
| her | <i>hennes</i> | <i>hendes</i> | <i>haar</i> | ihr (etc.) |
| its | <i>dess</i> | <i>dens</i> | <i>zijn</i> | sein (etc.) |
| their | <i>deras</i> | <i>deres</i> | <i>hun</i> | ihr (etc.) |
| | Those italicized have neuter singular and plural forms <i>mitt-mina</i> or <i>mit-mine</i> , <i>vårt-våra</i> or <i>vort-vore</i> . The form given is the common singular. <i>Din</i> and <i>Er</i> behave like <i>min</i> and <i>vår</i> respectively. | | † Like other adjectives take -e in plural. | These have case as well as gender and number forms (p. 295) and are declined like <i>ein</i> , e.g. <i>unser, unsere, unser</i> . The form given is the masc. nomin. sing. |

* Swedish and Danish have no special *mine*, *ours*, etc., forms. German has a triple set of possessive pronouns. Two of them follow the declension of the weak adjective and are used after the definite article (e.g. *der meinige* or *der meine*); the third behaves like the strong adjective and appears when not preceded by *der, die, das* (e.g. *meiner, meine, meines*).

When you have memorized the pronouns in their appropriate situations, concentrate on the following. First, learn the plural forms of the noun, because the difference between one dollar and several dollars is often important. Then learn to recognise and to recall the helper verbs, such as the equivalents of *shall, will, have*, and *is*, etc., how to use them, and with what forms of other verbs (participles or infinitive) they keep

company. Before bothering about the tense-forms given in other books you may read, you should make sure that those which other books give you* are necessary in ordinary speech or correspondence. The only useful flexions which have not come up for discussion are those of comparison. These have disappeared in the Romance languages (French, Italian, and Spanish). In all the Teutonic languages they are like our own, and will therefore offer little difficulty. Above all, stick to the following rules:

- (i) Get a *bird's-eye view* of the grammatical peculiarities of a language before trying to memorize anything.
- (ii) Do not waste time trying to memorize the case-endings of the nouns, or any of the flexions of the adjective (other than *comparison*), till you have made a start in reading. They contribute little if anything to the meaning of a statement in most European languages which you are likely to want to learn. It is doubtful whether they ever had a clear-cut use in the spoken language, and any use they once had in the written language is now fulfilled by other rules, which we shall learn in the next chapter.

FURTHER READING

| | |
|-----------|---|
| GRAY | <i>Foundation of Language.</i> |
| JAGGER | <i>Modern English.</i> |
| | <i>English for the Future.</i> |
| PALMER | <i>An Introduction to Modern Linguistics.</i> |
| PEI | <i>Languages for War and Peace.</i> |
| SCHLAUCH | <i>The Gift of Tongues.</i> |
| SHEFFIELD | <i>Grammar and Thinking.</i> |

* They sometimes divulge this in a footnote, if not in the text.

CHAPTER IV

SYNTAX—THE TRAFFIC RULES OF LANGUAGE

WHAT grammarians who have studied Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit call the *parts of speech* (i.e. verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc.) depends on the way in which we form derivatives from dictionary words of such languages. It is helpful to know about how grammarians use these terms, if we want to learn another Indo-European language, because the student of Russian, German, Italian, French, or even Swedish has to deal with flexions which have wholly or largely disappeared in modern English. This does not mean that putting words in pigeon-holes as *nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and particles* has any necessary connexion with what words *mean*, or with the way in which we have to arrange them to make a meaningful statement. In fact, classifying words in this way helps us little in the study of languages which have pursued a different line of evolution.

There is, of course, a rough-and-ready correspondence between some of these terms and certain categories of meaning. It is true, for instance, that names of persons and physical objects are nouns, that physical *qualities* used as epithets, i.e. when associated with names of objects or persons, are generally adjectives, and that most verbs indicate action or reaction, i.e. *processes* or *states*. When we have said this, we are left with several circumstances which blur the outlines of a functional definition of the parts of speech in all languages of the Indo-European group.

One that Bacon calls man's inveterate habit of dwelling upon abstractions, has created a large class of names which have the same flexions as nouns, and stand for *qualities* or *processes* cognate with the meaning of adjective or verb forms. Headline idiom breaks through all the functional fences which schoolbooks put up round the parts of speech. Thus YESTERDAY'S MARRIAGE OF HEIRESS TO LOUNGE LIZARD means exactly the same as the more prosaic statement that *an heiress married a lounge lizard yesterday*; and SUDDEN DEATH OF VICE SQUAD CHIEF is just another way of announcing the sad news that *a vice squad chief died suddenly*.

Such examples show that there is no category of meaning exclusively common to the English verb, to the English noun, or to the English

adjective when *formally* distinguishable. This is also true of all languages included in the Indo-European group. Similar remarks apply with equal force to the pronoun. When we recognize as such a word which lacks the characteristic terminals of an adjective, a noun, or a verb in a flexional language like Latin, we depend largely on the context. For instance, the English particles *a* or *the* are signals that the next word is *not* a verb or a pronoun, and the presence of a pronoun usually labels the next word of a plain statement as a verb. A pronoun usually stands for some name-word previously mentioned; but in certain contexts personal pronouns may stand for *anything* which has gone before, and *it* has no specific reference to anything at all, when used in what grammarians call impersonal constructions such as *it seems*. Neither the pronoun nor the verb, which we recognize as such by the flexional -s in the same context as the third person *it*, here fits into any tidy definition based on the function of words in a sentence, i.e. what they mean. Few of us now postulate a force not of ourselves which makes for raininess, when we say *it rains*.

To some extent we select one of several word-forms with the same general meaning in accordance with the process of analogical extension which plays such a large part (p. 204) in the growth of speech. In literate communities grammarians also take a hand in shaping the conventions of language by prescribing certain patterns of expression based on precedents established by authors of repute, or on paradigms from the practice of dead languages which have more ostentation-value than vernacular utterance. The most time-honoured model of this type is called the *subject-predicate* relation (see p. 117).

c Till recently grammar books used to say that every sentence has to have at least two components, a verb and its subject, which must either contain a noun or be a pronoun. Accordingly, it is incorrect to write *rainy day, what?* The only intelligible definition which usually tells us what grammarians would call the subject of a Latin or Greek sentence is that it answers the questions formed by putting *who* or *what* in front of the verb; and this does not get us far when we replace the preceding expression by the "sentence": *is it not a rainy day? Who or what rains, in this context, is less a matter of grammar than of theological opinion. Buddhists and Christians, atheists and agnostics, would not agree about the correct answer, and a Scots schoolmistress of any persuasion would find it difficult to convince a Chinaman that the meaning of the ensuing remarks would be more explicit if we put *it is* in front of the first, and *there is* in front of the second:*

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First English gentleman (looking at the setting sun): Not so dusty, what?

Second English gentleman: No need to rave about it like a damned poet, old man.

Though it is quite true that the absence of a perceived situation makes it necessary to be more explicit in writing than in speech, there are no sufficient reasons for believing that addition of verbs would improve the proverbial: *one man, one vote; more speed, less haste; or much cry, little wool*. Most of us use telegrams only on occasions when it is specially important to be rather thrifty with words. When we have to pay for the use of words, we get down to essentials. Even those who can afford to dine habitually in costumes designed to inhibit excessive cerebation do not spend an extra cent for a verb in: *dinner seven-thirty black tie*. If a sentence is a word sequence with a "verb" and a "subject," any issue of a daily paper shows that a *complete* statement, request, direction, or question, sufficiently explicit for rapid reading, need not be a sentence. The following examples from the headlines are in the lineage of the Chartist plea: *more pigs, less parsons*:

CONTROL THREAT TO EXPORT COTTON TRADE: BUSINESS AS USUAL IN SPITE OF WAR: CITY CHOIR OF SIRENS ALL IN HARMONY NOW: CHINESE APPROVAL FOR U.S. CONGRESS MOTION: VIOLENT DEMAND FOR VICE PURGE IN VALEDICTORY SERMON: WHITES IN CONGO WITHOUT MORAL SENSE: NO NEW OFFER FROM NAZI NAPOLEON: MORE PROSPERITY LESS PETTING PLEA FROM LOCAL PULPIT: SHOP WINDOW SILK UNDIES PROTEST FROM PRELATE: PERUVIAN WOOLS TRANSFER TO WHITEHALL POOL: FREEDOM RADIO FORECAST OF FIRTH OF FORTH RAID: ALIENIST ATTACK ON PENITENTIARY FOR PANSY BOY: PLAIN WORDS TO ANTI-PANTIE PARSON.*

If we have to translate a language, such as Chinese, with no formal distinction between words we classify as nouns, verbs, pronouns,

* In his book, *The Study of Language*, Hans Oertel draws attention to the absence of any pretence at a subject-predicate form in advertisements which are also composed with due regard for economical use of words, e.g. FOR SALE A LARGE HOUSE WITH GARDEN ALL MODERN IMPROVEMENTS SANITARY PLUMBING SET TUBS. A significant comment on the dead hand of classical paradigms follows this example:

"Many instances of this kind can be found: they seem to be absent in the literary remains of the classical languages, or at least excessively rare. I do not recall a single instance excepting list of names . . . or supercriptions . . . or headings implying dates. . . . Perhaps the reason is that the *nominative endings* (of which the modern languages have largely rid themselves) were too strongly charged with the 'functional' meaning of the subject relation: that therefore they could not well appear outside the sentence without the retinue of a verb."

adjectives, and particles, we have to forget everything we may have learned about the models of European grammar. In English we can keep close to the pattern of Chinese without using any verbs at all. The following specimens of Chinese poetry (adapted from Waley's delightful translations) show that the effect is not unpleasing, and the meaning does not suffer, when we retain the telegraphic or headline idiom of the original:

(a)

Wedding party on both river banks.
Coming of hour. No boat.
Heart lust. Hope loss.
No view of desire.

(b)

Marriage by parent choice
Afar in Earth corner.
Long journey to strange land,
To King of Wu Sun.
Tent for house, walls of felt.
Raw flesh for food,
For drink milk of the mare.
Always home hunger,
Envy of yellow stork
In flight for old home.

Some of the difficulties of grammar are due to the survival of a pretentious belief that accepted habits of expression among European nations are connected with universal principles of reasoning, and that it is the business of grammatical definitions to disclose them. A complete system of logic which carried on its back the disputes of the medieval schoolmen started off with a grammatical misconception about the simplest form of statement. The schoolmen believed that the simplest form of assertion is one which contains the verb *to be*, and that the verb *to be* in this context has some necessary connexion with real existence. They therefore had to have a substance called falsity in a supposititious Realm of *Ideas* to accommodate the existence implied in the statement: *such views are false*.

So the type specimen of argument reduced to its simplest terms, as given in the old text-books of logic, was: *All men are mortal. Socrates is a man. Therefore Socrates is mortal.* In similar situations the translators of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament conscientiously put such words as *is* or *are* in italics. The Hebrew language has no equi-

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valent for them when used in this way. In Semitic, as in many other languages, e.g. Malay, the connexion of a name with its attribute is indicated by position, as when we say: *fine paragraph, this*. Headline idiom also shuns the verb *be* as *copula* linking topic and attribute or as mark of identity, e.g. FIVE CRUISERS IN ACTION, PRESIDENT IN BALTIMORE TO-NIGHT, NEW TENNIS CHAMPION LEFT-HANDED, OHIO PROFESSOR NOBEL PRIZEMAN.

In a simple statement which calls attention to some characteristic of a thing or person, the function of the verb *to be*, when so used, has nothing to do with real existence; and it has nothing to do with the usual role of a verb in a sentence. We recognize it by purely formal criteria inasmuch as it takes different forms in accordance with the *pronoun* that precedes it, and with the *time* to which the statement refers. Its real function, which is merely to indicate time, could be equally well expressed, as in Chinese, by the use of a particle such as *once* or *formerly* (past), *now* or *still* (present), *henceforth* or *eventually* (future).

From what has been said it is now clear that there is no universal *syntax*, i.e. rules of grammar which deal with how to choose words and arrange them to make a statement with a definite meaning, in all languages. In this chapter we shall confine ourselves mainly to a more modest theme. Our aim will be to get a bird's-eye view of essential rules which help us to learn those languages spoken by our nearest European neighbours, i.e. languages belonging to the Romance and Teutonic divisions of the Indo-European family. To speak, to write, or to read a language, we need to know many derivative words not commonly listed in dictionaries. We have now seen what they are, and which ones are most important in so far as they contribute to the meaning of a statement or question, an instruction or a request. When we can recognize them, and can use those which are essential, without offence to a native, we still need to know in what circumstances a word in one language is *equivalent* to a word in another, how the meaning of a sequence of words is affected by the way in which we *arrange* them, and what derivatives to use in a particular context. Of these three, the last is the least important, if we merely wish to read fluently or to make ourselves intelligible. The second is the most important both for reading or for self-expression. The third is specially important only if we aim at writing correctly.

Humanitarian sentiment compels the writer to issue a warning at this stage. WHAT FOLLOWS IS NOT BEDSIDE READING. The reader who

is giving the *Loom* the once-over for the first time should SCAN THE NEXT TWO SECTIONS without undue attention to the examples. Thereafter we shall resume our narrative painlessly.

THE ANARCHY OF WORDS

Many of the difficulties of learning a foreign language arise through failure to recognize to what extent and in what circumstances words of one language are strictly *equivalent* to words in another. If we start with a clear grasp of what word-correspondence involves, we can greatly reduce the tedious memory-work involved in fixing a minimum vocabulary for constant and reliable use.

Whether any word in one language corresponds more or less often to a particular word in another depends largely on the class to which it belongs. Numerals are the most reliable, and names or physical qualities also behave well. If such words have homophones, we have no difficulty in recognizing the fact, and a little common-sense prevents us from assuming that we are entitled to transplant a metaphorical usage in foreign soil. So it is unnecessary to point out that we cannot correctly translate such expressions as *a yellow streak*, or *a sugar daddy*, by looking up the corresponding name words or epithets in a small dictionary. People who are not language-conscious are liable to mishaps of this sort, though few of us are likely to commit the double crime of the English lady who said to the Paris cabman: *Cochon, le printemps est cassé*.*

The most capricious words in a language like our own are particles, especially those classified as *directives* (e.g. *to*, *with*, *for*) and the link-words or *conjunctions* (e.g. *and*, *because*, *though*). The difficulties which arise when using particles are of three kinds. One is that in any language particles are specially liable to idiomatic use. A second is that the meaning of a single particle in any one language may embrace the more restricted meaning of two or more particles in a second. The third is that when two particles with the same meaning are assigned to different situations, we need to know whether a foreign equivalent given in the dictionary is appropriate to the context, before we can translate them.

Any particle has a *characteristic* meaning in the sense that we can use it in a large class of situations to signify the same kind of relationship. Thus the characteristic meaning of the English word *to* involves direc-

* *Cochon* (pig) for *cocher* (coachman). The word *printemps* means *spring* (season). The spring of a cab is *le ressort*.

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tion of movement. We may also use a particle in situations where it does not have its characteristic meaning. In such situations we may not be able to detect any common thread of meaning. Thus the directive significance of *to* does not help us to see why we put it in the expression *with reference to*. It does not tell us why we must insert it in *allow me to do this*, or why we omit it in *let me do this*. Since particles of all languages close to our own have idiomatic uses of this sort, dictionaries usually give us the choice of a large number of foreign equivalents for one and the same particle. We can say that a particle of one language corresponds to a single particle in another language only when we are speaking of its *characteristic* meaning, or its use in some particular context.

Examples given below illustrate pitfalls into which we can fall when using particles. The first four give the German, Swedish, and English expressions equivalent to four French phrases containing the same particle, *à*. The last four give French, German, and Swedish equivalents for four English expressions all of which begin with *in*. The French *à* of these expressions requires four different German, and three different English or Swedish particles. The English *in* of the other set requires four different French or German, and three different Swedish particles:

| FRENCH | GERMAN | SWEDISH | ENGLISH |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>à pied</i> | zu Fuss | till fots | on foot |
| <i>à Berlin</i> | nach Berlin | till Berlin | to Berlin |
| <i>à la côte</i> | an der Küste | vid kusten | at the coast |
| <i>à mes frais</i> | auf meine Kosten | på min räkning | at my expense |
| <i>dans la rue</i> | auf der Strasse | på gatan | <i>in</i> the street |
| <i>en hiver</i> | im Winter | om vintern | <i>in</i> winter |
| <i>le soir</i> | am Abend | på kvällen | <i>in</i> the evening |
| <i>de bonne heure</i> | zu rechter Zeit | i god tid | <i>in</i> good time |

Just as the largest party in Parliament need not be a party with a clear majority, the *characteristic* meaning of a particle need not be the meaning common to the majority of situations in which we have to use it. It may happen that we can recognize more than one large class of situations in which a particle has a distinctive significance. For instance, the directive *with* turns up commonly in two senses. It has an *instrumental* use for which we can substitute the roundabout expression by

TEUTONIC PREPOSITIONS

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------|
| (a) <i>TIME</i> : | | | | |
| after | | efter | na | nach |
| at | | | om | um |
| before | före | før | voor | vor |
| during (= in, | | under | gedurende | während |
| in (= hence) | sedan | om | | in |
| since | till | siden | sinds | seit |
| till | | til | tot | bis |
| (b) <i>PLACE</i> : | | | | |
| above (= over) | över | over | boven | über |
| among | bland | blandt | tusschen | unter; zwischen |
| around | | omkring | | um |
| behind (= after) | bakom | bagved | om | hinter |
| below (= under) | | under | onder | unter |
| beside (= by) | vid | ved | bij | bei; neben |
| between | mellan | mellem | tusschen | zwischen |
| in | | | | in |
| n front of (= before) | ramför | foran | voor | vor |
| on (= supported by) | på | paa | op | auf |
| opposite | mitt emot | over for | tegenover | gegenüber |
| outside | utanför | udenfor | buiten | ausserhalb |
| (c) <i>DIRECTION</i> : | | | | |
| across | över | | over | über |
| along | ängs | | angs | längs |
| around | | omkring | | um . . . herum; |
| from | från | fra | rondom; om | von |
| into | | | van | in |
| out of | ut | ud | uit | aus |
| over (= above) | över | | over | über |
| past (= beyond) | förbi | torb | voorbij | an . . . vorbei |
| through | genom | gennem | door | durch |
| to | till | til | naar | zu; nach; |
| towards | emo | mod | naar . . . toe | auf . . . zu |
| under (= below) | | under | onder | unter |
| (d) <i>ASSOCIATION</i> : | | | | |
| according to | enlig | etter | volgens | gemäss; nach |
| against (= in opposition to) | emot | imod | tegen | gegen |
| about (= concerning) | | om | over; van | über; von |
| except | utom | undtagen | behalve | ausgenommen |
| or (= on behalf of) | för | for | voor | für |
| or (= in place of) | för | for | voor | für |
| in spite of | trots | trods | niettegenstaande | trotz |
| instead of | i stället för | Stedet to | in plaats van | anstatt |
| on account of (= because of) | av | af | van | von |
| with (= in the company of) | på grund av | paa Grund af | wegens | wegen |
| without | utan | med | met | mit |
| | | uden | zonder | ohne |
| (e) <i>INSTRUMENTALITY</i> : | | | | |
| by | av | af | van; doo. | von; durch |
| for (= as a means of) | till | til | voor | für |
| to = in order to + infinitive | för att | for at | om te | um zu |
| with (= by means of) | | med | met | mit |

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ROMANCE PREPOSITIONS

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| (a) TIME: | | | | |
| after | après | después de | depois de | dopo |
| at | à | | a | |
| before | avant | antes de | | prima di |
| during (= in, in (= hence) since till) | pendant dans depuis jusqu'à | de aquí a desde hasta | durante daquí a até | fra da fino a |
| (b) PLACE: | | | | |
| above (= over: among around behind (= after below (= under) | au-dessus de parmi autour de derrière sous; au-dessous de près de; à côté de | encima de alrededor de detrás de debajo de | por cima de em redor de atrás de debaixo de | sopra di fra; tra attorno a dietro sotto |
| beside (= by | | cerca de; al lado de | perto de; ao lado de | presso di; accanto a |
| between in in front of (= before on (= supported by) | dans; en dans; en devant sur | entre en delante de sobre; en; encima de | em em frente de sobre; em | fra; tra in davanti a su; sopra |
| opposite outside | en face de hors de | en frente de fuera de | em frente de fora de | di faccia a fuori di |
| (c) DIRECTION: | | | | |
| across along around from into out of over (= above) past (= beyond) through | à travers le long de autour de dans; en hors de; de par dessus au delà de à travers; par | a través de a lo largo de alrededor de de en fuera de; de por encima de más allá de a través de; por | ao longo de em redor de em fora de; de por cima de mais adiante de | attraverso lungo attorno a da in al di sopra di al di là di attraverso: per |
| to towards under (= below) | a vers sous | a hacia debajo de | a para por debaixo de | verso sotto |
| (d) ASSOCIATION: | | | | |
| about (= concerning) according to against (= in opposition to) except for (= on behalf of) for (= in place of) in spite of instead of of on account of (= because of) to (indirect object) with (= in the company of) without | de; sur selon; d'après contre excepté pour pour malgré au lieu de à cause de à avec sans | de; sobre según contra excepto por a pesar de en lugar de de a causa de con sin | de; sobre de acordo com contra excepto por em lugar de de por causa de a com sem | di; sopra secondo contro eccetto per per a dispetto di invece di di a causa di con senza |
| (e) INSTRUMENTALITY: | | | | |
| by for (= as a means of) to (= in order to + infinitive) with (= by means of) | par; de pour pour avec | por para para con | por para para com | da per per con |

means of when we open a can of peas *with* a tin-opener. It has also an *associative* use for which we can substitute *in the company of*, when we go *with* a friend to the theatre. The link-word *as* is another particle which we use in two ways, both common and each with a characteristic meaning. We may use it when the word *while* would be more suitable, and we often use it when *because* would be more explicit. It is therefore not a necessary word to put in our basic list. Its absence gives rise to no difficulty if we cultivate the habit of examining the meaning of the words we use, and the range of choice which our own language permits.

Few, but very few, English particles are above suspicion from this point of view. Even *and* is not innocuous. It is not always a conjunction (link-word). In the peculiarly English class of constructions in which it connects two verbs, it is an instrumental directive equivalent to *in order to* or simply *to*. Thus *try and do so* is equivalent to *try to do so*. Similarly *go and see* may often signify *go in order to see*. To be alert to the peculiarities of our own language in this way is essential if we intend to learn another one with a minimum of effort and tedium. We can then recognize when a particle has its characteristic meaning. If so, it is rarely difficult to choose the right foreign equivalent from the synonyms listed in a good dictionary which gives examples of their use. Those of us who cannot afford a good dictionary may get a clue by looking up the equivalents for another synonymous, or nearly synonymous particle. We may then find that only one equivalent is common to both sets. We sometimes get another clue by the wise precaution of looking up the English words for each of the foreign equivalents listed. Dealing with the difficulty in this way is laborious, and it is never a real economy to buy a small dictionary.

If we are clear about the characteristic meaning of our particles, we can avoid making mistakes in many situations; but we have still to decide what to do when we find ourselves using a particle idiomatically. The answer we give to this question, perhaps more than to any other which commonly arises in connexion with the learning of a language, decides how much time we waste before we get to the stage of expressing ourselves clearly without upsetting anyone. Text-books attempt to solve our difficulty by printing lists of idiomatic expressions such as *by train*, in which particular particles occur. Cursory study of such lists is useful because it helps us to recognize unfamiliar expressions if we meet them again when reading a book in a foreign language; but the effort of memorizing them for use in speech or writing is colossal. Unless we

are content to wait until we have got used to them by meeting them often in books, we have to seek for another solution of our difficulty.

The most effortless solution emerges from Mr. C. K. Ogden's work on the simplification of English for international use. The basic rule is: always try to be as *explicit* as possible. This means that when you are going to use a particle, you must first decide whether you are using it with its *characteristic* meaning. If the answer is *yes*, your word-list can supply its correct equivalent. If the answer is *no*, the thing to do is to recast the statement without the use of the idiom in which it occurs. You can best see what this means with the help of an illustration. Let us suppose that we want to say in French or in German: *I take no pleasure in skating*. The word *in* has one characteristic meaning, and only one. In English, we say that A is *in* B, if B surrounds, encloses, or contains A. Since skating does not surround, enclose, or contain pleasure, we have got to ask ourselves whether we can say the same thing in other words.

We can get rid of the offending directive by putting this in the form: *skating does not please me*. This is not quite satisfactory, because the English use of the *-ing* derivative of the verb is peculiar; and it is important to understand its peculiarities, if we want to become proficient in a foreign language. We use the *-ing* derivative of the English verb in three ways for which other European languages require at least two and usually three different words. One which corresponds with the so-called *present participle* in other European languages is its use as an epithet in such expression as an *erring* child. A second is its use as a name for a process in the first of the three following equivalent expressions:

Erring is human: forgiving is divine.

To err is human: to forgive divine.

Error is human: forgiveness divine.

When so used, grammar books call it a *verbal noun*. If it takes an object it is called a *gerund*, as in *the difficulties of learning Dutch*, or *the dangers of eating doughnuts*.^{*} To this use as a name-word we have to add the *durative* construction with the verb "to be," as in *I am walking*, you

^{*} The Old English present participle ended in *-ende*, e.g. *abidende*. The *-ing* (*-ung* or *-ing*) terminal originally belonged to nouns, as in *schooling*. Later it tacked itself on to verbs, as in *beginning*. So the same verb might have an abstract noun derivative and an adjectival one or true participle, e.g. *abiding* and *abidende*. Eventually the former absorbed the latter. That is why the modern *-ing* form does the work of a participle and a verb noun (*gerund*).

were sitting, he will be standing, etc. In other European languages it is impossible to find a single word which corresponds to any *-ing* derivative in such diverse expressions as *a forgiving father*, *forgiving our trespasses*, *I am forgiving you*. So the *-ing* terminal is a danger-signal. We therefore recast our sentence in the form: *I do not enjoy myself when I skate*. To handle this correctly we have to remember that the word *do* (p. 158) in such a context is also an English idiom. We omit it in translation.

These examples illustrate one outstanding class of difficulties which constantly arise in learning a foreign language. Many of the obstacles we meet exist *because we are not sufficiently alert to the peculiarities of our own language, and fail to seize the opportunity of exploring different ways of saying the same thing*. The directives listed in the tables on pp. 136-137 are the ones which are really essential. We do not need equivalents for roundabout directive constructions such as the one in the phrase: *in case of difficulties*. We do not need it, if we have the essential link-word *if*. Anyone who knows the equivalent of *if*, can paraphrase it in several ways, e.g. *if we have difficulties, if there are difficulties*.

Our next difficulty when dealing with particles is that the common thread of meaning characteristic of a particle in one language may embrace that of two particles each with a more restricted use in another language. For instance, we use the English word *before* to indicate priority, whether a series consists of dates such as 54 B.C., A.D. 1066, and A.D. 1832, or objects such as the members of a class of boys standing in single file. We can thus dissect what we mean by *before* into subsidiary categories of meaning such as *before (place)*, i.e. *in front of* and *before (time)*, i.e. *earlier than*, or *antecedent to*. This distinction implied by the context in English, is essential in French, because a Frenchman uses different words to signify *before* in such phrases as *before the door* and *before the dawn*. When we are drawing up a basic list of particles we have therefore to look beyond the characteristic meaning of the English word.

One of the merits of our own language is that we leave much to the context. Whether the English conjunction *when* refers to an event which has happened once for all, to an event which happens repeatedly, or to something which is still going on, is immaterial if the set-up makes the distinction clear. We do not customarily use *whenever* unless we wish to emphasize the repetition of a process, and we are not forced to use *while* unless we wish to emphasize simultaneity. This is not true of German or of Norwegian. If he is talking about something that is over and done with a German uses *als* where we should use *when*. A Norwegian uses *da*.

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TEUTONIC CONJUNCTIONS

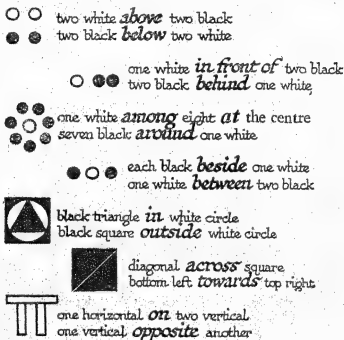
| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| after | efter att | efter at | nadat | nachdem |
| and | och | og | en | und |
| as (manner) | lika . . . som | ligesaa . . . som | als | wie |
| as . . . as | därför att | fördi | omdat | weil |
| because | innan | för | voor | bevor; ehe |
| before | men | | maar | aber; sondern |
| but | antingen . . . | enten . . . | of . . . of | entweder . . . |
| either . . . or | eller | eller | | oder |
| how | hur | hvordan | hoe | wie |
| if | om | hvis | indien | wenn |
| in order that | för att | för at | opdat | damit |
| neither . . . nor | varken . . . | hverken . . . | noch . . . noch | weder . . . noch |
| | eller | eller | | |
| or | eiler | | of | oder |
| since (temporal) | sedan | siden | sedert | seitdem |
| so that (result) | så att | saa ar | zoodat | so dass |
| than | än | end | dan | als |
| that | att | at | dat | dass |
| although | fastän | skönt | ofschoon; | obschon; |
| | | | hoewel | obgleich |
| till | tills | indtil | tot | bis |
| when | när | naar | wanneer; als | wenn; als |
| where | där | hvor | waar | wo |
| whether | om | | of | ob |
| while (temporal) | medan | medens | terwijl | während |

ROMANCE CONJUNCTIONS

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| after | après que | después que | depois que | dopo che |
| and | et | y(e) | e | e(ed) |
| as (manner) | comme | como | como | come |
| as . . . as | aussi . . . que | tan . . . como | tanto . . . como | così . . . come |
| because | parce que | porque | porque | perchè |
| before | avant que | antes que | antes que | prima che |
| but | mais | pero; mas; | porém; mas | ma |
| either . . . or | ou . . . ou | o . . . o | ou . . . ou | o . . . o |
| how | comment | si | como | come |
| if | | | | |
| in order that | pour que; | a fin de que | a fim de que | perchè; |
| | afin que | | | affinchè |
| neither . . . nor | ni . . . ni | o(u) | nem . . . nem | nè . . . ne |
| or | ou | | ou | o |
| since (temporal) | depuis que | desde que | desde que | dacchè |
| so that (result) | de sorte que | de modo que | de modo que | di modo che |
| than | | que | | di; che |
| that | | que | | che |
| although | quoique; | aunque | ainda que | benchè |
| | bien que | | | |
| till | jusqu'à ce que | hasta que | até que | finchè |
| when | quand | cuando | quando | quando |
| where | où | donde | onde | dove |
| whether | si | | se | |
| while (temporal) | pendant que | mientras que | ao tempo que | mentre che |

When a German refers to something which occurs repeatedly he has to use *wenn*. The Norwegian uses *når*. Where it would be equally correct for us to use the word *when* or the word *while* the German equivalent is *während* and the Norwegian is *mens*.

An example taken from the history of the English language is instructive in this connexion. In Anglo-American the particle *here* means either *at this place* or *to this place*, and the particle *there* means either *at that place*, or *to that place*. It is equally correct to say *he stood here*, or *he came here*; and it is equally correct to say *he lived there*, or *he goes there*. In Mayflower English, the particles *here* and *there* indicated



THE DIRECTIVES OF PLACE

FIG. 21.

position alone, i.e. *here* meant *at this place*, and *there* meant *at that place*. When we use them to indicate direction, i.e. motion towards a place, our great-great-grandfathers would therefore have used *hither* and *thither*. An equivalent distinction exists in Swedish or German. The Swede says *du är här* (*you are here*) or *du var där* (*you were there*) and *kom hit* (*come here*, i.e. *come hither*), or *gå dit* (*go there*, i.e. *go thither*). Such distinctions are very important in connexion with the use of correct foreign equivalents for English directives. For that reason it is helpful to classify the latter according as they do or can signify relations of time, place, motion, association, and instrumentality (Figs. 21-25).

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We have still to clear up one difficulty before our troubles with the particles are over. It will be easier to understand what it is, if we first compare the sentences below:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (a) He read <i>after</i> dinner. | (c) he read <i>after</i> he dined. |
| (b) He read <i>during</i> dinner. | (d) he read <i>while</i> he dined. |

In the first pair, the word *after* has the same meaning whether used as a directive before a noun or as a link-word connecting the statement *he read* with the statement *he dined*. Though it would be just as true to say that *during* has the same meaning as *while* in the second pair, it would not be in keeping with the customs of English to interchange them. Each has its appropriate *context* in English, though the German can use the same word in both situations. So in classifying one as a *directive* and the other as a *conjunction*, the distinction refers only to the *situations* in which it is appropriate to use them. English is *relatively* thrifty in its use of particles, because it has *relatively* few which are restricted in this way. For instance, we can use all the *interrogative* particles (*how, when, where, and why*) as link-words. We can also use all the directives either as *prepositions* in front of a noun, or as *adverbial* particles standing alone. Some English *adverbial* particles (such as *soon, back, forward, here, very*) never stand in front of a noun, but no English words are pure *prepositions*, i.e. cannot stand alone without a noun. In some languages the distinction between the two classes is much sharper. In German we cannot use the same particle to translate *going below* (*adverb*) and *going below the surface* (*preposition*). We have to be equally careful about foreign equivalents of words which can be directives or conjunctions. In Swedish, we have to use *var* for *where* when we ask WHERE *do you live?*, and *där* for *where* when we say *he died* WHERE *he was born*.

When context demands one of two or more equivalents, a good dictionary therefore prints such abbreviations as: *conj.*, *prep.*, *adv.*, *interr.* In making a basic word-list it is a good plan to list the same English word in each of these classes to which it may belong, in case it may require different foreign equivalents. It is also useful to pay attention to the fact that some of our common English adverbial particles are BAD ones in the sense that some of our common conjunctions, e.g. *as* are bad ones. For instance, we use the English word *quite* to signify *somewhat* (e.g. *quite pleasant*), or *completely* (*quite full*), and rather to signify *somewhat* (*rather enjoyable*), or *preferably* (*he would rather*). An *essential* word-list for self-expression would include

somewhat, completely, or preferably. It would not give equivalents for quite or rather.

The most troublesome words for our basic vocabulary of link-words are *that*, *which*, *what*, *who*, *whom*, *whose*. The English *that* can occur in four situations. One context is common to *that*, *who*, and *which*. One is

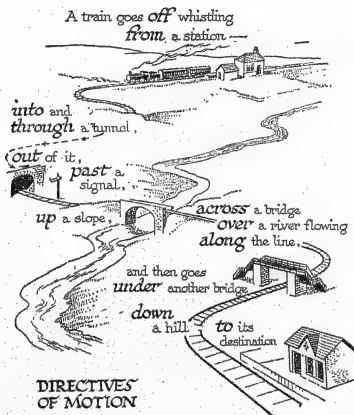


FIG. 22.

peculiar to *that*. and one is peculiar to *who* or *which*. They are as follows

(a) *Relative* use of *that*, *who*, *whom*, *whose*, *which*, as link-words after a noun or preposition following a noun, e.g.:

This is the baboon that the bishop gave a bun to.

This is the baboon to whom (or which) the bishop gave the bun.

In such sentences, *that* can replace either *which* or *who*, and its derivative *whom*, but if they come after prepositions, the latter go to the end of the clause. The use of *that* with *of* rarely replaces *whose*. So we have to enter in our basic list of link-words, "*that* (rel.)" and "*whose*" as separate items

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(b) *Conjunctive* use of *that* as a link-word for which there is no substitute, in such sentences as:

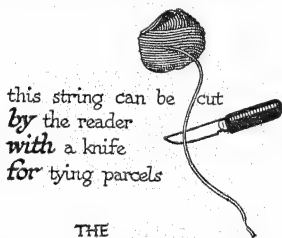
I do not believe *that* the creation took only six days.

We have therefore to enter as a separate item in our basic list of link-words, "*that (conj.)*".

(c) We cannot replace the English words *who*, *whom*, *which*, and *what* by *that* when they do not refer to a person or thing in the main clause, but introduce a clause expressing a note of interrogation, e.g.:

I do not know *whom* you expect.

We must therefore enter *who-which* in our basic list separately for



THE INSTRUMENTAL DIRECTIVES

FIG. 23.

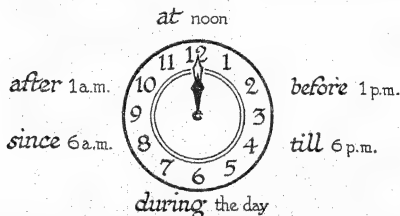
interrogative situations when *that* or *whose* cannot take the place of *which*, *who*, or *whom*.

(d) We also use our words *which* and *that* as pointer-words or *demonstratives*. Whether we put in or leave out the word *book* is immaterial to our choice of the pointer-word *that* in the sentence: *I have read that book*. In some other languages we have to use one word when the name is present, and a different one when it is left out. This makes it necessary to draw a distinction between a demonstrative adjective and a demonstrative pronoun comparable to our own distinction between the possessive adjective (e.g. *my*) and the possessive pronoun (e.g. *mine*). So in making up a basic list of necessary pointer-words, we shall sometimes need to indicate which pointer-word stands in front of a noun (*adj.*), and which stands by itself (*pron.*).

Anyone who is familiar with the Anglo-American language alone might yield to the temptation of putting personal pronouns among the

class of words which have a high correspondence value. This is not so. Translation of English personal pronouns is complicated by two difficulties. One is the fact that correct choice of pronouns of the third person in most European languages depends on the gender class, as opposed to the sex (p. 113), of the nouns they replace. The other is that many, including most European, languages have special forms of the second person for *intimate* or for polite, i.e. *formal* address. There are thirteen Spanish substitutes for *you*.

In languages such as French, English, or German, there were origin-



THE DIRECTIVES OF TIME

FIG. 24.

ally two forms of the pronoun of the second person. One, corresponding to *thou* of Mayflower English, for use when addressing one person; the other, corresponding to *ye*, was for use when addressing more than one. *Thou*, *thee*, *ye*, and *you* have now fused in the single Anglo-American word YOU. In most European languages, including Finnish which is not an Aryan language, the *thou*-form persists for use among members of the family and intimate acquaintances. What was originally the plural form, cited in our tables as *you*, has persisted in some European languages, e.g. French and Finnish, both as the plural form and as the singular form when the person addressed is not an intimate friend or member of the family circle. This formal use of the plural *you* is comparable to the royal "we."

In some European languages the equivalent of *you* has made way for a pronoun which recalls the oblique idiom of waiters (*will the gentleman take soup?*). For polite address a pronoun of the third person, sometimes *plural*, as in German, or both singular and plural, as in Spanish, has taken over the function of the pronoun of the second

person. To use tables on pages 126, 127, 331, 332, 363, 369, 372 correctly it is important to remember this. The equivalents for *thou* and *you* respectively correspond to (a) singular and intimate address; (b) formal or plural address according to *current* usage.

We use one class of English pronouns in two situations for which some languages require different words. The English pronouns *himself*,

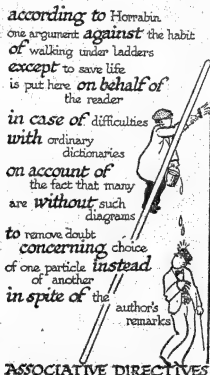


FIG. 25.—NOTE OUR DIRECTIVE *against* OFTEN MEANS THE SAME AS *towards*. THE ONE ILLUSTRATED ABOVE IS ITS CHARACTERISTIC MEANING

yourselves, etc., may give *emphasis*, as in *I myself would never do it*, or be *reflexive*, i.e. indicate self-imposed action, as in *she does not give herself the credit*. When an action is commonly reflexive in this sense we nearly always omit it. We assume that washing, shaving, or bathing are personal affairs unless otherwise stated. People who speak other Teutonic languages, or any Romance language, never omit the reflexive pronoun, and some verbs which do not imply a self-imposed action have also appropriated one. Thus the French verb *se repentir*, like its Swedish equivalent *ångra sig* = *to repent*, *to rue*, always keeps company with a reflexive pronoun. Dictionaries usually print such verbs with the reflexive pronoun, and the two should go together in a word-list.

Reflexive pronouns of Romance languages and of Teutonic languages other than English are not the same as the emphatic ones. Thus a Frenchman says:

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Je le dis moi-même</i> | = I say it myself. |
| <i>Je me lave</i> | = I wash (myself). |

In Teutonic and in Romance languages, the reflexive forms of the first and second person are the same as the object (accusative in German) form; and there is a special reflexive pronoun for the third person singular or plural which betrays family likeness. The Romance form is *se* or *si*, Scandinavian *sig*, German *sich*.

Many people who realize the vagaries of prepositions and have no need to be told about the use of pronouns for polite and intimate address do not fully realize the anarchy of the verb. The verb (cf. *soak*, *dig*, *post*) is the most highly condensed and the most highly abstract element of discourse. Because it can condense so much meaning, it may be impossible to find a foreign equivalent with exactly the same territory. Because it is so highly abstract it is liable to semantic erosion by metaphorical extension. To construct a list of words for self-expression in another language it is important to realize how few of our English verbs in common use have a single clear-cut meaning.

We have met two examples (p. 39); but *ask* and *try* are not exceptional. Sometimes a common thread of meaning is easy to recognize, as when we speak of *beating* (defeating) the Germans and *beating* (chastising) a dog. It is less obvious why we should use the same word when we *admit* visitors and *admit* the possibility of a printer's error in this paragraph. When we make full allowance for metaphorical extension of meaning and for the peculiarly Anglo-American trick (*see below*) of using the same verb intransitively and causatively according to context, we have not disposed of our difficulties. If we *leave* a train we *cease to remain* in it; but when we *leave* a bag in a train the result of our negligence is that the bag *continues to remain* in it. Few ordinary primers accessible to the home student emphasize how much effort we can waste by trying to learn foreign equivalents for the wrong verbs. To get by with the least effort, we must have a lively familiarity with synonyms at our disposal. That is the explanation for the choice of verbs listed in the basic vocabularies at the end of *The Loom* (pp. 512 *et seq.*). Many common English verbs are not there; but the reader will be able to discover the most *explicit synonym* for every one of them; and may well find that it is helpful to hunt them down.

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One English verb is tricky for a special reason. Where we use *know* we have the choice of two different verbs in any other Teutonic, or in a Romance, language. In French they are *savoir* and *connaître*, in German *wissen* and *kennen*. The distinction has scarcely any semantic value. Correct use depends on a syntactical custom. Broadly speaking the rule is as follows. We have to use *connaître* or *kennen* (Span. *conocer*, Swed. *känna*) when the object is a thing, person, or pronoun equivalent. We have to use *savoir* or *wissen* (Span. *saber*, Swed. *veta*) when the object is a phrase, clause, or pronoun equivalent. Thus the Frenchman says *je le sais* (I know it), if *le* is a statement previously made or some general proposition. If he says *je le connais* the object *le* is a person, book, or other concrete object.

A second difficulty in connexion with choice of appropriate equivalents for an English verb is due to the trick mentioned above. Some English verbs such as *design* nearly always precede, and a few such as *sleep* or *come* never take, an *object* (p. 117). It is immaterial whether the object is present, if the English verb can take one. The same verb of other Aryan languages cannot be used in situations where it demands, and in situations where it cannot have, an object. There are still traces of this distinction between the objectless or *intransitive* (neuter) English verb (e.g. *lie*) and the *transitive* (active) verb (e.g. *lay*) which must have an object. Distinctions such as between *lie* and *lay* (= make to lie) are generally established by the context, which tells us whether *cabbages grow* (without our help) or whether we arrange for them to do so, as when we say that *we grow cabbages*. Similarly we say that *something increases* or that *we increase it* (i.e. make it increase). A Frenchman or a German cannot do so. The latter has to use different words, where we use the same verb transitively and intransitively as below:

The management will *increase* his wages next month.

Die Leitung wird nächsten Monat seinen Lohn *erhöhen*.

The length of the day will *increase* next month.

Die Länge des Tages wird nächsten Monat *zunehmen*.

In looking up a foreign equivalent for an English verb in a dictionary, it is therefore essential to pay careful attention to the abbreviations (*trans.* or *v.a.*) and (*intrans.* or *v.n.*) which may stand after one or other of the words given. In Anglo-American usage almost any verb which used to be intransitive has acquired a more or less metaphorical transi-

tive, often *causative*, meaning, as in *will you run me into town?* This decay of the distinction between the two classes of verbs goes with two other peculiarities of Anglo-American syntax, both pitfalls of translation. In a *passive* construction the object of the active equivalent becomes the subject, e.g. *he struck her* (active form) = *she was struck by him*. Only transitive verbs of other Aryan languages can participate in passive expressions of the latter type, and only the *direct object* (p. 118) of the active equivalent can become the subject when it is changed to the passive construction. Thus we make such changes as:

- (a) *he gave me this letter* = *this letter was given to me by him*.
 (b) *she told me this* = *this was told me by her*.

In contemporary Anglo-American usage it is increasingly common to use an alternative passive construction, in which the *indirect object* (p. 118) of the active verb becomes the subject, e.g.

- (a) *I was given this letter by him*. (b) *I was told this by her*.

In this form we cannot translate them into other European languages. The moral is: use active expressions wherever possible. The reader of *The Loom* will find relatively few passive expressions in the preceding chapters.

If it were permissible to paraphrase the meaning of a verb, it would not be difficult to sidestep the pitfalls of choosing the right one. Unfortunately it is not. Many European peoples, indeed most, depend far more on the use of a large battery of verbs than we ourselves do. In fact there are only two safe rules of verb economy for the beginner who is making a list of verbs essential for self-expression in a Teutonic or Romance language. We need not burden our word list with verbs equivalent to a construction involving an adjective and either *make* (trans.) or *get* (intrans.). The equivalent adjective with the verb listed in Part IV as equivalent to either *make* or *become* serves the purpose. Thus *to tire* means either *to make weary* or *to become (get) weary*. Similarly *to diminish* means *to make smaller* or *to become (get) smaller*. *To heat* is *to make hot* or *to become hot*—and so forth.

One danger-signal attached to a verb-root is the suffix *-ing* mentioned earlier in this chapter. The most idiomatic class of verbs are the helpers, so-called because we commonly use them with other verb derivatives (*infinitive* or *participle*). The English ones are *be*, *shall*, *will*, *let*, *can*, *do*, *make*, *must*, *may* (after which we never use *to*), *have* and *dare* (after which we sometimes use *to*), and *go*, *use*, *ought* (after which we always

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use *to* in front of the verb). No general rule helps us to recognize idiomatic uses of a helper verb in a foreign language, if we know only its *characteristic* meaning; but we can avoid some pitfalls, if we are clear about the vagaries of helper verbs in our own language.

It would be easy to write a volume about the pathology (and theology) of the verb *to be*. (Some of its vagaries in current English come up for discussion in Chapter IX, p. 384.) Its use as a *copula* linking a thing or person to its attribute or class is an Aryan construction absent in many other languages, cf. the italics for the absent copula in the original of: the Lord is my Shepherd. In a large class of English expressions we use the verb *to be* where the equivalent in another closely related language would be the word corresponding to *have*. The fact that a verb which also means to *have* or *possess* may overlap the territory of our verb *to be* is not strange or unreasonable. To say that something *is* red means that it *has* or *possesses* the characteristic or attribute which we describe by that adjective. Thus the literal equivalent of *to be right* in French, German, and in the Scandinavian languages is *to have right*. Similarly, the literal equivalent of *to be wrong* is *to have wrong*. The literal equivalent of *to be warm, hot, or cold*, either in French or in Spanish, is *to have warm, hot, or cold*. *Be well, or ill*, is another peculiarly English idiom, equivalent to the German *gesund sein*, or *krank sein* (*be healthy or sick*). The literal French is equivalent to *carry oneself well or ill* (*se porter bien, or se porter mal*); in Swedish, *md väl or illa* (*may well or ill*); in Norwegian *ha det godt or vaere syk* (*have it well, or be sick*). The English *be sorry* is equivalent to the Scandinavian *it does one badly* (*det gör en ont* in Swedish).

Though they look alike on paper, the most characteristic meaning of the helper verbs of two descendants of the same Teutonic root is rarely the same. The meaning of most of them has changed during historic times. The only safeguard against the pitfalls into which this leads us is to recognize which are our most reliable helpers, and to be quite clear about the various uses of the other English ones. The two reliable ones are *can* and *must*. Each has a well-defined territory, which overlaps that of others.

The verb *may* can mean two things. Thus *he may do this* can mean either (a) *he is allowed to do this*, or (b) *it is possible that he will do this*. We use our English *to have*, like its equivalents in other Indo-European languages, to signify possession, and as a *helper* to indicate past time or completed action (*I have done this*), but it can also do the same job as *must* in *I have to do this*, and replaces the compulsive function of *must* in some expressions which involve past time (*I had to do this*). It is not safe to translate *have* (when it means *must*) by its dictionary equivalent in another language. The combination *have had, has had*, etc., can also signify *arranged or allowed* (*let*) where the German uses derivatives of *lassen*, as in *he has had a house built*.

When used in the first person after *I* or *we*, the verb *shall* is equivalent to a participle indicating the indefinite future. Otherwise it retains its old Teutonic meaning akin to *must* or *have to* (e.g. *thou shalt not commit adultery*). In the first person the related form *should* is used after the statement of a condition, as in *I should be glad if he came*. In expressions involving the second or third person, *will* and *would* are generally equivalent to *shall* or *should* involving the first. Otherwise they revert to their original Teutonic meaning illustrated by the adjective *willing*. This distinction is not as clear-cut or universal, as arm-chair grammarians

TEUTONIC HELPER VERBS FROM SAME ROOTS

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------|------------|------------|----------|------------|
| { I can | jag kan | jeg kan | ik kan | ich kann |
| { I could | jag kunde | jeg kunde | ik kon | ich konnte |
| { I shall | jag skall | jeg skal | ik zal | ich soll |
| { I should | jag skulle | jeg skulde | ik zou | ich sollte |
| { I will | jag vill | jeg vil | ik wil | ich will |
| { I would | jag ville | jeg vilde | ik wilde | ich wollte |
| I must | jag måste | | ik moet | ich muss |
| I let | jag låter | jeg lader | ik laat | ich lasse |
| { I may | jag må | jeg maa | ik mag | ich mag |
| { I might | jag måtte | jeg maatte | ik mocht | ich möchte |

would lead us to suppose. Few English-speaking people recognize any difference between (a) *I should do this, if he asked me*: (b) *I would do this, if he asked me*.

Since *can* and *must* are the most reliable helpers, it is best to use their equivalents whenever either shares the territory of another such as *shall*, *have*, *may*. The use of *can* and *must* is not foolproof, unless the beginner is alert to one pitfall of translation from English into any Romance or any other Teutonic language. Like *ought*, *can* and *must* form peculiar combinations with *have* (*could have*, *must have*, *ought to have*) for which the literal equivalent in other languages is *have could*, *have must*, *have ought*. The easiest to deal with is *can*. It is correct to use the corresponding German (*können*) or French (*pouvoir*) verb in the present or simple past where the English equivalent is either *can-could* or *is able to—was able to*, etc., but *I could have* does not mean the same as *I have been able to*. It is equivalent to *I should have been able to*. To

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use *can* with safety, the best rule of thumb is to remember that the foreign equivalent for *can-could* always corresponds to our *is* (or *was*) *able to*, but does not correspond to our *can-could* before *have*.

WORD-ORDER

Root words, the order in which we arrange them, tone and gesture are the indispensable tools of daily speech. Next to correct choice of words, their order is therefore the most important part of grammar. Comparison of the statement that *men eat fish* with *fish eat men* sufficiently illustrates the importance of word-order as a vehicle of meaning in our own language. Arm-chair grammarians sometimes write as if a rigid pattern of word order is a comparatively late and sophisticated device. It is easy to support this view with spurious evidence. Much of the literature which furnishes case material for our knowledge of the earlier stages of the history of a language is poetry or rhetoric, and such belongs to a period when the gap between the written and the spoken word was much wider than it now is. We all know the obscurities into which poets plunge us by transgressing customary conventions of word order in conformity to the dictates of metre, alliteration, rhyme, or cadence. There is no reason to believe that they were ever less prone to violate the speech pattern of everyday life, and it is difficult to see how human beings could co-operate in daily work, if they took advantage of the licence which poets claim. In short, we may reasonably suppose that the importance of word-order in modern languages is as old as speech itself. The suggestion made on p. 134 applies especially to the next few pages devoted to this topic. It will be wise to *skim it lightly on first reading*, and to return to it later for relevant information as occasion arises.

Rules of word-order are like traffic regulations. The only thing rational about them is the rational necessity for uniform behaviour as a safeguard against congestion. To discuss word-order intelligibly we need some fixed points with reference to which we can speak of constituent words or phrases as *before* or *after*. Verb and *subject* (p. 117) give us such fixed points which are generally easy to recognize in any statement other than newspaper headlines. Two others (p. 118) are respectively called the *direct object* and the *indirect object*. These terms do not describe any definite relation of a thing or person to the process implied in the meaning of a verb. We recognize them by converting a statement into a question, or vice versa

The grammarian's *subject* is the person or thing which answers the question formed by putting *who* or *what* in front of the verb in an ordinary statement. In this way we get the subject of each clause in the following sentence from a Chartist pamphlet:

Peoples of all trades and callings forthwith *cease* work until the above document is the law of the land.

First Clause: *Who* cease work? *Peoples of all trades and callings*

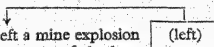
Second Clause: *What* is the law? *This document.*

The *direct object* is the answer to the question formed by putting *who*, *which* or *what* in front of the verb and the subject behind it. We get the *indirect object* by putting *to whom*, or *to what*, in the same position. To get the two objects of the statement: *I may have told you this joke once too often*, we therefore ask:

What may I have told? . . . THIS JOKE (Direct Object).

To whom may I have told this joke? . . . YOU (Indirect Object).

The general rule for an ordinary Anglo-American statement is that the subject *precedes* the verb. The same rule also applies to French, Spanish, or Italian. In the Celtic languages, the subject comes after the verb, and in Teutonic languages it comes before the verb of a simple statement only when no other word precedes either of them. In German, Danish, Swedish, or Dutch, the subject of a sentence which begins with an expression such as *two years ago* comes immediately *after* a simple verb, or immediately after the helper of a compound verb. Thus the Teutonic word-order is illustrated by the following:



 Two years ago left a mine explosion fatherless. (left) fifty families

This inversion is very common in Bible English, e.g. *then came he to the ship*. It survives in a few contemporary English idioms such as *here comes the postman*, *there goes the train*, *seldom do such inversions occur in our language*, the Wellsian *came the dawn*, and the inevitable *pop goes the weasel*. The Anglo-American student of a Teutonic language will find it helpful to recall the pious idiom of the Pilgrim fathers.

In English and in Scandinavian languages the object, whether direct or indirect, *comes after*: (a) the *main verb*; (b) the *subject*. The rules for placing the object of a sentence in German or Dutch and in the Romance languages are different. Separate rules apply to the position of verb and object in simple Dutch or German statements and in complex sentences made up of two or more statements connected

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with link-words. We shall come to complex sentences later on (p. 161). In simple statements, the English-Scandinavian rule holds good when there is only one verb. When the verb is compound, the object comes after the helper; and the participle or infinitive form of the verb comes after the object at the end of the sentence. Thus German-Dutch word-order is illustrated by the English and German equivalents:

The keeper *has* given the kangaroo candy. ↓

Der Warter *hat* dem Kanguruh Kandiszucker *gegeben*.

This difference between German-Dutch and Scandinavian-English word-order is *very important* to anyone who wants to learn Dutch or German. To read Dutch or to read German with ease, you have to cultivate the habit of looking for the main verb at the end of a long sentence. To speak either of these languages correctly you have to cultivate the trick of recasting any simple sentence in the form illustrated above, if it contains a helper verb. The difficulty may be complicated by the presence of two helper verbs. The second helper verb (*infinitive*) then goes to the end of the statement immediately after the participle form of the main verb. Such sentences usually involve *should have*, *could have*, etc., and we cannot translate them literally (see pp. 152 and 298).

The Scandinavian-English rule of word-order applies to the relative position of the object or objects, the helper verb and the participle or infinitive form of the main verb, in a French, Italian, or Spanish statement, *when the object is a noun*. If the indirect object is a noun, the equivalent of *to* precedes it. The indirect noun object follows the direct object, as when preceded by *to* in English (p. 118). If either or both objects are pronouns, they follow the verb in a positive command or request, i.e. after the *imperative* form of the verb. In a statement they come *between* the verb and its subject. If the verb is compound they come before the helper or first verb. To write or to speak French, Italian, or Spanish, we have to get used to the following changes:

- (a) The keeper it gave (it) to the kangaroo.
 (b) The keeper him gave (him) sugar-candy.

When there are two objects, the Scandinavian-English rule is that the indirect object comes before the direct object unless the latter is preceded by *to* or its (optional) equivalent (*till* in Swedish and *til* in

Danish). No such straightforward rule applies to all statements in German and Dutch. Usually the direct object comes first. This is the general rule in Dutch when both objects are nouns; but if both are pronouns, the shorter comes first, as in the English sentence: *I told him everything*. German custom is less simple. It can be summed up in three rules:

- (a) If one object is a pronoun and the other a noun, the pronoun object comes first.
- (b) If both are nouns, the indirect object precedes the direct.
- (c) If both are pronouns, the direct object comes first.

The relative position of two pronoun objects is not the same in all the Romance languages. In Italian and Spanish, the *indirect precedes the direct* object. The French rule is that the *first person* or the *second person* precedes the *third person*. If both objects are pronouns of the third person, the *direct object comes first*. The necessary change is indicated by the following models:

- (a) She has sent me it = *Elle me l'a envoyé.*
 She me it has sent.
- (b) She has sent you it = *Elle vous l'a envoyé.*
 She you it has sent.
- (c) She has sent him it = *Elle le lui a envoyé.*
 She it him has sent.

In addition to the verb, its subject and one or both objects, a simple statement may also contain one or more qualifying expressions. These are of two kinds, *adjectival* if they refer to a noun, and *adverbial* if they limit or extend the meaning of some other word. Adjectives and adjectival expressions can be used in two ways. One is the *predicative* use after the verb "to be," as in *the baboon was carefree*. The other is the *attributive* use, as in *the perplexed and celibate bishop*. In some languages, e.g. German or Russian, adjectives have different predicative and attributive forms. The position of the predicative adjectival expression calls for no special comment. We recognize whether an attributive adjective or adjectival expression refers to one or other of several nouns by keeping it next to the noun which it qualifies.* The position of *old* and *silk* is sufficient to leave no doubt about whether an American or

* This applies to speech whether a language is synthetic or analytical. In synthetic languages, writers may take liberties by relying on concord (p. 323) to label the adjective.

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a Scotsman is discussing the *old underwear of the silk merchant* or the *silk underwear of the old merchant*.

If everybody does the same, it does not matter whether drivers keep to the left as in Britain, or to the right as in the United States. By the same token, it does not matter whether the adjective usually comes after the noun, as in Celtic and Romance, or in front of it, as in Teutonic and Slavonic, languages. The student of a Romance language will find it helpful to recall a few fixed expressions in which the normal English order is reversed, e.g. *lords temporal, malice aforethought, fee simple, lie direct, retort courteous, cook general, body politic, knight errant*. This rule does not apply to two classes of adjectives. Romance *possessives* and Romance *numerals* precede the noun. Thus a Spaniard says *nuestra casa* (our house) or *tres muchachos* (three boys).

As in English, pointer-words, e.g. words equivalent to *this* and *that*, including the "articles" *the* and *a* (*an*), come in front both of the attributive adjective and of the noun in Romance as well as in Teutonic languages. In this connexion, we should be on the look out for two classes of English idioms as pitfalls of translation: (a) *such, almost, only, and even* precede the article, e.g. *such a woman, almost a father, only a colonel's daughter*; (b) any adjective qualified by the particle *so* precedes the article, e.g. *so long a journey*. The English rule for placing a long adjectival expression is not the same as that of other Teutonic languages. Long English adjectival expressions often follow the corresponding noun. We do not observe the Swedish or German word-order in *a question so sudden and unexpected*.

We use several English words to qualify a noun, an adjective, a verb, or a particle. Four of the most common are *almost, even, only, and enough*. The form of these words does not tell us whether they do or do not refer to a noun, i.e. whether equivalent or not equivalent to an adjective of another language. We can indicate which word they qualify by position. In English it is common to place such particles immediately *in front of* the word which they qualify. Unfortunately, this useful device is not universally observed. The English word *enough*, though placed in front of a noun which it qualifies (e.g. *enough bother*), comes after a verb, adjective, or particle (e.g. *sleeping enough, a hard enough time, working long enough*).

What matters about rules of word-order is: (a) whether we apply them consistently when they do affect the meaning of a statement; (b) whether we allow freedom when they do not do so. Some languages have straightforward rules about the order of adverbial particles or qualifying expressions according as they signify *time, place, manner, or*

extent. For instance, when two adverbial particles occur in a Teutonic language, the one which indicates *time* comes first. A defect of English syntax is that although the accepted order for any particular pair of adverbs conforms to rigid custom, there is no simple rule which applies to *any* situation. Sometimes an adverb of time precedes, and sometimes it follows another adverb as in:

- (a) he often wept bitterly;
- (b) he went North to-day.

Inversion of subject and verb is one way of changing a plain statement into a question in all Teutonic and Romance languages. The same is true of Bible-English. It is true of Anglo-American only when the verb is a *helper*, as in *can you face reading the rest of this chapter?* Otherwise Anglo-American has its own peculiar roundabout method of interrogation. We no longer say: *sayest thou?* The modern form of the question is: *do you say?* We use this roundabout form with all verbs except helper verbs other than *let*. We *can* also employ it with *have*. In a few years no one will object to *did he ought?* or *did he use?* When translating a question from modern English into German, Swedish, or French, we have therefore to recast it in Bible English.*

Inversion of verb and subject in Teutonic and Romance languages, and the roundabout Anglo-American expression with *do* or *did*, turn a statement into the general form which implies acceptance or rejection of the situation as a whole. We cannot concentrate attention on the identity of the transaction indicated by the verb itself without either elaborating the question or using italics. In this general form, the answer to the question will be *yes*, *no*, or some non-committal comment. In English it is immaterial whether we ask it in the positive form (*did the . . . ?*) or negative (*didn't he . . . ?*). In some languages this distinction is important. The English *yes* has to be translated by different French or Scandinavian words when the negative is substituted for the positive form of the question. The English *Yes*, after a positive question, is equivalent to the Scandinavian *Ja*, and the French *Oui*. After a negative question, the English *Yes* is equivalent to the Scandinavian *Jo*, and the French *Si*. The German *Ja* and *Doch* tally with the Scandinavian *Ja* and *Jo*.

The preceding remarks apply to the difference between the form of a question and the form of a statement in so far as the design of the question is to elicit confirmation of the statement as a whole. It may also be designed to elicit new information. It may then begin with an *interrogative particle*, in English, *when*, *why*, *where*, *how*. The interrogative particle precedes other words in the order appropriate to a

* The two forms of interrogation occur consecutively in the Authorized Version, 1 Cor. vi. 2 and 3.

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question designed to check the whole situation. Apart from the use of interrogative pronouns or particles, and inversion of subject and verb, or a combination of both, there are various other ways of putting a question. If we want to ascertain the identity of the subject we have merely to substitute the English interrogative pronouns *who*, *what*, *which*, and equivalent words in a Romance or Teutonic language without any change of word order. The question then takes the form: *who can face reading the rest of this chapter?* To ascertain the identity of the object demands more than the substitution of an interrogative pronoun. The latter comes at the beginning of the question and the subject follows the verb, as in *what can you face reading?*

In English we can make a statement into a question by putting in front of it the clause: *is it true that?* This is roughly equivalent to a common form of French interrogation introduced by *est-ce que* (*is it that*). French permits a peculiar form of interrogation which lays emphasis on the subject without calling for specific interrogation. The following literal translation illustrates it:

Is my father here? = *Mon père, est-il ici?*
My father, is he here?

In conversation we often do without devices on which we commonly rely when we put a question in writing. A falling and rising tone suffice to convey interrogation without change of word-order appropriate to plain statement. Emphasis on one or another word indicates doubt about the identity of subject, object, or activity denoted by the verb. We can do the same in writing by use of italics, but we have no type convention* to signify change of tone in print. In everyday speech, though less in writing, we can convert a statement into a question by judicious or polite afterthought. The formula added is an idiom peculiar to each language. In English we add such expressions as *eh?*, *don't you?*, or *isn't it?* The German equivalent is *nicht wahr?* (*not true?*). The Swedish is *inte sant* (*not true?*) or *eller hur* (*or how?*), the French is *n'est-ce pas* (*is this not?*) and the Spanish is *verdad* (*true?*). The English affirmative answer *I did*, etc., is a pitfall for the unwary. In other European languages it is more usual to add a pronoun object, i.e. *it*. Thus in Swedish *I did* is *jag gjorde det* (*I did it = I did so*).

One very important class of rules about word-order regulate negation. Rules of negation, like rules of interrogation and the rule for the position of the subject in ordinary statements, draw attention to a fundamental difference between the syntax of Bible English and the syntax of Anglo-American. Subject to a qualification, mentioned later

(p. 162) the rule for Bible English is the same as for Scandinavian languages. If the verb is single and has no pronoun object, the negative particles *not*, *never* (or their Scandinavian equivalents) come immediately after it. If the verb is compound, they come immediately after the helper. For compound verbs with helpers other than *let*, the rule is the same in modern English; and the same rule applies to the helpers *be* and *have* when they stand alone. Otherwise we now use the peculiarly Anglo-American construction with *do* or *did*. Thus a modern translation of the Bible would not say: *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance*. It would say: *I did not come to call*. . .

When inversion of subject and verb occurs, as in the negative form of question, the English negative particle comes immediately after the subject, like that of Scandinavian dialects. The negative particle of a Scandinavian statement always comes after the object when the latter is a personal pronoun. This again is the word-order of *Mayflower* English. Compare for instance the following:

- (a) He came unto his own and his own *received him not*
(= did not receive him).
- (b) The world was made by him and the world *knew him not*
(= did not know him).

This rule does not apply to a noun object, e.g. *ye receive not our witness*. In a negative question, the Scandinavian like the English negative particle comes after the subject and before the noun object. Its position with reference to the subject in Anglo-American is not obligatory. We sometimes say *do you not?* and we sometimes say *don't you?* The rule of word-order in Bible English and in Scandinavian languages is the same: (a) for a negative command or request; (b) for a negative statement. The Bible English or Scandinavian form is: *lead us not into temptation*. The roundabout Anglo-American equivalent is: *do not lead us into temptation*. We use this roundabout form of the negative request or command only with *not*. If the negative particle is *never* we stick to *Mayflower* idiom.

The position of the negative particle in a Dutch or a German sentence is not the same as in Bible English or in Scandinavian languages. When it qualifies the statement as a whole, it comes after the object whether the latter is a pronoun or a noun. In a question it comes at the end of a sentence unless the verb is compound. Then it comes immediately before the participle or infinitive. In the Romance languages the negative particle stands before the verb if the latter is simple, and

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before the helper verb if it is compound. When one or both objects are pronouns, and therefore stand in front of the simple verb or in front of the helper, the negative particle precedes them. French (pp. 339 and 341) makes use of two particles simultaneously. The *ne* which corresponds to the Italian *non* and the Spanish *no*, occupies the position stated. The second (*pas, point, jamais, guère*) comes immediately after the single verb, or after the helper.

In some languages the question form, like negation in Indo-European ones, is expressed by means of a particle. Latin had an interrogative particle, *-ne* equivalent to our *eh?* The Anglo-American *do* or *did* might almost be called interrogative particles, when used in questions. From this point of view the rules of language traffic in Finland are specially interesting, because the Finnish way of expressing question and denial is the mirror image of the common practice in the Indo-European family. Finns express interrogation by putting the interrogative particle *ko*, as we express negation by putting the negative particle *not*, after the pronoun. To express negation, they attach *e* to the pronoun suffix which they put in front of the verb, instead of after it. That is to say, the negative statement involves an inversion analogous to the inversion in the question form of French or German:

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>ole-mme-ko</i> | = are we? | <i>emme-ole</i> | = we are not. |
| <i>ole-mme</i> | = we are. | <i>emme-ko-ole</i> | = are we not? |

So far we have considered simple statements, commands, or questions which we cannot split up without introducing a new verb. Link-words may connect one or more statements to form compound or complex sentences. Such link-words are of two classes. One class, represented by only three *essential* elements of a basic vocabulary for English use, are the so-called *coordinate* conjunctions. In contradistinction to these three essential link-words (*and, or, and but*) there are others called *subordinate* conjunctions. The most essential English subordinate conjunctions are:

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|--------------------|---------|
| after | how | so (as) as | when |
| as (in such a | if | so that | where |
| way that) | in order that | though | whether |
| because | than | till | why |
| before | since | | |

In addition to the particles given above, we also use the pronouns *who, whom, what*, and *that* as subordinate link-words, e.g. (a) this is the house *that* Jack built; (b) I know *who* he is.

The distinction between coordinate and subordinate link-words is useful because the normal rules of word-order in some languages are not the same in clauses which begin with the latter. Though we may sometimes leave out *that* in a complex English, and its equivalent in a complex Scandinavian or German, sentence, the best definition of a subordinate clause is that it can begin with one of these words. Grammar books sometimes distinguish the *principal* from the subordinate clause or clauses in a complex sentence by the statement that the principal clause is the most important part of the statement. Whether we usually convey any real distinction between the relative importance of the constituent clauses in a complex sentence is at least doubtful.

In relation to *word order*, the distinction between coordinate and subordinate clauses is not important to the student of a Romance language. In Romance languages, as in English, the order of words in each part of a complex sentence is the same. Two minor exceptions are:

- (a) in Romance, as in Teutonic languages, the *relative pronoun* comes at the beginning of a clause even when it is not the subject, as in: *the readers for whom he wrote this novel . . .*;
- (b) English, like other Teutonic languages, permits subject-verb inversion instead of the usual sequence after *if*, when a condition is hypothetical, as in: *were he to come = if he came*.

A similar inversion is possible in Scandinavian languages, and is common in German. It is reminiscent of the Chinese idiom of expressing condition by a question. In complex sentences, Scandinavian is not precisely the same as English word-order. In any Scandinavian *subordinate clause* the negative particle stands in front of the verb. Scandinavian word-order in a complex sentence is illustrated by:

This is the house that Jack not will (not) build.

The difference between word-order of a subordinate clause and of a simple sentence is much greater in German or Dutch than in Scandinavian languages.

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The rules for a simple statement apply to the principal clause of a complex sentence, i.e. (a) the present or past tense-form of a simple or helper verb comes immediately after the German or Dutch subject, when the latter is the first word in the sentence; (b) when another word precedes the subject the simple tense-form of the Dutch or German verb precedes its subject; (c) the infinitive or participle which goes with the helper verb always goes to the end of the sentence; (d) if there are two helpers (e.g. *I should have come*), the second helper (infinitive form) follows the infinitive (p. 287). The rules for placing the German or Dutch verb in a subordinate clause are:

- (a) when the verb is simple, it is the last word;
- (b) the helper also comes at the end immediately after the participle or infinitive which goes with it.

The following models illustrate both rules:

English word-order.

After I had heard it yesterday,
I forgot it again.
When I have seen it, I shall
remember it.

German-Dutch word-order.

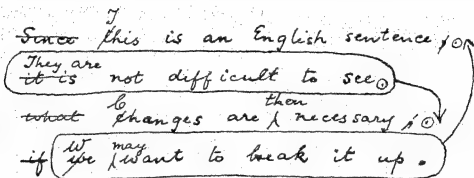
After I it yesterday heard had
forgot I it again.
When I it seen have, shall I it
remember.

It is just as well to bear in mind the fact that conjunctions, especially subordinate conjunctions, are late arrivals in the history of a language. Many living people get on without them. Though they give emphasis to the logical lay-out of a sequence of statements, they cannot do much to clarify what the content does not itself disclose. In short, we can save ourselves endless trouble with a foreign language if we cultivate the habit of using simple sentences (see p. 173) in our own. We can short-circuit the embarrassment of changing the pattern of word order, if that is necessary, and we can steer clear of the troublesome choice of correct case-form for the link pronoun of a relative clause. Habitual use of the latter adds to the difficulties of learning a new language and leads to a congested style of writing in the one we customarily use.

It goes without saying that the use of a different pattern for different clauses of a complex sentence adds to the difficulties of learning a language without making the meaning more clear. That it is also a disadvantage for those who are brought up to speak German, is clear if we compare the following examples which show how an English-

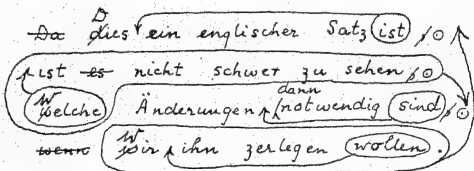
man and a German may deal with the problem of separating the constituents of a lengthy statement:

- (a) Since this is an English sentence, it is not difficult to see what changes are necessary if we want to break it up.



This is an English sentence. We may want to break it up. Changes are then necessary. They are not difficult to see.

- (b) Da dies ein englischer Satz ist, ist es nicht schwer zu sehen, welche Änderungen notwendig sind, wenn wir ihn zerlegen wollen.



Dies ist ein englischer Satz. Wir wollen ihn zerlegen. Änderungen sind dann notwendig. Welche ist nicht schwer zu sehen.

Clearly we have to put much more effort into recasting an involved German sentence as a sequence of simple ones than we spend when we do the same with an English one. This is important because our first impulse in stating a closely knit argument is always to keep the threads together with conjunctions. In a first draft we are therefore prone to construct cumbersome sentences which are not necessarily objectionable in speech. Effective writing demands a different tech-

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nique. Without the vitality they get from tone and gesture, long and involved sentences call for excessive attention, and are less suitable for rapid reading than a succession of short ones. So we rightly regard the use of the short sentence as a criterion of good style in French or English writing. The rules of word-order make it easy for an English or French writer to make the necessary changes in a first draft of an intricate piece of reasoning. The rules of German word-order make it difficult to do so. Hence it is not surprising that the style of German technical books and journals is notoriously ponderous and obscure. It is unlikely that Hegel would have taken in three generations of Germans and one generation of Russians if he had been trained to write in the terse English of T. H. Huxley or William James.

The following citation from a book of a German scholar, Carl Brockelmann (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen*) is a type specimen of Teutonic telescoping. The key to the English translation is that the verb *are* before K. Voller goes with the last two words:

Diese von Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qôrans*, Göttingen 1860, erstmals dargelegten Grundanschauungen über die Sprache des Qôrans sind von K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, Strassburg 1906, durch die falsche Voraussetzung, dass die Varianten der spätern Qôranleser, statt Eigentümlichkeiten verschiedener Dialekte vielmehr nur solche der ursprünglichen Qôransprache wiedergaben, übertrieben und entstellt.

These by Th. Nöldeke, *History of the Koran*, Göttingen, 1860, for the first time put forward basic views on the language of the Koran are in K. Voller's *Spoken and Written Language in Ancient Arabia*, Strassburg, 1906, by the wrong assumption, that the variant readings of the later Koran scholars, instead of (being) peculiarities of different dialects, rather only those of the original Koran language reflected, exaggerated, and distorted.

The vagaries of German word-order are not a sufficient reason for the vast gulf between the language which Germans use in the home and the jargon which German scholars write. Accepted standards of such scholarly composition are also the product of a social tradition hostile to the democratic way of life. Intellectual arrogance necessarily fosters long-winded exposition when it takes the form to which W. von Humboldt confesses in the statement: "for my own part, it repels me to unravel an idea for the benefit of somebody else when I have cleared it up." If one has to consult a German work of scholarship or techno-

logy, it is reassuring to bear this in mind. When the English-speaking reader meets a sentence like the preceding specimen, it is some comfort to know that German readers also have to *unravel* its meaning for their own benefit.

The fact that people often use a native word-order when trying to speak a foreign language sometimes gives rise to comic effects in drama or fiction. It also suggests a useful device for the home student. When learning a language, we have to acquire several types of skill, including the use of the right word and use of the right arrangement. It is rarely good policy to learn two skills at the same time. So the student of a new language may find it helpful to practise the more important tricks of syntax in a foreign language by separate exercises in *syntactical* translations. For instance if you are starting Swedish, the syntactical translation of *didn't you come here yesterday?* is *came you not hither yesterday?* If you are learning German, a syntactical translation of *if I don't come soon, don't wait*, is *if I not soon come wait not*. Models which make use of alliteration or convey novel information are easier to remember than collections of words which have no emotive content. For instance, one of the tricks of Swedish syntax can be memorized by the syntactical translation of *the prophets of the Old Testament did not often wash* as *the prophets of the Old Testament washed themselves not often*.

WORD FORM AND CONTEXT

In Chapter III we learned that many flexional endings, like the *-s* in *he eats*, contribute nothing to the meaning of a statement. Context, and context alone, dictates which we choose. Thus we use *eats* in preference to *eat* if the subject is *he*, *she*, *it*, or any noun. In languages which are rich in flexional derivatives, a large part of syntax, including *concord* and the troublesome uses of the subjunctive mood of the verb in subordinate clauses, is made up of rules of this sort.

At one time rules of concord (pp. 112-115) occupied many pages of English grammar, because familiarity with the flexions of Latin and Greek was the greater part of a gentleman's education. The wreckage of the English personal pronouns helps us to get a different perspective. The accompanying table gives the Old English and modern Icelandic equivalents to emphasize the progressive character of Anglo-American. It also shows our debt to Old Norse, from which we derived *they*, *them*, *theirs*. The objective forms (*me*, *thee*, *him*, etc.) often called the *accusative*, are really survivals of a dative. The table does not show where *she*

| CASE | FIRST PERSON | | | SECOND PERSON | | | THIRD PERSON | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| | Sing. | Dual. | Plur. | Sing. | Dual. | Plur. | Masc. | Neuter | Fem. | Plural |
| A. OLD ENGLISH | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nominative | ic (I) | wit ... | we (WE) | þu (THOU) | git ... | ge (YE) | he (HE) | hit (IT) | heo ... | hie ... |
| Accusative | mec ... | uncit ... | usic ... | pec ... | incit ... | cowic ... | hine | | hie ... | |
| Dative | me (ME) | unc ... | us (US) | pe (THEE) | inc ... | cow (YOU) | him (HIM) | | hire (HER or HERS) | him ... |
| Genitive | min (MINE) | uncer .. | ure (OUR) | þin (THINE) | incer ... | cowes (YOURS) | his (HIS) | | | hira ... |
| B. ICELANDIC | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nominative | ieg | við | vjer | þu | þið | þjer | hann | það | hann | þau* (THEY) |
| Accusative | mig | | | þig | | yður | honum | þvi | henni | þeim (THEM) |
| Dative | mjer | | | þjer | | | hans | þess | hennar | þeirra (THEIR) |
| Genitive | min | okkar | vor | þin | þkær | yður | | | | |

* Neuter form only given here.

and *its* came from. The *she* probably came from the Old English demonstrative *seo* (*that*). *Its* was a later innovation. The 1611 edition of the English Bible uses *his* for *things* and males. This pronoun is a good example of analogical extension. The first person to use it was an Italian in 1598. Englishmen adopted it during the seventeenth century.

Though personal pronouns have retained more of the old flexions than any other class of English words, and therefore account for a large proportion of common errors of English speech catalogued in the grammar books used thirty years ago, we now use only seventeen to do the work of thirty-five distinct forms in Old English. In one way, the use of the pronouns is still changing. Throughout the English-speaking world, people commonly use *they* in speech to avoid invidious sex discrimination, or the roundabout expression *he or she*. Similarly, *them* is common in speech for *him or her*, and *their* for *his or her*. Probably the written language will soon assimilate the practice, and grammarians will then say that *they*, *them*, and *their* are common gender singular, as well as plural forms of the third person.

We can already foresee changes which must come, even if rational arguments for language-planning produce no effect. Headmasters and headmistresses no longer bother so much about whether we should say *the committee meets* and *the committee disagree*, whether we need be more circumspect than Shakespeare about when we use *who* or *whom*, whether it is low-bred to say *these sort* and *these kind*, whether it is useful to preserve a niche for the archaic dual-plural distinction by insisting on the comparative *better* in preference to the superlative *best of the two*, or whether it is improper to use *me* in preference to the "possessive adjective" when we say: *do you object to my kissing you?*

The conventions of syntax change continually by the process of analogical extension. We use word forms because we are accustomed to use them in a similar situation. Thus our first impulse is to use *were* for *was* in the sentence: *a large group of children was waiting at the clinic*. Whatever old-fashioned grammarians may say about the correct use of *was* and *were* when the subject is the "collective" noun *group*, most of us yield to the force of habit and use *were* for the simple reason that it is usual for *were* to follow children. Since we get used to saying *know* rather than *knows* after *you*, most of us say *none of you know*, unless we have time for a grammatical post-mortem on the agglutinative contraction *not one* = *none*. So we may be quite certain that everyone will soon look on *none of you knows* as pedantic archaism.

Habits formed in this way give us some insight into the meaningless

association of *it* with *rains*, and similar expressions, e.g. *it is usual*. People who speak a language which has equivalents of *is*, *are*, *was*, *were* for the *copula* connecting *attribute* and *topic* (i.e. thing or person) get used to the transition from the explicit statement *the water is hot* to the more economical form, *it is hot*, when the context makes it clear that *it* stands for a real thing. The same remarks apply to the conventional question-patterns, *is the water hot?* and *is it hot?* It is a short step to apply the same formula metaphorically when the precise topic is less clearly specified. In spite of the fact that a unit of time is not a heatable object, we also say *the day is hot*. When we make the more economical substitution *it is hot*, in accordance with our habit of dealing with a statement with an explicit and relevant topic, the field of reference of the pronoun embraces the whole set-up. What now compensates for loss of its original function as a snappy substitute for a tangible thing is our habit of interrogation. The customary inversion demands a subject after the verb in the formula *is it hot?* Thus habit and metaphor conspire to encourage intrusion of the pronoun *it* into situations where it merely does the job of an interrogative particle such as *eh?*

Something analogous goes on with words which have the formal peculiarities of nouns and verbs, and we can watch it happening in our own language. *Hammer* is the *name-word* for a static object. By assimilating *-ing* it becomes identified with the process of using it, and attracts all the affixes of a weak verb. The converse occurs. A process such as to *sing* is associated with a person or thing by assimilating the affix *-er* of *singer*. Interplay of habit and metaphor works havoc with any attempt to establish a clear-cut relation between word-form and word-function; and we can see both at work in the most primitive levels of speech. Malinowski sums up the results of his own studies on speech in backward communities as follows:

"The fundamental outlines of grammar are due to the most primitive uses of language. . . . Through later processes of linguistic use and of thinking, there took place an indiscriminate and wholesale shifting of roots and meanings from one grammatical category to another. For according to our view of primitive semantics, each significant root originally must have had its place, and one place only, in its proper verbal category. Thus, the roots meaning *man*, *animal*, *tree*, *stone*, *water*, are essentially nominal roots. The meanings *sleep*, *eat*, *go*, *come*, *fall*, are verbal. But as language and thought develop, the constant action of metaphor, of generalization, analogy and abstraction, and of similar linguistic uses build up links between the categories and obliterate the

boundary lines, thus allowing words and roots to move freely over the whole field of Language. In analytic languages, like Chinese and English, this ubiquitous nature of roots is most conspicuous, but it can be found even in very primitive languages. . . . The migration of roots into improper places has given to the imaginary reality of hypostatized meaning a special solidity of its own. For, since early experience warrants the substantival existence of anything found within the category of Crude Substance, and subsequent linguistic shifts introduce there such roots as *going, rest, motion*, etc., the obvious inference is that such abstract entities or ideas live in a real world of their own. Such harmless adjectives as *good* or *bad*, expressing the savage's half-animal satisfaction or dissatisfaction in a situation, subsequently intrude into the enclosure reserved for the clumsy, rough-hewn blocks of primitive substance, are sublimated into *Goodness* and *Badness*, and create whole theological worlds, and systems of Thought and Religion."*

What Malinowski calls "*shifting of roots and meanings from one grammatical category to another*" has multiplied words appropriate to situations which have nothing in common and is responsible for ninety per cent of the difficulties of learning a language. One illustration of this is the multiplicity of word forms connected with the subject-object distinction. The lamp illuminates (shines on) the table in the same sense as the lamp illuminates (or shines on) *me*. If so, *I* see the lamp. We do not say that the table *sees* the lamp; and there is a good enough reason for this distinction. The lamp does not stimulate the table as it stimulates my retina; but this difference does not justify the use of two pronouns *I* and *me*. In both statements the pronoun is the goal, and the lamp is the agent as *I* is the agent in *I moved the lamp*. Possibly there was once a real distinction of this kind, if what we should now call *verbs* were only words for action. To-day it signifies nothing apart from the context. To know which is the agent and which is the goal of action we need to know the meaning of the verb. If the verb is *hear* the subject is the goal of the process and the object is what initiates it. If the verb is *strike*, the reverse is true. The grammatical object is not necessarily the logical or biological object. It may be the actor or the victim of a performance, the stimulus or a result of a process.

THE HARD GRAFT OF GOOD WRITING

The positive rules of syntax which remain when we have cleared away the cobwebs of classical grammar are concerned with the most explicit use of particles, with the rejection of unnecessarily idiomatic

Appendix to *The Meaning of Meaning* by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards.

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expressions, with burial of dead metaphors, and with rules of word-order to prevent ambiguity or loss of interest. Syntax, as writers on "semantics" so often forget, is concerned with far more than the problem of meaning. The use of language is a social activity which involves a hearer or reader as well as a speaker or writer. So the art of writing implies the power to grip the attention, and sustain the interest, of the reader. Prolivity, pomposity, and evasion of direct statement are characteristics of writing most inimical to sustained interest; and any one who is willing to take the trouble can learn to avoid bad writing in this sense. Brilliant writing may be a gift, but the power to write simple, lucid, and compelling English lies within the power of any intelligent person who has grown up to speak it.

One important thing to know about the art of writing is that effective and lucid writing is *hard work*. A first draft is never perfect, and a good writer is essentially a good *self-editor*. Indiscriminate exercises in précis are far less helpful than the deliberate application of rules based on the recognition of standard forms of prolixity to which even the best authors are prone. If we apply a few fixed rules we can generally reduce a prose paragraph taken at random from any English classic by thirty or forty per cent without departing a hair's breadth from the meaning. The important ones are: (a) condensation of participial expressions; (b) elimination of impersonal formulae; (c) translation of the roundabout passive into direct or active form; (d) cutting out circumlocutions for which a single particle suffices; (e) rejection of *the*, unless absolutely necessary.

One useful recipe for concise writing is to give every *participle* the once-over in a first draft. *The sun having arisen*, then invites the shorter substitute, *after sunrise*. If we are on the look-out for the passive form of statement as another incitement to boredom, we shall strike out the expression *it will be seen from the foregoing figures*, and substitute the snappier, more arresting active equivalent, *the foregoing figures show you*. The last example suggests another general recipe indicated in the last paragraph. The remoteness of the college cloister has cumbered the English language with a litter of *impersonal* constructions which defeat the essentially social character of communication in writing by creating the impression that a statement is for the benefit of the author and the Deity alone. Thus the intrusive *it* of the subject-predicate fetish is another danger-signal in a first draft. *It would thus seem that*, or *it would thus appear that*, for *seemingly* or *apparently*, which do the same job when really necessary, are representative exhibits for the prosecution. They should go to the same limbo as *it is said that* (*some people say*), *it is true that* (*admittedly*), the completely redundant *it is this that*, and the analo-

gous circumlocution of which a type specimen is the untrue statement, *'tis love that makes the world go round*.

There are other common literary habits of long-windedness. One is the use of conjunctive and prepositional phrases when a single link-word or directive would suffice. The *Times Literary Supplement* and British Civil Service Reports specialize in *the question as to whether*, when *whether* by itself suffices in the same context. *During the time that* generally means the same as *while*. *At an earlier date* is an unnecessarily roundabout way of saying *previously*. *With reference to* is overworked in situations where *about*, or *concerning*, would do as well, and both the latter, though no shorter than *as to*, are more explicit. The reader who has now grasped the importance of using particles explicitly will be on the look-out for these. Another trick which makes writing congested is indiscriminate use of the definite article *the* in situations where it is not really necessary. For instance, we can strike out four inessential articles of the sentence: If *the* war goes on, *the* social services will be cut, *the* income tax will rise, and *the* prices of commodities will soar.

Anyone who wishes to cultivate an agreeable and competent style can practise how to recognize signposts of prolixity by rewriting passages from standard authors or editorial articles in newspapers without recourse to redundant particles, passive expressions, prepositional and conjunctive phrases, or to unnecessary articles. Another type of exercise which helps to develop the habit of *self-editorship* is to rewrite in simple sentences passages from books by authors able to manipulate long and complex ones with more or less effect. Sentences with more than one subordinate clause are nearly always difficult to follow, and complex sentences in general are best kept to round off a fusillade of simple statements, when the habit of writing in simple sentences has been well formed. If we have to use complex sentences, the subordinate clause should generally come first. One of the tasks of self-editing is to see that it does so. The worst type of involved sentence is the one with a clause starting with *that*, *who*, or *which*, telescoped into another beginning in the same way. *That*, *who*, and *which* (like participles, passive verbs, *the* and *it*) are therefore danger-signals in a first draft. One simple trick which helps in cutting up long and complex sentences is the use of certain adverbial particles or expressions to maintain continuity of meaning. *Meanwhile*, *first*, *then*, *after that*, or *afterwards*, *in spite of this*, *in this way*, *thus*, *for that reason*, *consequently*, *so*, *therefore*, are therefore useful items of a word-list. We can reinforce the habit of self-editorship by practising the use of such words in dissection of sentences made up to illustrate each of the

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subordinate conjunctions of page 161. The following example illustrates this type of exercise:

(a) COMPLEX SENTENCES:

Although you cannot learn a language without hard work, you may well exaggerate how much effort is necessary. Avoidable discouragement arises *because* many people memorize words and rules which we do not really need *when* we speak or write. There is another thing *which* adds to the burden of learning. Many people do not get as much benefit from reading *as* they would *if* they first got a bird's-eye view of grammar in order to recognize rules *which* are not essential for self-expression, *when* they meet them in a fresh setting. *If* we set about our task as the reader of *The Loom of Language* will do, we shall find *that* the effort required is smaller than we think. One of our readers, *who* wanted to learn Swedish, had failed to make much progress, *before* she read *The Loom of Language* in proof. *Since* she followed its plan of study, she has gone ahead quickly. She started reading Swedish newspapers and writing to a boy friend in Sweden after she had got a bird's-eye view of the grammar and was thoroughly familiar with about a hundred essential particles, pronouns, and pointer-words. Her vocabulary grew without effort, and her grasp of grammar became firmer, *while* she went on with her daily reading *and* continued her correspondence. She now intends to persevere *till* she is proficient.

(b) SIMPLE SENTENCES:

You cannot learn a language without hard work. Still, you can exaggerate the necessary effort. Many people memorize words and rules without asking this question: Do we really need them for speech and writing? Another thing adds to the burden of learning. Many people read without first getting a bird's-eye view of grammar. They meet rules not essential for self-expression. They have not met them before. So they do not recognize them as such. Readers of *The Loom of Language* will set about the task in a different way. They will then find the effort less than our first estimate of it. One of its readers wanted to learn Swedish. She had *previously* failed to make much progress. *Then* she read *The Loom of Language* in typescript. She followed its plan of study. *After that* she went ahead quickly. She *first* got a bird's-eye view of the grammar. She also got thoroughly familiar with about a hundred essential particles, pronouns, and pointer-words. *Next*, she started reading Swedish newspapers and writing to a boy friend in Sweden. She went on reading daily and continued to correspond. *Meanwhile* her vocabulary grew without effort. She also got a firmer grasp of grammar. *Though not yet* proficient, she intends to persevere.

SPEECH AND WRITING

A difficulty which besets many people when they try to express themselves effectively in writing would be less formidable, if early education did more to encourage the habit of careful and thoughtful speech. Within the domestic circle we can rely on the charity or intelligence of the listener to interpret a half-finished sentence or to sharpen the outline of a loose definition. Since we can usually do so with impunity, many of us never cultivate precise habits of self-expression in everyday life. To write, especially for readers with whom we are not personally acquainted, is another matter. We cannot exploit a common background of domestic associations. We cannot take advantage of associations prompted by surrounding objects or current events. For all we can convey by tone or gesture, conventions of punctuation and of typography (e.g. italics) are the only means at our disposal. If conversation is habitually trivial and confined to a narrow social circle, learning to write is learning a new language.

Maybe, libraries of sound films or phonograph records will eventually supersede the bookshelf as the collective memory of mankind. Meantime, the art of speech, even public speech, cannot be quite the same as the art of writing. There must be a region where the written and the spoken word do not overlap, but we can make it, and should make it, as small as need be. Whether it is relatively large, as in Germany, or small, as in Norway, reflects the extent to which intellectuals are a caste apart from the aspirations and needs of their fellow citizens. Homely writing closely akin to thoughtful speech is a signpost of the democratic way of life. For writing cannot fail to be effective, if vibrant with sympathy for the difficulties of the reader.

Where the democratic way of life prevails, public demand for popular science and social statistics discourages literary affectations. Drama and fiction deal more and more with the lives of ordinary people and reflect their speech habits. Since rhetorical prose based on classical models is not adapted to the needs of a public habituated to rapid reading in buses and trains, the vastly increased output of printed matter since the introduction of the linotype machine has also helped to bring the written closer to the spoken word. In our own generation broadcasting has reinforced the trend. Publication of radio talks popularizes a style akin to daily speech, and, as one of our leading phoneticians has said:

There are signs that the tyranny of print under which we have lived since the days of the Renaissance may give way to a more

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emancipated era of the spoken word which is now broadcast as freely as print is disseminated. Wireless is making of us a nation of speech critics, and may restore good spoken English to a place of honour.

FURTHER READING

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| FOWLER | <i>The King's English.</i> |
| GRATTON AND GURREY | <i>Our Living Language.</i> |
| HERBERT | <i>What a Word.</i> |
| JESPersen | <i>Philosophy of Grammar.</i> |
| MENCKEN | <i>The American Language.</i> |
| OGDEN AND RICHARDS | <i>The Meaning of Meaning.</i> |

CHAPTER V

THE CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES

BEFORE there were comparative linguists, practical men already knew that some European languages resemble one another noticeably. The English sailor whose ship brought him for the first time to Amsterdam, to Hamburg, and to Copenhagen was bound to notice that many Dutch, German, and Danish words are the same, or almost the same, as their equivalents in his own tongue. Where he would have said *thirst*, *come*, *good*, the Dutchman used the words *dorst*, *komen*, *goed*; the German *Durst*, *kommen*, *gut*; and the Dane, *Tørst*, *komme*, *god*. The Frenchman calling on Lisbon, on Barcelona, and on Genoa discovered to his delight that *aimer* (to love), *nuît* (night), *dix* (ten) differ very little from the corresponding Portuguese words *amar*, *noite*, *dez*; Spanish *amar*, *noche*, *diez*; or Italian *amare*, *notte*, *dieci*. In fact, the difference is so small that use of the French words alone would often produce the desired result. Because of such resemblances, people spoke of *related* languages. By the sixteenth century, three units which we now call the *Teutonic*, the *Romance* or *Latin*, and the *Slavonic* groups were widely recognized. If you know one language in any of these three groups, you will have little difficulty in learning a second one. So it is eminently a practical division.

When the modern linguist still calls English, Dutch, German, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish *related* languages, he means more than this. We now use the term in an evolutionary sense. Languages are *related*, if the many features of vocabulary, structure, and phonetics which they share are due to gradual differentiation of what was once a single tongue. Sometimes we have to infer what the common parent was like; but we have first-hand knowledge of the origin of one language-group. The deeper we delve into the past, the more French, Spanish, Italian, etc., converge. Finally they become one in Latin, or, to be more accurate, in *Vulgar* Latin as spoken by the common people in the various parts of the Western Roman Empire.

Like the doctrine of organic evolution, this attitude to the study of languages is a comparatively recent innovation. It was wholly alien to European thought before the French Revolution. For more than two

thousand years before that time, grammatical scholarship had existed as a learned profession. During the whole of this period scholars had accepted the fact that languages exist without probing into the origins of their diversity. In Greece the growth of a more adventurous spirit was checked by the prevailing social outlook of a slave civilization. When Christianity became the predominant creed of the Western world, Hebrew cosmogony stifled evolutionary speculation in every field of inquiry.

Investigations of Greek philosophers and grammarians suffered at all times from one fundamental weakness. They were strictly confined to the home-made idiom. This was the inevitable consequence of a cultural conceit which divided the world into Greeks and Barbarians. The same social forces which held back the progress of mechanics and of medicine in the slave civilizations of the Mediterranean world held up the study of grammar. To bother about the *taal* of inferior people was not the proper concern of an Athenian or of a Roman gentleman. Even Herodotus, who had toured Egypt and had written on its quaint customs, nowhere indicates that he had acquired much knowledge of the language.

The Alexandrian conquest brought about little change of mind when Greek traders and travellers were roaming far beyond the Mediterranean basin, establishing intimate contact with Bactrians, Iranians, and even with India. Both Greek and Roman civilization had unrivalled opportunities for getting acquainted with changing phases in the idioms of peoples who spoke and wrote widely diverse tongues. They had unrivalled, and long since lost, opportunities to get some light on the mysteries of ancient scripts such as hieroglyphics and cuneiform. They never exploited their opportunities. The Egyptian hieroglyphic writing was a sealed book till the second decade of the nineteenth century. The decoding of cuneiform inscriptions is a work of the last hundred years.

Christianity performed one genuine service to the study of language, as it performed a genuine service to medicine by promoting hospitals. It threw the opprobrious term *Barbarian* overboard, and thus paved the way for the study of all tongues on their own merits. Before it had come to terms with the ruling class, Christianity was truly the faith of the weary and heavy laden, of the proletarian and the slave without property, without fatherland. In Christ there was "neither Scythian, barbarian, bond nor free, but a new creation." Accordingly the early church ignored social rank and cultural frontiers. All idioms of the

globe enjoyed equal rights, and the gift of tongues was in high esteem among the miracles of the apostolic age.

Christian salvation was an act of faith. To understand the new religion the heathen must needs hear the gospel in their own vernaculars. So proselytizing went hand in hand with translating. At an early date, Christian scholars translated the Gospels into Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian. The Bible is the beginning of Slavonic literature, and the translation of the New Testament by the West Gothic Bishop, Ulfilas, is the oldest Germanic document extant. Even to-day the Christian impulse to translate remains unabated. Our Bible Societies have carried out pioneer work in the study of African and Polynesian dialects.

The historical balance-sheet of Christian teaching and language study also carries a weighty item on the debit side. The story of the Tower of Babel was sacrosanct, and with it, as a corollary, the belief that Hebrew was the original language of mankind. So the emergence and spread of Christianity was not followed by any deeper understanding of the natural history of language. Throughout the Middle Ages the path trod by the Christian scholar was one already beaten by his pagan forerunner. There was no significant progress in the comparative study of languages, but mercantile venture and missionary enterprise during the age of the Great Navigations made a wealth of fresh material accessible through the new medium of the printed page, and encouraged European scholars to break away from exclusive preoccupation with dead languages. For the first time, they began to recognize that some languages are more alike than others.

Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), variously recognized as *the phoenix of Europe, the light of the world, the bottomless pit of knowledge*, saw as much, and a little more, when he wrote his treatise on the languages of Europe. He arranged them all in eleven main classes, which fall again into four major and seven minor ones. The four major classes he based on their words for *god*, into *deus-, theos-, gott-*, and *bog-* languages, or, as we should say, into Latin (Romance) languages, Greek, Germanic, and Slavonic. The remaining seven classes are made up of Epirotic or Albanian, Tartar, Hungarian, Finnic, Irish (*that part of it which to-day is spoken in the mountainous regions of Scotland, i.e. Gaelic*), Old British, as spoken in Wales and Brittany, and finally Cantabrian or Basque.

During the seventeenth century many miscellanies of foreign languages, like the herbals and bestiaries of the time, came off the printing presses of European countries. The most ambitious of them all was the

outcome of a project of Leibniz, the mathematician, who was assisted by Catherine II of Russia. The material was handed over to the German traveller, Pallas, for classification. The results of his labour appeared in 1787 under the title, *Linguarum Totius Orbis Vocabularia Comparativa* (Comparative Vocabularies of all the Languages of the World). The number of words on the list circulated was 285, and the number of languages covered was 200, of which 149 were Asiatic and 51 European. In a later edition, this number was considerably increased by the addition of African and of Amer-Indian dialects from the New World. Pallas's compilation was of little use. He had put it together hastily on the basis of superficial study of his materials. Its merit was that it stimulated others to undertake something more ambitious and more reliable. One of them was the Spaniard, *Hervas*; another the German, *Adelung*. Leibniz's suggestions influenced both of them.

Lorenzo Hervas (1735-1809) had lived for many years among the American Indians, and published the enormous number of forty grammars, based upon his contact with their languages. Between 1800 and 1805 he also published a collected work with the title: *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas y numeracion, division y clases de estas segun la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos* (Catalogue of the languages of all the known nations with the enumeration, division, and classes of these nations according to their languages and dialects). This linguistic museum contained three hundred exhibits. It would have been more useful if the author's arrangement of the specimens had not been based on the delusion that there is a necessary connection between race and language. A second encyclopaedic attempt to bring all languages together, as duly labelled exhibits, was that of the German grammarian and popular philosopher, Adelung. It bears the title, *Mithridates, or General Science of Languages, with the Lord's Prayer in nearly 500 Languages and Dialects*, published in four volumes between 1806 and 1817. When the fourth volume appeared, Adelung's compilation had become entirely obsolete. In the meantime, Bopp had published his revolutionary treatise on the conjugational system of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, and German.

Previously, there had been little curiosity about the way in which language grows. In the introduction to "Mithridates" Adelung makes a suggestion, put forward earlier by Horne Tooke, without any attempt to check or explore its implications. This remarkable Englishman was one of the first Europeans to conceive a plausible hypothesis to account

for the origin of flexion. In a book called *Diversions of Purley*, published in 1786, Tooke anticipates the central theme of the task which Bopp carried out with greater knowledge and success during the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus he writes:

"All those common terminations, in any language, of which all Nouns or Verbs in that language equally partake (under the notion of declension or conjugation) are themselves separate words with distinct meanings . . . these terminations are explicable, and ought to be explained."

The work of Bopp and other pioneers of comparative grammar received a powerful impetus from the study of Sanskrit. Though Sassetti, an Italian of the sixteenth century, had called Sanskrit a *pleasant, musical* language, and had united *Dio* (God) with *Deva*, it had remained a sealed book for almost two hundred years. Now and then some missionary, like Robertus Nobilibus, or Heinrich Roth, a German who was anxious to be able to dispute with Brahmanic priests, made himself acquainted with it, but this did not touch the world at large. After Sassetti, the first European to point out the staggering similarities between Sanskrit and the European languages was the German missionary, Benjamin Schultze. For years he had preached the Gospel to the Indian heathen, and had helped in the translation of the Bible into Tamil. On August 19, 1725, he sent to Professor Franken an interesting letter in which he emphasized the similarity between the numerals of Sanskrit, German, and Latin.

When English mercantile imperialism was firmly grounded in India, civil servants began to establish contact with the present and past of the country. An Asiatic Society got started at Calcutta in 1784. Four years later, a much-quoted letter of William Jones, Chief-Justice at Fort William in Bengal, was made public. In it the author demonstrated the genealogical connexion between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, between Sanskrit and German, and between Sanskrit, Celtic, and Persian:

"The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could possibly examine all the three without believing them to have sprung from some common source which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and Celtic, though blended with a different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit."

This happened within a few years of the publication of Hutton's *Theory of the Earth*, a book which challenged the Mosaic account of the creation. Custodians of the Pentateuch were alarmed by the prospect that Sanskrit would bring down the Tower of Babel. To anticipate the danger, they pilloried Sanskrit as a priestly fraud, a kind of pidgin-classic concocted by Brahmins from Greek and Latin elements. William Jones, himself a scholar of unimpeachable piety, had to make the secular confession:

"I can only declare my belief that the language of Noah is irretrievably lost. After diligent search I cannot find a single word used in common by the Arabian, Indian, and Tartar families, before the admixture of these dialects occasioned by the Mahomedan conquests."

Together with tea and coffee, Napoleon's blockade of England withheld from the Continent Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries which English scholars were now busy turning out. Fortunately the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris possessed Sanskrit texts. Paris had in custody Hamilton, an Englishman who enlivened his involuntary sojourn in the French capital by giving private lessons in Sanskrit. One of his pupils was a brilliant young German, Friedrich Schlegel. In 1808, Schlegel published a little book, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder* (On the Language and Philosophy of the Indians). This put Sanskrit on the Continental map. Much that is in Schlegel's book makes us smile to-day, perhaps most of all the author's dictum that Sanskrit is the mother of all languages. None the less, it was a turning-point in the scientific study of language. In a single sentence which boldly prospects the field of future research, Schlegel exposes the new impetus which came from contemporary progress of naturalistic studies:

"Comparative grammar will give us entirely new information on the *genealogy* of language, in exactly the same way in which comparative anatomy has thrown light upon the natural history."

The study of Latin in the Middle Ages had preserved a secure basis for this evolutionary approach to the study of other languages, because the Latin parentage of modern French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Rumanian is an historically verifiable fact. Unfortunately, history has not been so obliging as to preserve the parent of the Teutonic and the Slavonic groups. To be sure, the present differences between Dutch, German, and the Scandinavian languages diminish as we go back in time. Still, differences remain when we have retraced our steps

to the oldest records available. At that point we have to replace the *historical* by the *comparative* method, and to try to obtain by inference what history has failed to rescue. We are in much the same position as the biologist, who can trace the record of vertebrate evolution from bony remains in the rocks, till he reaches the point when vertebrates had not acquired a hard skeleton. Beyond this, anything we can know or plausibly surmise about their origin must be based upon a comparison between the characteristic features of the vertebrate body and the characteristic features of bodily organization among the various classes of invertebrates.

THE BASIS OF EVOLUTIONARY CLASSIFICATION

Biologists who classify animals from an evolutionary point of view make the assumption that characteristics common to all—or to nearly all—members of a group are also characteristic of their common ancestor. Similar reasoning is implicit in the comparative method of studying languages; and those who study the evolution of languages enjoy an advantage which the evolutionary biologist does not share. No large-scale changes in the diversity of animal life on our planet have occurred during the period of the written record, but distinct languages have come into being during comparatively recent times. We can check the value of clues which suggest common parentage of related languages by an almost continuous historical record of what has happened to Latin.

Word-similarity is one of the three most important of these clues. It stands to reason that two closely related languages must have a *large* number of recognizably similar words. Comparison of the members of the Romance group shows that this is so. Such resemblance does not signify identity, which may be due to borrowing. Evidence for kinship is strongest if words which are alike are words which are not likely to have passed from one language to the other, or to have been assimilated by both from a third. Such *conservative* words include personal pronouns; verbs expressing *basic* activities or states, such as *come* and *go*, *give* and *take*, *eat* and *drink*, *live* and *die*; adjectives denoting elementary qualities such as *young* and *old*, *big* and *small*, *high* and *deep*; or names which stand for universally distributed objects, such as *earth*, *dog*, *stone*, *water*, *fire*, for parts of the body such as *head*, *ear*, *eye*, *nose*, *mouth*, or for blood relationship such as *father*, *mother*, *sister*, *brother*.

If the number of words which two languages share is small, and confined to a special aspect of cultural life, it is almost certain that one

is indebted to the other. This applies to word-similarities which the Celtic and Teutonic groups do not share with other Aryan languages. The common words of this class are all nouns, some of which are

TENSES OF THE VERB *BE* IN ROMANCE LANGUAGES

(PRONOUNS ONLY USED FOR EMPHASIS IN BRACKETS)

| | ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | LATIN | ITALIAN |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Present | I am | je suis | (yo) soy | (ego) sum | (io) sono |
| | thou art | tu es | (tú) eres | (tu) es | (tu) sei |
| | he is | il est | (él) es | (ille) est | (egli) è |
| | we are | nous sommes | (nosotros) somos | (nos) sumus | (noi) siamo |
| | you are | vous êtes | (vosotros) sois | (vos) estis | (voi) siete |
| | they are | ils sont | (ellos) son | (illi) sunt | (essi) sono |
| Past Imperfect | I was (used to be) | j'étais | era | eram | ero |
| | thou wert | tu étais | eras | eras | eri |
| | he was | il était | era | erat | era |
| | we were | nous étions | éramos | eramus | eravamo |
| | you were | vous étiez | erais | eratis | eravate |
| Past Definite | they were | ils étaient | eran | erant | erano |
| | I was | je fus | fui | fui | fui |
| | thou wert | tu fus | fuiste | fuisti | fosti |
| | he was | il fut | fué | fuit | fu |
| | we were | nous fûmes | fuimos | fuimus | fummo |
| Future | you were | vous fûtes | fuisteis | fuistis | foste |
| | they were | ils furent | fueron | fuerunt | furono |
| | I shall be | je serai | seré | ero | sarò |
| | thou wilt be | tu seras | serás | eris | sarai |
| | he will be | il sera | será | erit | sarà |
| | we shall be | nous serons | seremos | erimus | saremo |
| | you will be | vous serez | seréis | eritis | sarete |
| | they will be | ils seront | serán | erunt | saranno |
| | (TO) BE | ÊTRE | SER | ESSE | ESSERE |

names for metals, tools and vehicles. This does not indicate that there is a particularly close evolutionary relationship between Celtic and Teutonic in the sense defined above. Other features show that a wide gulf separates them. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Teutons took over words with the arts they assimilated from Celtic communities at a higher cultural level.

Through such culture-contacts words have wandered from one language to another of a totally different origin. The modern word *bicycle* pedals over linguistic frontiers as the machine used to pedal over national boundaries before passports were obligatory. The word-material of all, or nearly all, languages is more or less mongrel. Even in the more exclusive members of the Teutonic group the number of intruders is many times larger than the number of words which the linguist thinks he can trace back to the hypothetical common idiom called primitive Teutonic. When dealing with words for numbers, or weights and measures, we have always to reckon with the possibility of cultural, and therefore *word*, diffusion. If vocabulary is the only clue available, we have to give due consideration to geographical situation. If two languages which share a considerable portion of conservative root-words are *not* geographically contiguous, it is highly probable that they are related.

Word-similarity is a good clue. A second is agreement with respect to *grammatical behaviour*. French, Spanish and Italian, which we may use as our control group, have a host of common grammatical features such as:

- (i) A future tense (see pp. 106 and 339) which is a combination of the infinitive and the auxiliary *to have*. (Fr. *aimer-ai*, *aimer-as*; Ital. *amar-ò*, *amar-ai*; Span. *amar-é*, *amar-ás*.)
- (ii) The definite article (Fr. masc. *le*, fem. *la*, Span. *el* or *la*, Ital. *il* or *la*), and pronouns of the third person (Fr. *il* or *elle*, Span. *él* or *ella*, Ital. *egli* or *ella*) all derived from the Latin demonstrative *ille*, *illa*.
- (iii) A twofold gender system in which the masculine noun generally takes the place of the Latin neuter (Fr. *le vin*, the wine; Span. *el vino*; Ital. *il vino*; Latin *vinum*).

Grammatical peculiarities, like words, may be more or less conservative. In the widest sense of the term, grammar includes the study of idiom and sentence construction, or *syntax*, in contradistinction to *accidence*, which deals with the modification of individual words by flexion or root-vowel changes. The syntax of a language is much less conservative than its accidence. When we meet with resemblances of the latter type, it would be far-fetched to attribute them to chance or to borrowing. All the evidence available tends to show that, while words and idioms diffuse freely, peculiarities of *accidence* do not. Now and then a language may borrow a prefix or a suffix, together with a foreign word, and subsequently tack one or the other on to indigenous words,

as German did with *-ei* (*Liebelei*, "flirtation"), which is the French *-ie* (as in *la vilenie*, "villainy"); but we know of no language which has incorporated a whole set of alien endings like those of the Latin verb (p. 107).

Absence of grammatical resemblance does not invariably mean that two or more languages are unrelated. Once a parent language has split into several new species, the different fragments may move more or less swiftly along similar or different paths. For example, French has discarded more of the luxuriant system of Latin verb flexions than its Italian sister. English has experienced catastrophic denudation of its Teutonic flexions. Consequently its grammar is now more like that of Chinese than like that of Sanskrit. Grammatical comparison may therefore mislead us, and when the evidence of word-similarity does not point to the same conclusion as the evidence from grammatical peculiarities, the latter is of little value.

A third clue which reinforces the testimony of recognizable word-similarities arises from *consistent differences* between words of corresponding meaning. We can easily spot such a consistent difference by comparing the English words *to*, *tongue* and *tin* with their German equivalents *zu*, *Zunge* and *Zinn*. The resemblance between members of the same pair is not striking if we confine our attention to one pair at a time, but when we look at the very large number of such pairs in which the initial German Z (pronounced *ts*) takes the place of our English T, we discover an immense stock of new word-similarities. The fact that changes affecting most words with a particular sound have taken place in one or both of two languages since they began to diverge conceals many word similarities from immediate recognition. This inference is not mere speculation. It is directly supported by what has happened in the recorded history of the Romance group, as illustrated in the following examples showing a vowel and a consonant shift characteristic of French, Spanish and Italian.

| LATIN | FRENCH | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| ovum, (egg) | <i>œuf</i> | <i>huevo</i> | <i>uovo</i> |
| novum, (new) | <i>neuf</i> | <i>nuevo</i> | <i>nuovo</i> |
| morit, (he dies) | <i>meurt</i> | <i>muere</i> | <i>muore</i> |
| factum, (fact) | <i>fait</i> | <i>hecho</i> | <i>fatto</i> |
| lac(-tis), (milk) | <i>lait</i> | <i>leche</i> | <i>latte</i> |
| octo, (eight) | <i>huit</i> | <i>ocho</i> | <i>otto</i> |

If we observe correspondence of this type when we investigate two other languages, such as Finnish and Magyar (Hungarian), we have to

conclude that each pair of words has been derived from a single and earlier one. If we notice several types of sound-replacement, each supported by a large number of examples, we can regard relationship as certain. This conclusion is of great practical value to anyone who is learning a language. Sound-transformations between related languages such as English and German, or French and Spanish, are not mere historical curios, like the sound-changes in the earlier history of the Indo-European group. How to recognize them should take its place in the technique of learning a foreign language, because knowledge of them is an aid to memory, and often helps us to spot the familiar equivalent of an unfamiliar word. Use of such rules, set forth more specifically in Chapter VI of *The Loom*, should be part of the laboratory training of the home student who is learning a new language. The reader who takes advantage of the exhibits in the language museum of Part IV can exchange the monotony of learning lists of unrelated items for the fun of recognizing when the rules apply, of noticing exceptions, and of discovering why they are exceptions.

One of the words in the preceding lists illustrates this forcibly. At first sight there is no resemblance between the Spanish word *hecho* and the Latin-English word *fact* or its French equivalent *fait*. Anyone who has been initiated into the sound-shifts of the Romance languages recognizes two trade-marks of Spanish. One is the *CH* which corresponds to *IT* in words of Old French origin, or *CT* in modern French and English words of Latin descent. The other is the initial silent *H* which often replaces *f*, as illustrated by the Spanish (*hava*) and Italian (*fava*) words for *bean*. If an American or British student of German knows that the initial German *D* replaces our *TH*, there is no need to consult a dictionary for the meaning of *Ding* and *Durst*.

If we apply our three tests—community of basic vocabulary, similarity of grammatical structure, and regularity of sound-correspondence—to English, Dutch, German and the Scandinavian languages, all the findings suggest unity of origin. Naturally, it is not possible to exhibit the full extent of word-community within the limits of this book; but the reader will find abundant relevant material in the word lists of Part IV. Here we must content ourselves with the illustration already given on p. 21, where a request contained in the Lord's Prayer is printed in five Teutonic and in five Romance languages. The reader may also refer to the tables of personal pronouns printed on pages 126 and 127.

The grammatical apparatus of the Teutonic languages points to the

same conclusion, as the reader may see by comparing the forms of the verbs *to be* and *to have* displayed in tabular form on pp. 101 and below. Three of the most characteristic grammatical features of the Teutonic group are the following:

- (i) Throughout the Teutonic languages, there is the same type (see table on p. 190) of comparison (English *thin, thinner, thinnest*; German *dünn, dünner, dünnst*; Swedish *tunn, tunnare, tunnast*).
- (ii) All members of the group form the past tense and past participle of the verb in two ways: (a) by modifying the root-vowel (English *sing, sang, sung*; German *singen, sang, gesungen*; Danish *syng, sang, sunget*); (b) by adding *d* or *t* to the stem (English *punish, punished*; German *strafen, strafte, gestraft*; Danish *straffe, straffede, straffet*).
- (iii) The typical genitive singular case-mark is *-s*, as in English *day's*, Swedish *dags*, Danish *Dags*, German *Tages*.

If we follow out our third clue, we find a very striking series of sound-shifts characteristic of each language. We have had one example of consonant equivalence in the Teutonic group. Below is a single example of vowel equivalence:

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | GERMAN |
|---------|---------|--------|
| bone | ben | Bein |
| goat | get | Geiss |
| oak | ek | Eiche |
| stone | sten | Stein |
| whole | hel | heil |

TO HAVE IN TEUTONIC LANGUAGES

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH * | GERMAN* |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| <i>I have</i> | <i>jag</i> | <i>jeg</i> | <i>ik heb</i> | <i>ich habe</i> |
| <i>thou hast</i> | <i>Du</i> } <i>har</i> | <i>Du</i> } <i>har</i> | <i>ij heb</i> | <i>du hast</i> |
| <i>he has</i> | <i>han</i> } | <i>han</i> } | <i>hij heeft</i> | <i>er hat</i> |
| <i>we</i> } <i>have</i> | <i>vi</i> } | <i>vi</i> } | <i>wij</i> } | <i>wir haben</i> |
| <i>you</i> } | <i>Ni</i> } <i>hava</i> | <i>De</i> } | <i>jullie</i> } | <i>ihr habt</i> |
| <i>they</i> } | <i>de</i> } | <i>de</i> } | <i>zij</i> } | <i>sie haben</i> |
| <i>I had</i> | <i>jag, etc., hade</i> | <i>jeg, etc., havde</i> | <i>ik</i> } | <i>ich hatte</i> |
| <i>thou hadst</i> | | | <i>ij</i> } | <i>du hattest</i> |
| <i>he</i> } | | | <i>hij</i> } | <i>er hatte</i> |
| <i>we</i> } <i>had</i> | <i>jag, etc., hade</i> | <i>jeg, etc., havde</i> | <i>wij</i> } | <i>wir hatten</i> |
| <i>you</i> } | | | <i>jullie</i> } | <i>ihr hattet</i> |
| <i>they</i> } | | | <i>zij</i> } | <i>sie hatten</i> |
| <i>I have had</i> | <i>jag har haft</i> | <i>jeg har haft</i> | <i>ik heb gehad</i> | <i>ich habe gehabt</i> |
| <i>I shall have</i> | <i>jag skall hava</i> | <i>jeg skal have</i> | <i>ik zal hebben</i> | <i>ich werde haben</i> |

* For polite address German has *Sie*+third person plural; Dutch has *U*+third person singular (p. 146).

THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY

Similarities are comparatively easy to trace in closely related languages such as Swedish and German or French and Italian. We can still detect some, when we compare individual members of these groups with those of others. Centuries back some people felt, though dimly, that the Teutonic group was not an isolated unit. In 1597, Bonaventura Vulcanius observed that twenty-two words are the same in German and Persian. Twenty years later, another scholar stressed the similarities between Lithuanian and Latin. Both were right, though both drew the wrong conclusions from their findings, the former that German had an admixture of Persian, the latter that the Lithuanians were of Roman stock.

Two hundred years later, in 1817, Rasmus Kristian Rask, a brilliant young Dane who had been investigating the origin of Old Norse in Iceland, first drew attention to sound-correspondence between Greek and Latin on the one hand, and the Teutonic languages on the other. Text-books usually refer to this discovery as *Grimm's Law*—after the German scholar who took up Rask's idea. One item of this most celebrated of all sound-shifts is the change from the Latin *p* to the Teutonic *f*:

| LATIN | ENGLISH | SWEDISH | GERMAN |
|--------|---------|---------|--------|
| plenus | full | full | voll* |
| piscis | fish | fisk | Fisch |
| ped-is | foot | fot | Fuss |
| pater | father | fader | Vater |

* The German *V* stands for the *f* sound in *far*.

A little later the German scholar Franz Bopp (1791-1867) showed that Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic in its earlier stages, have similar verb-flexions. His studies led him to the conclusion that Aryan verb- and case-flexion have come about by the gluing on of what were once independent vocables such as pronouns and prepositions. It was a brilliant idea. Bopp's only weakness was that he tried to establish its validity when sufficient evidence was not available. Inevitably, like other pioneers, he made errors. His disciples grossly neglected the important part which *analogy* (pp. 93 and 204) has played in the accretion of affixes to roots. Subsequently a strong reaction set in. Even now, many linguists approach Bopp's agglutination theory squeamishly, as if it dealt with the human pudenda. This attitude is none the less foolish when it affects scientific caution for its justification, because

much valid historic evidence to support Bopp's teaching (see especially pp. 100, 120, 339) is available from the relatively recent history of Indo-European languages.

The present tense of "to bear," "to carry," in the following table, where the Teutonic group is represented by Old High German, illustrate obvious affinities of conjugation in the Aryan family:

| ENGLISH | SANSKRIT | GREEK (DORIC) | LATIN* | OLD HIGH GERMAN | OLD SLAVONIC |
|----------------|----------|------------------|---------|--------------------|-----------------|
| I bear | bharami | phero | fero | biru | bera |
| (thou bearest) | bharasi | phereis | fers | biris | beresi |
| he bears | bharati | pherei | fert | birit | beretu |
| we bear | bharamas | pheromes | ferimus | berames | beremu |
| you bear | bharata | pherete | fertis | beret | berete |
| they bear | bharanti | pheronti | ferunt | berant | beratu |

The singular of the present *optative* of the verb *to be*, corresponding to the use of *be* in *if it be*, in three dead languages of the group is:

| SANSKRIT | OLD LATIN | GOthic |
|----------|-----------|--------|
| syam | siem | sijau |
| syas | sies | sijais |
| syat | siet | sijai |

From a mass of phonetic, morphological and word-similarities, we thus recognize the unity of the well-defined family called *Aryan* by Anglo-American, *Indo-European* by French, and *Indo-Germanic* by German writers. The last of the three is a misnomer. Indeed the family does not keep within the limits indicated by the term *Indo-European*. It is spread out over an enormous belt that stretches almost without interruption from Central Asia to the fringes of westernmost Europe. On the European side the terminus is Celtic, and on the Asiatic, *Tokharian*, a tongue once spoken by the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan and recently (1906) unearthed in documents written over a thousand years ago.

The undeniable similarities between these languages suggest that they are all representatives of a single earlier one which must have been spoken by some community, at some place and at some time in the prehistoric past. The idiom of the far-flung *Imperium Romanum* began

* The initial / sound in many Latin words corresponds to *b* in Teutonic languages, cf. Latin *frater*, English *brother*.

as a rustic dialect of the province of Latium; but nobody can tell where the speakers of proto-Aryan lived, whether in Southern Russia, or on the Iranian plateau, or somewhere else. If, as some philologists believe, Old Indic, and the Persian of the *Avesta* have the most archaic features of Aryan languages known to us, it is not necessarily true that the habitat of the early Aryan-speaking people was nearer to Asia than to Europe. The example of Icelandic shows that a language may stray far away from home and still preserve characteristics long ago discarded

TEUTONIC COMPARISON

| ANGLO-AMERICAN | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------------|
| (a) <i>Regular type:</i> | | | | |
| RICH | rik | rig | rijk | reich |
| RICHER than | rikare än | rigere end | rijker dan | reicher als |
| RICHEST | rikast | rigest | rijkst | reichst |
| (b) <i>Irregular forms:</i> | | | | |
| (i) GOOD | god(t)* | | goed | gut |
| BETTER | bättre | bedre | beter | besser |
| BEST | bäst | bedst | | best |
| (ii) MUCH | mycken(t) | megen(r) | veel | viel |
| MORE | mera | mere | meer | mehr |
| MOST | mest | | meest | meist |
| (iii) LITTLE | liten(r) | lille | weinig | wenig |
| | lilla (pl.) | | | weniger (minder) |
| LESS | mindre | | minder | |
| LEAST | minst | mindst | minst | wenigst (mindest) |

* The -t ending is that of the neuter form.

by those that stayed behind. Only one thing seems certain. When the recorded history of Aryan begins with the Vedic hymns, the dispersal of the Aryan-speaking tribes had already taken place.

From the writings of some German authors we might gain the baseless impression that we are almost as well-informed about the language and cultural life of the proto-Aryans as we are about Egyptian civilization. One German linguist has pushed audacity so far as to compile a dictionary of hypothetical primitive Aryan, and another has surpassed him by telling us a story in it. Others have asserted that the proto-Aryans were already tilling the soil with the ox and the yoke. The proof

adduced is that the word for the *yoke* is common to all Aryan languages (Old Indian *yugam*; Greek *zygon*; Latin *jugum*; Gothic *yuk*). Hence the thing, as well as the name, must have been part of primitive Aryan culture. Arguments of this kind are not convincing. The fact that the

THE TEUTONIC VERB

A. STRONG TYPE

| ANGLO-AMERICAN | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|----------------------|-----------|----------|----------|-------------|
| (a) to give | att giva | at give | te geven | geben |
| <i>given</i> (part.) | givit | givet | gegeven | gegeben |
| give(s) (sing.) | giver | giver | geef(t) | gebe (gibt) |
| gave (sing.) | giva | | geven | geben |
| gave (plur.) | gav | gav | gaf | gab |
| | gävo | | gaven | gaben |
| (b) to come | att komma | at komme | te komen | kommen |
| <i>come</i> (part.) | kommit | kommet | gekomen | gekommen |
| come(s) (sing.) | kommer | kommer | kom(t) | komme(t) |
| came (sing.) | kommo | | komen | kommen |
| came (plur.) | kom | kom | kwam | kam |
| | komme | | kwamen | kamen |

B. WEAK TYPE

| ANGLO-AMERICAN | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| (a) to work | att arbeta | at arbejde | te arbeiden | zu arbeiten |
| <i>worked</i> (part.) | arbetat | arbejdet | gearbeid | gearbeitet |
| work(s) (sing.) | arbetar | arbejder | arbeid(t) | arbeite(t) |
| work(s) (plur.) | arbets | | arbeiden | arbeiten |
| worked (sing.) | arbetade | arbejdede | arbeidde | arbeitete |
| worked (plur.) | | | arbeidden | arbeiteten |
| (b) to hear | att höra | at høre | te hooren | zu hören |
| <i>heard</i> (part.) | hört | hørt | gehoord | gehört |
| hear(s) (sing.) | hör | hører | hoor(t) | höre(r) |
| heard (sing.) | höra | | hooren | hören |
| heard (plur.) | hörde | hørte | hoorde | hörte |
| | | | hoorden | hörten |

word *yoke* occurs in all Aryan languages is explicable without burdening the primitive Aryan dictionary. There is no reason whatsoever why an Aryan-speaking tribe should not have borrowed the *yoke* from a non-Aryan-speaking community, and then passed it on to others.

Though we know little about early culture-contacts, common sense tells us that what has happened in historical times must also have happened before.

It has also been said that the primitive Aryan-speaking tribes could count at least as far as one hundred. This does not necessarily follow from the fact that names for 2 or for 3 or for 10, etc., are alike. You cannot exchange goods without being able to count. It is therefore quite possible* that Aryan-speaking tribes borrowed the art of counting from an outside source, or that it diffused from one branch of the family to its neighbours. Indeed, numerals are the most indefatigable wanderers among words, as indefatigable as alphabets. In the language of the Gypsies, an Indic tribe, the names for 7, 8, and 9 are modern Greek, whereas those for 5 and 10 are Indic. In the Finno-Ugrian group, the word for 100 is borrowed from Iranian; and Hebrew *schesh* (6) and *scheba* (7) are supposed to be derived from Aryan, while the Hebrew name for 8 is assumed to be Egyptian. But there is no need to go so far back. The English *dozen* and *million* have been taken over in comparatively recent times from the Romance languages.

German philologists have not been content to draw encouraging conclusions from words which are alike and have the same meaning in all the Aryan languages. They have also speculated about the significance of words which do not exist. Of itself, the fact that the Aryan family has no common term for the tiger does not indicate that the proto-Aryans inhabited a region where there were no tigers. Once the hypothetical *Urvolk* started to move, tribes which went into colder regions would no longer need to preserve the word for it. If we are entitled to deduce that the East did not use salt because the Western Aryan word for the mineral does not occur in the Indo-Iranian tongues, the absence of a common Aryan word for milk must force us to conclude that proto-Aryan babies used to feed on something else.

LANGUAGE FAMILIES OF THE WORLD

In a modern classification of the animal kingdom taxonomists unite many small groups, such as fishes, birds and mammals, or crustacea, insects and arachnida (spiders and scorpions) in larger ones such as vertebrates and arthropods. Beyond that point we can only speculate

* Philologists sometimes justify emphasis on similarity of number-words on the ground that they also share general phonetic features characteristic of a language as a whole. This is also true of words which have undoubtedly been borrowed, and is easily explained by the phonetic habits of a people.

with little plausibility about their evolutionary past. Besides about ten great groups, such as vertebrates and arthropods, embracing the majority of animal species, there are many small ones made up of few species, isolated from one another and from the members of any of the larger divisions. So it is with languages. Thus Japanese, Korean, Manchu, Mongolian, each stand outside any recognized families as isolated units.

We have seen that most of the inhabitants of Europe speak languages with common features. These common features justify the recognition of a single great *Indo-European family*. Besides the Romance or Latin and the Teutonic languages mentioned in the preceding pages, the Indo-European family includes several other well-defined groups, such as the Celtic (Scots Gaelic, Erse, Welsh, Breton) in the West, and the Slavonic (Russian, Polish, Czech and Slovak, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian) in the East of Europe, together with the Indo-Iranian languages spoken by the inhabitants of Persia and a large part of India. Lithuanian (with its sister dialect, Latvian), Greek, Albanian, and Armenian are isolated members of the same family.

The Indo-European or Aryan group does not include all existing European languages. Finnish, Magyar, Esthonian and Lappish have common features which have led linguists to place them in a separate group called the *Finno-Ugrian family*. So far as we can judge at present, Turkish, which resembles several Central Asiatic languages (Tartar, Uzbek, Kirgiz), belongs to neither of the two families mentioned; and Basque, still spoken on the French and Spanish sides of the Pyrenees, has no clear affinities with any other language in the world.

Long before modern language research established the unity of the Aryan family, Jewish scholars recognized the similarities of Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic which are representatives of a Semitic family. The Semitic family also includes the fossil languages of the Phoenicians and Assyro-Babylonians. The languages of China, Tibet, Burma and Siam constitute a fourth great language family. Like the Semitic, the *Indo-Chinese family* has an indigenous literature. In Central and Southern Africa other languages such as Luganda, Swahili, Kafir, Zulu, have been associated in a *Bantu unit* which does *not* include those of the Bushmen and Hottentots. In Northern Africa Somali, Galla and Berber show similarities which have forced linguists to recognize a *Hamitic family*. To this group ancient Egyptian also belongs. A *Dravidian family* includes Southern Indian languages, which have no relation to the Aryan vernaculars of India. Yet another major family with clear-cut features

is the *Malayo-Polynesian*, which includes Malay and the tongues of most of the islands in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Something like a hundred language-groups, including the Papuan, Australian and Amerindian (e.g. Mexican and Greenlandic) vernaculars, Japanese, Basque, Manchu, Georgian, and Korean, still remain to be connected in larger units. This has not been possible so far, either because they have not yet been properly studied, or because their past phases are not on record. Below is a list of families which are well-defined:

I. INDO-EUROPEAN:

- (a) *Teutonic*
(German, Dutch, Scandinavian, English)
- (b) *Celtic*
(Erse, Gaelic, Welsh, Breton)
- (c) *Romance*
(French, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Italian, Rumanian)
- (d) *Slavonic*
(Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovakian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovene)
- (e) *Baltic*
(Lithuanian, Lettish)
- (f) *Greek*
- (g) *Albanian*
- (h) *Armenian*
- (i) *Persian*
- (k) *Modern Indic dialects*

II. FINNO-UGRIAN:

- (a) *Lappish*
- (b) *Finnish*
- (c) *Estonian*
- (d) *Cheremessian, Mordvinian*
- (e) *Magyar (Hungarian)*

III. SEMITIC:

- (a) *Arabic*
- (b) *Ethiopian*
- (c) *Hebrew*
- (d) *Maltese*

IV. HAMITIC:

- (a) *Cushite (Somali, Galla)*
- (b) *Berber languages*

V. INDO-CHINESE:

- (a) *Chinese*
- (b) *Tibetan*
- (c) *Siamese*
- (d) *Burmese*

VI. MALAYO-POLYNESIAN:

- (a) *Malay*
- (b) *Fijian*
- (c) *Tahitian*
- (d) *Maori*

VII. TURCO-TARTAR:

- (a) *Turkish*
- (b) *Tartar*
- (c) *Kirghiz*

VIII. DRAVIDIAN:

(a) Tamil (b) Telugu (c) Canarese

IX. BANTU:

Kafir, Swahili, Bechuana, Sesuto, Herero, Congo, Duala, etc.

GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LANGUAGE-FAMILIES

Because grammatical similarities between different languages furnish one of the three most important indications of evolutionary relationship, it is useful to recognize certain general grammatical features which may be *more or less* characteristic of a language. From this point of view we can classify language-types which *may* coincide with genuine evolutionary affinity, if the evidence of grammar is supported by other clues such as the two already discussed. If other clues are not available, the fact that languages are classified in this way does not necessarily point to common origin, because languages which are related may have lost outstanding grammatical similarities, and languages which belong to different families may have evolved similar grammatical traits along different paths. From this point of view, we can divide languages into the following types:—*isolating, flexional, root-inflected* and *classificatory*.

The first and the last are the most clear-cut; and the second, which embraces a great diversity of tongues, depends on grammatical devices which have no common origin. Even when we stretch the limits of all three to the utmost, we are left with many languages in which isolated flexional and classificatory features may be blended without decisive predominance of any one of them, and the language of a single community may traverse the boundaries of such groups in a comparatively short period of its history. Thus the English of Alfred the Great was a typically flexional language, and Anglo-American is predominantly isolating. Basque, which is a law unto itself, and the Amerindian dialects, fit into no clearly defined family based on evidence of common ancestry, and we cannot classify them in any of the three grammatical groups mentioned above.

The word of an *isolating* language is an unalterable unit. Neither flexional accretions nor internal changes reveal what part the word plays in the sentence, as do the changes from *house* to *houses*, *men* to *men's*, *give* to *gave*, *live* to *lived*. All the words which we should call verbs are fixed like *must* (p. 123), and all the words we call nouns are fixed like *grouse*. Vernaculars of the Chinese family, usually cited as extreme examples of the isolating type, have other common features which are not necessarily connected with the fact that the word is an

unchangeable unit; and the fact that they are difficult to learn has nothing to do with it. We have already touched on the real difficulties, i.e. its script, ambiguities of the many homophones (p. 51) and phonetic subtleties of the tone values; and shall study them at greater length in Chapter X. Here it is important to emphasize that representatives of other language groups, especially languages which have been subject to hybridization resulting from culture contacts through trade, conquest or migration, have evolved far towards the same goal. To the extent that they have done so, they are easier to learn than closely related neighbours.



FIG. 26.—COIN OF MACCABEAN TIMES WITH EARLY HEBREW CHARACTERS
On left side: sh-q-l j-z-r-l sh b (*shekel of Israel year 2*). On right side: j-r-w-sh-l-j-m h-q-d-w-sh-h (*Holy Jerusalem*).

Malay is one of the Polynesian language-group often described as agglutinating languages. In his primer of Malay Winstedt says: "Nouns have no inflexion for gender, number or case . . . there is no article . . . the comparative is formed by using *lēbeh* (more) before the adjective. The superlative is formed by putting the word *sa-kali* (most) after the adjective. . . . There is no inflexion to mark mood, tense or even voice." To this it may be added that the adjective is invariant and the pronoun has no case-form. Malay is therefore an isolating language with none of the peculiar disabilities of Chinese, i.e. tone values and numerous homophones.

AGGLUTINATION AND AMALGAMATION

The *flexional* type includes languages which mainly indicate modification of meaning and grammatical relations by affixes attached to the same word-root. According to the degree of fusion between core and accretion, we can distinguish two sorts of external flexion, *agglutination* and *amalgamation*.

The *words* of agglutinating languages such as Finnish, Magyar (Hungarian) and Turkish are not exclusively independent and mobile particles like those of Chinese. Affixes loosely joined to the unchanging root in such a way that the boundary between the core and its accre-

tion is unmistakable modify the meaning of the former. In some agglutinating languages, we can recognize many or most of these affixes as contracted remains of longer words which still enjoy an independent existence. In others, the affixes do not correspond to elements which exist apart. What is most characteristic of such languages is that each affix, like an independent word, has a *distinctive* meaning. So derivatives (see footnote p. 34) of an agglutinating language when classified according to case, mood, etc., have clear-cut uses, and the method of forming them is also clear-cut. Neither the use nor the form of derivatives described by the same name admits the perplexing irregularities of a typically *amalgamating* language such as Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit.

The term itself implies that *agglutinating* languages form their derivatives by the process of fusion discussed in Chapter III and elsewhere. This is not certainly true of all so-called agglutinating languages, but it is appropriate to those of the Finno-Ugrian family. A Hungarian example will make this clear. In the Indo-European languages, the case-endings are not recognizable as vestiges of individual words, but in Magyar we can still see how a directive is glued to the noun. From *hajo*, ship, and *hajo-k*, ships, we get:

SINGULAR

PLURAL

hajo-ban (= *hajo* + *ban*), in the ship.
hajo-ból (= *hajo* + *ből*), out of the ship.
hajo-ba (= *hajo* + *ba*), into the ship.
hajo-hoz (= *hajo* + *hoz*), towards the ship.
hajo-nak (= *hajo* + *nek*), for the ship.

hajo-k-ban, in the ships.
hajo-k-ból, out of the ships.
hajo-k-ba, into the ships.
hajo-k-hoz, towards the ships.
hajo-k-nak, for the ships.

The origin of the affixes is not equally clear in Finnish, but the example cited illustrates a feature common to Finnish and Magyar. Case-marks of the singular do not differ from those of the plural in languages of the Finno-Ugrian family. Signs which express plurality remain the same throughout the declension. In contradistinction to that of Greek or Latin, where number- and case-marks are indissolubly fused, the build-up of the flexional forms of the Finnish or Magyar noun is transparent. The fact that Finnish has fifteen "cases" does not make it difficult to learn, because the case-endings in both numbers are the same for all nouns or pronouns and for adjectives,* which mimic the endings of the nouns associated with them. Since an

* In other Finno-Ugrian languages the adjective takes no case-affix.

invariable case-mark corresponds to the use of a fairly well-defined particle in our own language, the effort spent in learning the case-endings of a Finnish noun or pronoun is not greater than the effort involved in learning the same number of independent words.

Analogous remarks apply to the Finnish verb, which has two tense-forms, present and past, like ours. The same personal affixes occur throughout, and the change in the final root vowel indicating completed action is the same for *all* verbs. Here is a specimen:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>mene-mme</i> —we go | <i>meni-mme</i> —we went |
| <i>mene-tte</i> —you go | <i>meni-tte</i> —you went |
| <i>mene-vät</i> —they go | <i>meni-vät</i> —they went |

Where we should use a separate possessive pronoun in front of a noun, people who speak a Finno-Ugrian language use an affix attached to the end of a noun as the personal affix is attached to the verb. This personal affix follows the case-mark. Thus from *talo* (house) we get:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>talo-ssa-mme</i> —in my house | <i>talo-i-ssa-mme</i> —in my houses |
| <i>talo-ssa-nne</i> —in your house | <i>talo-i-ssa-nne</i> —in your houses |
| <i>talo-ssa-nsa</i> —in their house | <i>talo-i-ssa-nsa</i> —in their houses |

The first of the three personal affixes is the same for the Finnish noun and Finnish verb. In Samoyede, a language related to Finnish and Magyar, the same pronoun suffixes appear throughout the conjugation of the verb and the corresponding possessive derivatives of the noun. So the formal distinction between noun and verb is tenuous, as seen by comparing:

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>lamba-u</i> —my ski | <i>mada-u</i> = I cut (my cutting) |
| <i>lamba-r</i> —thy ski | <i>mada-r</i> = thou cuttest (thy cutting) |
| <i>lamba-da</i> —his ski | <i>mada-da</i> = he cuts (his cutting) |

The structure of derivative words in languages of the Finno-Ugrian family is not always as schematic as the examples given might suggest. In some languages of the family the vowel of the suffix harmonizes with that of the root-word. The result is that one and the same suffix may have two or even three different vowels, according to the company it keeps, e.g. in Finnish *elämä-ssä* means *in the life*, but *talo-ssa* means *in the house*. The modifying suffixes, particularly in Finnish, sometimes adhere more intimately to the root, as in the Indo-European languages. None the less, two essential features are common to all the Finno-Ugrian group. One is *great regularity of the prevailing pattern* of derivatives. The other is *comparative freedom from arbitrary affixes* which

contribute nothing to the meaning of a statement. Thus grammatical gender (p. 113) is completely absent.

Where we draw the line between a language which is predominantly agglutinating or isolating depends on where we draw the line between a *word* and an *affix*. If we do not know the history of a language, it is not easy to do so. We do not recognize words such as *except* or *but* as separate entities because they are names of things at which we can point or because they stand for actions we can mimic. We distinguish them from affixes such as *mis-* or *anti-*, *because we can move them about in the sentence*. Now this test is straightforward because of the characteristics of English word-order. For example, we put prepositions on the one hand, and pointer-words or adjectives on the other, in front of a noun. A pointer-word with two or more adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions can separate a preposition from a noun. When the adjective comes after the noun, as it usually does in French, the distinction is not so sharp, and it is less sharp in some Indic vernaculars. The Hindustani (p. 412) adjective precedes and the directive *follows* the noun. If these *postpositions*—we cannot rightly call them *prepositions*—never strayed further afield, there would be nothing to distinguish them from case-affixes like those of Finnish.

Even the status of a pronoun as an independent element of living speech is difficult to assess by any other criterion. The reader who knows some French will realize that the pronouns *je, me, tu, te, il*, etc., never stand by themselves. When a Frenchman answers a question with a single word, he replaces them by *moi, toi, lui*, etc. We recognize them as *words* by their mobility in the sentence. That *je* or *il* do not always stand immediately in front of the verb is due to three accidents of the French language, i.e. the fact that the pronoun object and the negative particle *ne* precede the verb, and the use of inversion for question formation. By the same token (p. 198) we ought to call the personal suffixes of the Finnish verb, pronouns.

Thus the distinction between an affix and a particle is clear-cut only when the conventions of word-order permit the independent mobility of the latter. We are entitled to speak of a language as isolating when, as in Chinese vernaculars, great mobility of unchangeable elements is characteristic of it. When we speak of a language as agglutinating, we usually mean that a clear-cut distinction between particle and affix is impossible because any of the formal elements described by either of these names occurs in a small range of combinations with recognizably separate words, e.g. those we call nouns, adjectives, or verbs. Some grammarians apply the epithet *agglutinative* to any language with a

highly regular system of affixes, including the Bantu dialects discussed below. The veteran philologist Jacob Grimm first emphasized the merits of Magyar and commended it as a model to people interested in language planning. The existence of such regularity in natural languages has left a strong impress on projects for a constructed world auxiliary.

At an early stage in the *process* of agglutination many words will share similar affixes, because the latter have not yet suffered *much* modification by fusion with different roots. Hence mere *regularity* of affixes has sometimes been used as a criterion of the agglutinating type; but regularity may also result from an entirely different process. After amalgamation has gone far, lifeless affixes tack themselves on to new words by the process of analogical extension, or old ones may be regularized for the same reason. In this way a language with an amalgamating *past*, e.g. Italian, may approach the regularity of a language in which few words have *yet reached* the stage of true external flexion. So the fact that Turkish or Japanese have regular affixes does not mean that they have evolved in the same way as Hungarian or Finnish. Only the last two, together with *Estonian*, with the language of the Lapps, and with dialects of a considerable region of northern Siberia constitute a truly related group within the heterogeneous assemblage once called the *Turanian* family.

In a language of the *amalgamating* type, e.g. Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin, modifications of the sense of the word and the place it takes in the sentence depend on affixes intimately fused with the radical (*root*) element. Since fusion between core and affix is intimate, the build-up of words is by no means transparent. Even the grammarian can rarely dissect them. We can always recognize which accretions are characteristic of number or case in the various forms of the Magyar noun (p. 197), because all the plural case-forms, as of *hajo* (ship), contain the suffix *-k* immediately after the root; but comparison of singular and plural case-forms of an Indo-European noun does not necessarily tell you which part of the suffix attached to the root is characteristic of a particular *case* or of a particular *number*. There is no part of the suffix common to *all plural* in contrast to *all singular* case-forms. In a language such as Latin or Sanskrit there is no part of the suffix common to the genitive, singular or plural, in contradistinction to the different *number*-forms of all other case-forms.

You can see this without difficulty, if you compare the following case-forms of a Latin word with our Hungarian example:

navis, a ship
navis, of a ship
navi, to a ship

naves, ships
navium, of the ships
navibus, to the ships

English equivalents for different case-forms of the Latin for a *ship* or *ships*, as printed above, are those given in text-books, and the truth is that text-books conceal the worst from the beginner. Correct choice of case-endings in a typical amalgamating language does not always depend on whether the English equivalent would have a particle such as *of* or *to* in front of it. The Latin case-ending is much more versatile than in the corresponding Magyar one. The dative *navi* turns up in many situations where we cannot translate it by *to a ship*, and there is no simple rule which tells us what ending to tack on a Latin noun in one of several dative situations. Compare, for instance, the following with the preceding examples:

porta, a gate
portae, of a gate
portae, to a gate

portae, gates
portarum, of the gates
portis, to the gates

Comparison of the case-forms of these two nouns emphasizes the *irregularity* of derivatives in an amalgamating language. Though English is no longer an amalgamating language and is now remarkably regular in comparison with its nearest neighbours, there is no single way in which the plural of all English nouns is formed; and there is no single way in which the past of all English verbs is formed. We can arrange English nouns in families like *man-mouse* or *pan-house*, according to the way in which we derive their plural forms, and verbs in families such as *sing-drink*, *think-bring*, *live-bake*, according to the way in which we derive the past tense. In a typical amalgamating language we have to reckon with many noun families (declensions) and many verb families (conjugations). Each declension has its own type of case- as well as plural-formation. Each conjugation has its own way of building person time, mood, and voice derivatives.

The two most characteristic features which distinguish languages of the amalgamating from languages of the agglutinating type may therefore be summed up in this way. Amalgamating languages have many derivatives arbitrarily chosen by custom in situations connected by no common thread of meaning, and many different ways of forming the derivative appropriate to a single context in accordance with meaning or conventional usage. The table manners of an agglutinating language are unassuming. You use a spoon because a spoon is the tool appro-

priate for soup, and there is no difficulty about recognizing what a spoon is, because all the spoons are produced according to a standard pattern. The table manners of an amalgamating language are largely moulded by a code of gentlemanly uselessness. You have a large assortment of tools before you. Whether you use a fork with or without a knife or a spoon depends on conventions of social class without regard to the texture of the food.

To all the intrinsic difficulties of learning a language such as Latin, old-fashioned grammarians and schoolmasters have added the distracting pretence that such table manners have a rational basis. This is false. The grammar of an agglutinating language such as Finnish (or Esperanto) is mainly concerned with meaning. The grammar of an amalgamating language such as Latin is mainly concerned with social ritual. If you hope to master a language such as Latin, the question you have to ask is not what any one of half-a-dozen different affixes which grammarians describe as trade-marks of the *ablative case* signify. They have no *unique* meaning. Each case-affix of a Latin noun is the trade-mark of a shelf of diversely assorted idioms. The business of the learner who succeeds in emerging from the fog of false rationality in text-books of classical grammar is to find out in what situations Latin or Greek authors use these affixes. The use of Latin case-forms is a social habit, like eating asparagus with the fingers. The only reason for making an exception of asparagus is that the people with money do so.

Like the boundary between oil and water in a test-tube, the difference between amalgamation and agglutination is not clear-cut. It would be difficult to give good reasons for describing the personal suffixes of the Celtic verb (or the verb of some Indian vernaculars) as amalgamating in contradistinction to agglutinating. Flexions of this kind pass through the stage of agglutination to amalgamation. They then propagate themselves by analogy, as when we stick the *-s* on the *park* in: *he parks his car here*. Conventions of script may greatly exaggerate or hide regularities or irregularities of the spoken language. The literary language of Germany preserves a luxuriance of flexions which are not clearly audible in the daily intercourse of many Germans. The same is more true of French. French script conceals a wealth of contractions which would make a faithful transcription of French speech recall the characteristics of some Amerindian dialects (p. 215). Written English is more isolating than Anglo-American as we speak it, because it frowns on many agglutinative contractions of the pronoun or negative particle (e.g. *who've won't*) with helper verbs.

A large proportion of the languages of the world got script from alien missionaries bent on spreading the use of sacred texts. The missionary who equips a language with its alphabet uses his own judgment to decide which elements of speech are, or are not, to be treated as separate words, and his judgment is necessarily prejudiced by the grammatical framework of his own education. If he is a classical scholar, he will approach the task with a keen eye for similarities between Latin or Greek and the language which he is learning.

ORIGIN OF FLEXIONS

The value of the distinction between an *isolating* type, which shuns affixation, an *agglutinating* type which favours a variety of highly regular affixes, and an *amalgamating* type which conserves a welter of irregular ones, lies less in the fact that it draws attention to essential differences between different languages, than that it emphasizes the coexistence of *processes* which play a part in the evolution of one and the same language. Though one of these processes may prevail at a given moment, the others are never absent. A language such as modern English or modern French exhibits characteristics which are separated by thousands of years. It is like a bus in which the water-diviner sits next to the trained geologist, and the faith-healer next to the physician. The vowel-chime of *sing, sang, sung*, re-echoes from vaults of time before the chanting of the Vedic hymns, while a considerable class of English verbs such as *cast, hurt, put*, have shed nearly every trace of the characteristics which distinguish the Aryan verb as such. In this and in other ways the grammar of the Anglo-American language is far more like that of Chinese than that of Latin or Sanskrit.

Nobody hesitates to call Chinese *isolating* and Latin *amalgamating*, but neither label attached to French would do justice to it. In the course of the last thousand years or so, French has moved away from its flexional origin and has gradually shifted towards isolation without fully shedding its accretions. French has not gone nearly so far as English along this path, and Italian has lagged behind French, but Italian is much easier to learn, because what has happened to the few surviving flexions of English has happened to the far more elaborate flexional system of Italian. There has been extensive *levelling* of the endings by analogical extension which continually swells the overwhelming majority of English plurals ending in *-s* or English past tense forms ending in *-ed*. To this extent modern Italian has assumed a regularity reminiscent of Finnish, while it has also collected a large

battery of new agglutinative contractions for the definite article (p. 361) accompanied by a preposition.

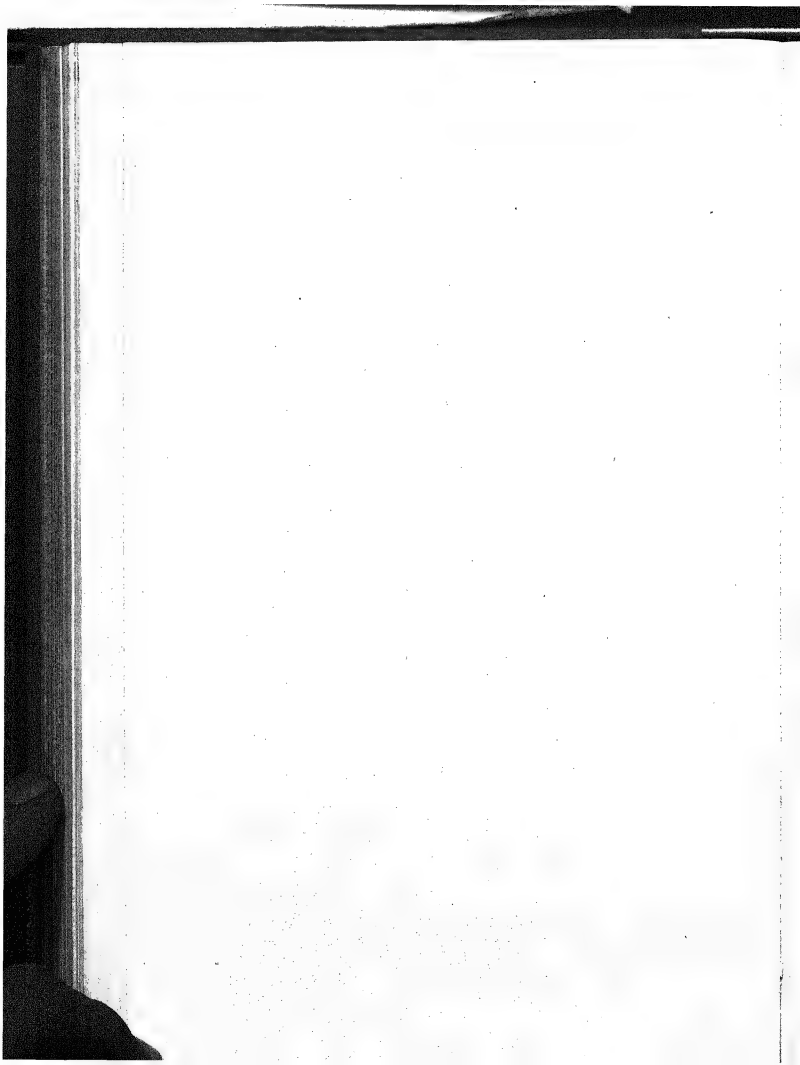
Like other formative processes, levelling or regularization by analogy waxes in periods of illiteracy and culture contact, waning under the discipline of script. The part it has played in the evolution of our remaining flexions will come up for further discussion in Chapter VI. What applies to flexions, or to derivative affixes such as the *-er* in *baker*, applies equally to pronunciation, to word order and to syntax in general. Habit, local or personal limitations of vocabulary and human laziness continually conspire to impose the pattern of the more familiar word or phrase on those we use less often. To the extent that grammarians have set themselves against the popular drift towards (pp. 168 and 267) regularity, their influence has been retrograde. Analogical extension is the process by which natural languages are always striving to assume the orderliness of a constructed auxiliary.

To get rid of the disorder inherent in natural languages was the cardinal *motif* of language planning in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The issue was not entirely novel. The grammarians of antiquity had discussed it and were of two minds. One party, the *anomalists*, took the conservative view. The other, the *analogists*, swam with the stream, and even practised revision of texts to prune away grammatical irregularities. The controversy went on for several centuries. Among others, Julius Caesar took a hand in it. As a general he favoured regimentation. So he naturally took the side of the analogists.

The fact that isolation is the predominant feature of some languages (e.g. Chinese dialects or Malay), regularity of affixes the outstanding characteristics of others (e.g. Finno-Ugrian dialects, Japanese, Turkish) and chaotic irregularity of suffixes the prevailing grammatical pattern of a third group (e.g. Sanskrit, Greek, Latin or Old English) has prompted speculations which take us into the twilight of human speech, without much hope of reaching certainty. Some linguists believe that primitive speech was a sing-song matrix from which words emerged with the frayed edges of a Sanskrit noun or verb. According to this view there has been a steady progress from amalgamation, through agglutinative regularity to isolation. Others favour the opposite view. They believe that the speech of our primitive ancestors once consisted of separate root-words which were probably monosyllabic, like those of Chinese dialects. If so, words which carried less emphasis than others became attached as modifiers to more meaningful ones. Finally, these accretions got intimately fused, and forfeited their former independence.



FIG. 27.—THREE VERSES FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE
 OLDEST DATEABLE MS OF THE HERREW BIBLE, THE
 PROPHETEN-CODEX FROM CAIRO



Since we can see four processes, isolation, agglutinative contraction, levelling by analogy and flexional fusion, competing simultaneously in English or Italian, these extremes do not exhaust all the conceivable possibilities of evolution. If we hear less about a third, and more likely one, the reason is that most linguists still allow far too little *time* for the evolution of speech. It has taken us long to outgrow Archbishop Ussher's chronology which fixed the date of the creation as October 4, 4004 B.C., at nine o'clock in the morning. Although our knowledge of grammar does not extend much further back than three thousand years, human beings like ourselves have existed for at least twenty times as long. We now know that the age of man, as a talking animal, may be as much as 100,000 years, perhaps more; and anything we can learn about Sanskrit, old Chinese—or even the ancient Hittite language—can never be more than the last charred pages of a burnt-out book-shelf. Long ago, one philologist saw the implications of this. In his book *Sprachwissenschaft* Von der Gabelentz (1891) has suggested the possibility that isolation, agglutination, and flexion may succeed one another in a cyclical or spiral sequence:

"Language moves along the diagonal of two forces. The tendency towards economy of effort which leads to a slurring of the sounds, and the tendency towards clearness which prevents phonetic attrition from causing the complete destruction of language. The affixes become fused and finally they disappear without leaving any trace behind, but their functions remain, and strive once more after expression. In the isolating languages they find it in word-order or formal elements, which again succumb in the course of time to agglutination, fusion and eclipse. Meanwhile, language is already preparing a new substitute for what is decaying in the form of periphrastic expressions which may be of a syntactical kind or consist of compound words. But the process is always the same. The line of evolution bends back towards isolation, not quite back to the previous path, but to a nearly parallel one. It thus comes to resemble a *spiral*. . . . If we could retrace our steps for a moment to the presumptive root-stage of language, should we be entitled to say that it is the first, and not perhaps the fourth, or seventh, or twentieth in its history—that the spiral, to use our simile once more, did not already at that time have so and so many turns behind? What do we know about the age of mankind?"

ROOT INFLEXION

While the distinction between agglutination and amalgamation or external flexion is fluid, modification of meaning by root-inflexion, such as in *swim-swam-swum* is sharply defined. This example shows that it exists in the Indo-European group, though it is less typical than addi-

tion of suffixes. Its oldest Aryan manifestation, called *Ablaut* by German grammarians, is most characteristic of the verb. We have met with examples in the *strong* class which includes *swim, come, find, sit*. *Ablaut* is common in Sanskrit (*matum*, to measure—*mita*, measured), and in Greek (*trepo*, I turn—*tetropha*, I have turned), but much less so in Latin. To-day it is most strongly entrenched in the Teutonic group.

Several types of root vowel change are particularly characteristic of Teutonic, especially German, verbs. One is the existence of pairs of which one member is intransitive (cannot have an object), the other transitive in a *causative* sense. We still have a few such pairs in English, e.g. *fall-fell, lie-lay, sit-set*. Thus we *fall* down (*intrans.*); but we *fell* a tree (i.e. *cause* it to fall). We *lie* down; but we *lay* (*cause* to lie) a book on the table. We *sit* down; but we *set* (*cause* to sit) a flag on a pole.

Umlaut is the technical word for a type of root inflexion peculiar to the Teutonic group. It is specially characteristic of the noun, and is illustrated by the English plurals *man-men, foot-feet*. Such pairs originally had a plural suffix containing the *i* or *j* (p. 84) sound, which modified the vowels *a, o, u* in the stem itself. Thus we get Old High German *gast-gesti* (mod. Germ. *Gast-Gäste*). The process began first in English, and was already complete in documents of the eighth century. Alfred's English had *fof-fet, mus-mys* (pronounce the *y* like the *u* of French or the *ü* of German). In the language of Shakespeare they appear as *fut-fit, and mous-meis*. Old English had other pairs which have since disappeared. Thus the plural of *boc*, our *book* (German *Buch*) was *bec* (German *Bücher*), and that of *hnutu*, our *nut* (German *Nuss*) was *hnyte* (German *Nüsse*). This trick never became fashionable in English. During the Middle English period it succumbed almost completely to the custom of making the plural by adding *-es*. Owing to this drift towards the invariant root, the hall-mark of a progressive language, English has escaped the fate of German and Swedish. There are a few Swedish, but no German nouns of the *man-men* class; but many Swedish, and far more German, nouns which retain a plural ending also have a modified stem vowel. The German and Swedish equivalents of the *man-men* class are shown below:

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | GERMAN |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| man-men | man-män | Mann-Männer |
| mouse-mice | mus-möss | Maus-Mäuse |
| louse-lice | lus-löss | Laus-Läuse |
| goose-geese | gås-gäss | Gans-Gänse |
| foot-feet | fof-fötter | Fuss-Füsse |
| tooth-teeth | tand-tänder | Zahn-Zähne |

The same process has affected other types of word derivation in Teutonic languages, especially German. For instance we distinguish between the adjectival and noun forms *foul* and *filth*, or between the verb and adjectival forms *fill* and *full* (German *füllen* and *voll*). Similarly we have noun-verb pairs such as: *gold-gild*, *food-feed* (*Futter-füttern*), *tale-tell* (*Zahl-zählen*), *brood-breed* (*Brut-brüten*). Other related pairs distinguished by stem vowel change are *fox-vixen* and *elder-older*.

In German the shifting of the root-vowels went on in historic times, several hundred years after that of English. It did not reach completion before about A.D. 1150. Once the pattern became fashionable it affected words which never had the *i* sound in the succeeding syllable. No drift towards unification had set in before the printing-press mummified the grammar of German. Thus vowel-change now crops up in the comparative and superlative of nearly all monosyllabic adjectives (e.g. *hoch-höher*), distinguishes the ordinary past of many verbs from the subjunctive (e.g. *ich nahm-ich nähme*), the agent from his activity (e.g. *backen-Bäcker*), the diminutive from the basic word (*Haus-Häuschen*), the noun-abstract from its adjective (*gut-Güte*), the verb from the adjective (e.g. *glatt-glätten, smooth-to smooth*).

In many German dialects such *mutation* appears where standard German does without. Thus we meet *Hünd, Ärm, Täg*, for *Hunde, Arme, Tage*, and Yiddish opposes *tog-teg* to the *Tag-Tage* of common German. Apart from the disruption caused by an *i* or *j* sound in the succeeding syllable, and the Ablaut inherited from primitive Indo-European, modern German preserves several other vowel mutations. Occasionally the various types come together in the conjugational forms of a single verb. Thus we have *ich sterbe* (I die)—*er stirbt* (he dies)—*stirb!* (die!)—*er starb* (he died)—*er ist gestorben* (he has died)—*wenn er stirbe* (if he died). The backwardness of German root vowel behaviour is particularly impressive if we compare it with both Old English and Modern English:

| GERMAN | OLD ENGLISH | ANGLO-AMERICAN |
|------------|-------------|----------------|
| ich helfe | ic helpe | } help(s) |
| du hilfst | thu hilpst | |
| er hilft | he hilpþ | |
| wir helfen | we | |
| ihr helft | ge | |
| sie helfen | hie | |

In view of the prevailing ideology of the Third Reich, there is an

element of comedy in this peculiarity which puts German apart from its sister languages. Internal vowel change, which is subsidiary to external flexion in the group as a whole, is the trade-mark of the Semitic family. The Semitic root-word consists of three, less often of two or four, consonants. Thus the consonantal group *sh-m-r* signifies the general notion of "guarding," and *g-n-b* the general notion of "stealing." Into this fixed framework fit vowels, which change according to the meaning and grammatical functions of the word. From the root *sh-m-r* we get *shamar*, he has guarded; *shomer*, guarding; *shamur*, being guarded. From the root *g-n-b* we have *ganab*, he has stolen; *goneb*, stealing; *ganub*, being stolen. Though Semitic languages form derivatives by addition of prefixes and suffixes, such additions have a much smaller range than those of the older Indo-European languages. It is therefore misleading to lump Semitic together with the Indo-European languages as flexional types. Semitic languages constitute a sharply marked type characterized by *root-inflexion*, in contradistinction to *amalgamation*, which is characteristic of the old Aryan languages such as Sanskrit, Latin, or Russian.

The student of German will find it useful to tabulate some essentially Semitic features of the language. Excluding minor irregularities and such comparatives as *hoch-höher* (high-higher), we can distinguish the following categories:

- (1) In the conjugation of the second and third person singular of the present tense and sometimes in the imperative of many strong verbs, e.g.:

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>sprechen</i> (talk) | : <i>ich spreche</i> | <i>er spricht</i> | <i>Sprich!</i> |
| <i>geben</i> (give) | : <i>ich gebe</i> | <i>er gibt</i> | <i>Gib!</i> |
| <i>nehmen</i> (take) | : <i>ich nehme</i> | <i>er nimmt</i> | <i>Nimm!</i> |
| <i>lesen</i> (read) | : <i>ich lese</i> | <i>er liest</i> | <i>Lies!</i> |

- (2) In the formation of the past subjunctive of strong verbs, e.g. *er gäbe, er nähme, er läse*, when the vowel of the ordinary past is long as in *er gab, er nahm, er las*.
- (3) In many couplets of intransitive verbs and transitive ones (p. 149) with a causative significance, e.g. *trinken-tränken* (drink-give to drink), *wiegen-wägen* (weigh), *saugen-säugen* (suck-suckle).
- (4) Plural derivatives of neuter and masculine nouns with the stem vowels *a, o, u, au*, e.g. *Kalb-Kälber* (calf-calves), *Buch-Bücher* (book-books), *Stock-Stöcke* (stick-sticks), *Haus-Häuser* (house-houses).
- (5) Adjectival derivatives for materials, e.g. *Holz-hölzern* (wood-wooden), *Erde-irden* (earth-earthen).

- (6) Adjectival derivatives with the suffixes *-ig*, *-icht*, *-isch*, or *-lich*
e.g. *Macht-mächtig* (power-powerful), *Haus-häuslich* (house-domestic), *Stadt-städtisch* (town-urban).
- (7) Diminutives, e.g. *Mann-Männchen*, *Frau-Fräulein*.
- (8) Abstract feminine nouns in *-e*, e.g. *gut-die Güte* (good-goodness),
hoch-die Höhe (high-the height).
- (9) Collective neuter nouns, *Berg-Gebirge* (mountain-mountain range), *Wurm-Gewürm* (worm-vermin).
- (10) Feminine nouns which take *-in*, e.g. *Hund-Hündin* (dog-bitch).

CLASSIFICATORY LANGUAGES

The Bantu languages of Africa illustrate features common to the speech of backward and relatively static cultures throughout the world. One of these gives us a clue to the possible origin of gender in the Indo-European group. The Bantu family includes nearly all the native tongues spoken from the Equator to the Cape Province. In this huge triangle, the only exceptions are the dialects of the Bushmen, of the Hottentots, and of the Pygmies of Central Africa. About a hundred and fifty Bantu dialects form a remarkably homogeneous unit. Most of them are not separated by greater differences than those which distinguish Spanish from Italian.

One member has been known to us since the seventeenth century. In 1624, a catechism appeared in Congolese. A generation later the Italian, Brusciotto, published a Congolese grammar. These two documents show that the language has changed little during the last three hundred years, and therefore refute the belief that unwritten languages necessarily change more rapidly than codified ones. One Bantu language already had a script before the arrival of the Christian missionary and the white trader. It is called Swahili, and was originally the dialect of Zanzibar. To-day it is the *lingua franca* of the East Coast of Africa. For several centuries before the Great Navigations, Arabs had been trading with Zanzibar, and the native community adopted the unsuitable alphabet of the Moslem merchants.

The Kafir-Sotho group of Bantu languages (South-East Africa) have a peculiarity not shared by other members of the same family. In addition to consonants common to the speech of other peoples, there are characteristic clicks produced by inspiration of air. They resemble the smacking sound of a kiss. It is probable that they are "borrowed" elements from the click-languages of the Bushmen and Hottentots.

The existence of the Bantu family as such has been recognized for a century. This is partly because every name-word belongs to one of a

limited number of prefix-labelled classes analogous to our small word-clusters labelled by such suffixes as *-er*, *-ship*, *-hood*, *-dom*, and *-ter* or *-ther* in *father*, *mother*, *brother*, *sister*, *daughter*. So also in Greek, many animals have names ending in *-x*, e.g. *alopex* (fox), *aspalax* (mole), *dorx* (roe-deer), *hystrix* (porcupine), *pithe*x (ape). The analogous German terminal *-chs* also holds together a limited group of animals, e.g. *Dachs* (badger), *Fuchs* (fox), *Lachs* (salmon), *Ochs* (ox). Several German names for animals have another suffix, *-er*, e.g. *Adler* (eagle), *Hamster* (hamster), *Kater* (tom-cat), *Sperber* (hawk). Endings such as these are isolated examples of what is a universal characteristic of the Bantu languages. The names of any thing, any person, or any action is labelled by a particular *prefix* which assigns it to one of about twenty classes of words labelled in the same way.

The other outstanding peculiarity of the Bantu family is that the noun-prefix colours the entire structure of the sentence. Whatever moves within the orbit of a noun is stamped accordingly. Thus a qualifying adjective or even a numeral carries the prefix of the preceding noun which it qualifies, e.g. *mu-ntu mu-lotu* (*man handsome* = *handsome man*), but *ba-ntu ba-lotu* (*men handsome* = *handsome men*). The pronoun of the third person has a form which more or less recalls the prefix of the noun represented by it. In the sentence *u-lede* = *he (the man) is asleep*, *u-* reflects the *mu-* of *mu-ntu* (*man*), and in *lu-lede* = *he (the baby) is asleep*, *lu-* echoes the classifier *lu-* of *lu-sabila* (*baby*). In Swahili and many other Bantu languages, the personal pronoun is prefixed to the verb even when the sentence has a noun-subject, e.g. *ba-kazana ba-enda* (*the girls they go*). This binding together of the various parts of the sentence produces a kind of alliterative sing-song, e.g.:

ba-lavu
the lions

ba-bahuma
they bit

ba-ntu
the men

The type of concord which occurs in a highly inflected Aryan language produces an analogous but rhyming sing-song, e.g. in German: *die hübschen amerikanischen Studentinnen machten Sensation* (the pretty American co-eds made a hit).

The Bantu prefixes of most classes have distinct singular and plural forms. A singular prefix *mu-* (Subiya), corresponding to a plural prefix *ba-*, signifies human agents. Thus *mu-sisu* means *boy*, and *ba-sisu* means *boys*. Another singular prefix *ki-* (Swahili), corresponding to the plural prefix *vi-*, is largely used for manufactured things, e.g. *ki-fumiko*, *cover*, and *vi-fumiko*, *covers*. The prefix *ma-* (Sotho) is characteristic of a

collectivity, of a big number, a liquid, and also of things which occur in pairs, e.g. *ma-naka* (horns of an animal). The prefix *ka-* (Ganda) corresponding to a plural prefix *tu-*, denotes small size, e.g. *ka-ntu* (small man), *tu-ntu* (small men). With the prefix *bo-* (Duala), abstract nouns are formed, derived from adjectives, verbs and names for things, e.g. *bo-nyaki* (growth, from *nyaka*, grow). The prefix *ku-* (Ganda) serves for the formation of verb-nouns or infinitives, e.g. *ku-lagira* (to command, or commanding).

Since there is no precise parallel to this type of concord in our own language, we must fall back on an artificial model to illustrate what it involves. Let us first suppose that every English noun had one of twenty prefixes analogous to the suffix *-er* common to the occupational *fisher-writer-builder* class. We may also suppose that the words *dog* and *sheep* respectively carried the prefixes *be-* and *m'-*. If English also had the same concord system as a Bantu dialect, the sentence *hungry dogs sometimes attack young sheep* would then be *be-hungry be-dogs sometimes be-they-attack m'-young m'-sheep*.

The origin of the Bantu classifiers is not above dispute. It is possible, though not conclusively proved, that they were once independent words with a concrete meaning, standing for groups of allied objects, such as human beings, trees, liquids, things long or short, big or small, weak or strong. When associated with other words they originally marked them as members of one class. According to this view, *be-dog* and *m'-sheep* of the parable used above would be what remains of *beast-dog* and *meat-sheep*. Subsequently the outlines of once-distinct classes became blurred through contamination and fusion, and the classifier sank to the level of a purely grammatical device. If so, the original plan has survived only in the first two classes. With few exceptions these signify human beings.

Only in a relatively static society at a primitive level of culture with little division of labour could classificatory particles retain a clear-cut function. Migration and civilization bring human beings into new situations which call for new vocables. These do not necessarily fall into any pre-existing niche of a classificatory system. In fact, languages of the classificatory type are confined to communities which used neither script nor the plough before contact with white men. The surmise that Bantu classifiers were once concrete words suggests analogy with the *numeralives* which the Chinese and Japanese almost invariably insert between figures and things counted, as when we speak of *three head of cattle*. Thus the Chinese say *two piece man* (= *two men*), *three tail fish* (= *three fish*), *four handle knife* (= *four knives*), *five orna-*

ment officials (= *five officials*). The analogy should not be pushed too far, because Bantu classifiers no longer possess a clear-cut meaning, nor do they survive as independent words.

Particles or affixes used as classifiers are not confined to the Bantu languages. Capell* writes as follows about one of the Papuan dialects:

"In the languages of Southern Bougainville nouns are divided into upwards of twenty classes, and the adjectives and numerals vary in agreement with the class to which the noun belongs. One gets something of the same effect as in the Bantu languages, except that in the Papuan languages it is the *end of the word*, not the beginning, that changes."

In Kiriwinian, a language of the Trobriand Islands, demonstratives as well as adjectives and numerals are coupled with characteristic particles which are common to all members of a particular class of noun, and each noun belongs to such a class. Professor Malinowski, who has given an illuminating account† of it, describes its essential peculiarities in the following passage:

"Let us transpose this peculiarity of Kiriwinian into English, following the native prototype very closely, and imagine that no adjective, no numeral, no demonstrative, may be used without a particle denoting the nature of the object referred to. All names of human beings would take the prefix 'human.' Instead of saying 'one soldier' we would have to say 'human-one soldier walks in the street.' Instead of 'how many passengers were in the accident?', 'how human-many passengers were in the accident?' Answer, 'human-seventeen.' Or again, in reply to 'Are the Smiths human-nice people?' we should say, 'No, they are human-dull!' Again, nouns denoting persons belonging to the female sex would be numbered, pointed at, and qualified with the aid of the prefix 'female'; wooden objects with the particle 'wooden'; flat or thin things with the particle 'leafy,' following in all this the precedent of Kiriwina. Thus, pointing at a table, we would say, 'Look at wooden-this'; describing a landscape, 'leafy-brown leaves on the wooden-large trees'; speaking of a book, 'leafy-hundred pages in it'; 'the women of Spain are female-beautiful'; 'human-this boy is very naughty, but female-this girl is good'."

Thus the habit of labelling all name-words with one of a limited number of affixes is not confined to the Bantu family. It is widely distributed among unrelated languages spoken by static and backward communities throughout the world. The number of such classes may

* *Oceania*, 1937.

† *Classificatory Particles in Kiriwina* (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. 1, 1917-20).

be as many as twenty, as in Bantu dialects; or it may be as few as *four*, as in one of the dialects of the Australian aborigines. The classificatory mark is not necessarily a prefix. In the Papuan language cited by Capell, it is a suffix like the gender-terminal of an Aryan adjective.

Thus the distinction between the classificatory and the flexional type is not so sharp as it first seems to be. The trade-mark of the Indo-European adjective as a separate entity is that it carries the suffix determined by one of the three gender-classes to which a noun is assigned. We know that what are called adjectives in Aryan languages were once indistinguishable from nouns, and the example of Finnish (p. 197) shows us how easily the ending of the noun gets attached to an accompanying epithet. In each of the three Aryan gender-classes we meet with a greater or less proportion of nouns with characteristic affixes limited to one of them, and the notion of sex which an American or an Englishman associates with gender has a very flimsy relation to the classification of Indo-European nouns in their respective gender-classes.

Though we have no first-hand knowledge about the origin of gender, we know enough to dismiss the likelihood that it had any essential connexion with sex. The most plausible view is that the distinction of gender in the Indo-European family is all that is left of a system of suffixes essentially like the Bantu prefixes. If so, the former luxuriance of such a system has been corroded in turn by nomadic habits and civilized living as primitive Aryan-speaking tribes successively came into contact with new objects which did not fit into the framework of a classification suited to the limited experience of settled life at a low level of technical equipment.

PHONETIC PATTERN OF LANGUAGE FAMILIES

Just as we recognize grammatical processes such as isolation, agglutination, amalgamation, root-inflexion, we can also recognize sound-patterns which predominate in one or other group. Such phonetic patterns furnish us with an additional clue to linguistic affinities, albeit a clue which too few philologists have followed up. Our last section illustrates one phonetic type which is distributed over a large part of the world. In a multitude of unrelated languages, including Japanese, Malayo-Polynesian, and Bantu dialects, agglutinative regularity coexists with a sound-pattern quite unlike that of our own language or of any languages related to it. Jespersen (*Growth and Structure of the English Language*) illustrates the contrast by the following passage from the

language of Hawaii, of which the familiar place-names (e.g. *Honolulu*) recall the same characteristics as the Japanese *Yokohama*, *Fujiyama*, etc.: *I kona hiki ana aku ilaila ua hookipa ia mai la oia me ke aloha pumehana loa.*

The syllable in this sample consists of a vowel or of a vowel preceded by a *simple* consonant. That is to say (p. 63) the syllable is like a typical Chinese word. Aryan languages are rich in consonant clusters. In languages as far apart as Norwegian, Welsh, and Greek, we may meet at the beginning of many words any of the consonants *b, d, f, g, k, p*, followed by *l* or *r*, *t* followed by *r*, *s* by *l*, *t*, or *tr*. For this reason alone such words as *sprinkle*, *sprightly*, *expression*, *blaspheme*, *electrical*, or the German *Zwetschge* (prune), are quite foreign to the pattern of sounds to which many peoples of the world are attuned. They also illustrate another characteristic of the Aryan family. Aryan words are comparatively rich in *closed* (p. 63) syllables; and, if monosyllabic, are commonly of the closed type illustrated by *God* and *man*, or *cat* and *dog*. We have many English monosyllables which illustrate both these trade-marks of Aryan word-structure, e.g. *breeds*, *straps*, *prowled*, *plump*, *sprained*, *smelts*, *blunts*, *stinks*, *floats*, *proved*, *stringed*.

Firth* points out that certain combinations of initial consonants, illustrated by word-counts in dictionaries, are characteristic of particular groups within the Aryan family. We shall find that some clusters, e.g. the Greek PS-, Latin -CT-, and Teutonic SN- or SK- are signposts of word origin. Some clusters or elements of a cluster may convey a common thread of meaning in groups of words which exist in closely related languages. In English there are about a hundred and twenty verbs in which a final *l* suggests repetitive action, as in *wobble*, *wangle*, *riddle*, *coddle*, *bungle*, *handle*, *nestle*, *snaffle*, *tipple*, *sprinkle*.

Among modern Aryan languages Italian has moved furthest from the Aryan pattern, owing to elimination of some Latin medial consonant combinations, e.g. -CT- to -TT- (p. 242), and through the decay of the final consonant of the Latin terminals. Hence almost all Italian words end in a vowel. Conversely English is very rich in words which end with a consonant cluster owing to the decay of the vowel of a terminal syllable, e.g. the short *e* still fairly audible in the plural flexion of *houses* or *princes*, and in the past suffix of *a learned woman*. So it may be no accident that a wealth of compound consonants and closed syllables go with a family whose other diagnostic characteristic (at least that of all its *earliest* representatives Sanskrit, Old Persian, Greek,

* *Speech* (Benn's Library).

Latin) of which we have knowledge, is *amalgamation*, i.e. great irregularity of affixation.

At one time comparative linguists distinguished an *incorporating* or *holophrastic* type to accommodate the Amerindian languages, which illustrate another peculiarity of sound-pattern. It is extremely difficult to recognize where one word begins and another ends in the language of the Greenland Eskimo. The same is true of a great variety of indigenous, totally unrelated, vernaculars of the American continent. How far people distinguish one word from the next, especially in rapid speech, varies from one dialect to another within a small group. In a large family such as the Aryan, we find examples of highly holophrastic languages such as French or highly staccato languages such as German.

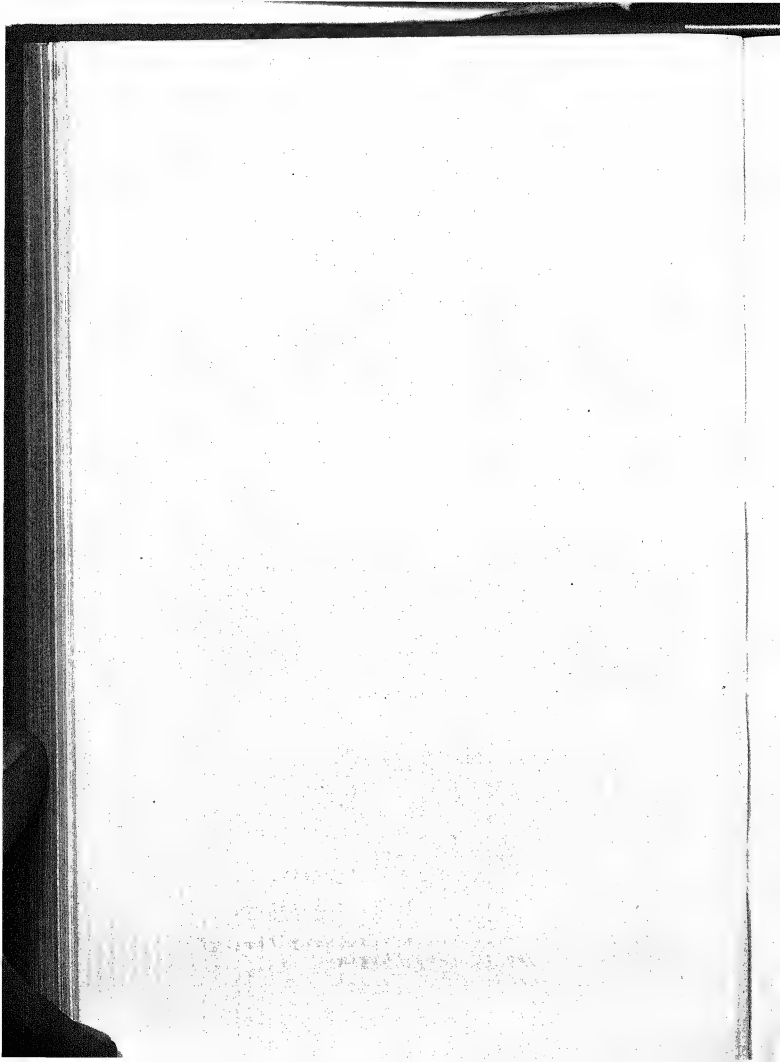
The peculiar sound pattern of the Aryan group which is now custodian of the bulk of modern scientific knowledge has one result relevant (p. 508) to the design of a satisfactory international auxiliary. People who do not speak an Aryan language commonly distort words of Aryan origin when they assimilate them. Extraneous vowels break up consonant clusters, or supplement closed syllables, and familiar more or less related sounds replace foreign ones. Thus the Roman transcription of *football* and *calcium* after passing through the phonetic sieve of Japanese is *fotoboru* and *karushumu* in which *r* deputizes for the alien *l*. Since Japanese does not tolerate a terminal consonant other than *n*, assimilated words tack on a vowel e.g. *inki* (ink), *naihu* (knife). In fact, Japanese equivalents for technical terms of Greek origin are reminiscent of Greek transcription in the Cypriot syllabary (Fig. 14). Mencken has drawn attention to similar distortions by Italian immigrants in the United States, e.g. *atto* (hat), *orso* (horse), *scioppa* (shop), *bosso* (boss).

FURTHER READING

BLOOMFIELD
FINCK
FIRTH

GRAFF
MEILLET
MEILLET and COHEN
PEDERSEN
SAPIR
TUCKER
WHITNEY

Language.
Die Haupttypen des Sprachbaus.
Speech.
The Tongues of Men.
Language and Languages.
Les Langues dans l'Europe nouvelle.
Les Langues du Monde.
Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century.
Language.
Introduction to the Natural History of Language.
Life and Growth of Language.



PART II

OUR HYBRID HERITAGE

A COOK'S TOUR ROUND THE TEUTONIC
AND ROMANCE GROUPS

CHAPTER VI

HOW TO LEARN THE BASIC WORD LIST

SOME people complain of poor memory, and attribute to it the difficulties of learning a foreign language. If also fond of horticulture or of natural history, they do not complain about the difficulty of memorizing a copious vocabulary of technical terms. So a poor memory is rarely a correct explanation of what holds them back. One of the essential obstacles is that the interest of the beginner is focused exclusively on a remote goal. It is not also directed, like that of the naturalist, to the material itself. To learn with least effort we have to become *language-conscious*. If *The Loom of Language* has succeeded in its task so far the reader who has not studied languages before, and the reader who has studied them without thinking much about their family traits, will now be more language-conscious. The four chapters which follow are for those who are. They contain a more detailed treatment of some of the languages referred to in previous chapters for the benefit of the home student who may want to start learning to read or to write intelligibly in one or other of them. Any one who intends to give the method of this book a fair trial must pay careful attention to cross references, including references to relevant tables in Part I. Some practical suggestions which immensely lighten the tedium of traversing the first few milestones when learning a new language have come from the work of scholars who have contributed to the international language movement (see Chapter XI). They have not yet made their way into current text-books, and the reader who wishes to use *The Loom of Language* as an aid to the study of a foreign language should recall them at this stage.

The most important is to concentrate on learning a relatively small class of words before trying to learn any others. This class includes the *particles*, *pronouns*, *pointer words*, and *helper verbs*. There are several reasons for doing this. One is that a battery of about one hundred and fifty of such words *for ready use*, supplemented by a nodding acquaintance with about a hundred others, includes a very high proportion of the words we constantly use or constantly meet on the printed page. A second is that what verbs, adjectives, and nouns we commonly meet, especially the nouns, depends on individual circum-

stances and tastes. A third is that it is easier to guess the meaning of nouns, adjectives, and verbs when we meet them. This is partly because an increasing proportion of new words of this kind are international, and also because the particles are the most unstable elements in a language. We do not borrow prepositions or conjunctions, but we constantly borrow nouns, verbs, or adjectives, and such borrowed words play an important part in modern life. The word for a telephone or for a museum is recognizably the same in English, Swedish, Serbo-Croat, or Hungarian; but the Dane who learns the word *rabbit* in his first lesson from the English primer commonly used in Danish schools may live ten years in Nottingham or correspond regularly with a friend in New York without getting involved in a discussion about rodents of any kind.

If you learn only ten new words of the group which includes particles, pronouns, and pointer-words every day for a fortnight, you will have at your disposal at least twenty-five per cent of the *total* number of words you use when you write a letter. When you have done this, it is important to have a small vocabulary of essential nouns, adjectives, and verbs ready for *use*. Before you start trying to write or to read in a foreign language, it is best to get a *bird's-eye view* of its grammatical peculiarities. The bird's-eye view is easy to get in an hour's reading, and is not difficult to memorize unless the language, like Russian, has a large number of archaic and useless grammatical devices. Even so, much of the effort commonly put into learning the rules of grammar can be capitalized for use in other ways, if you do not start reading or writing till you have a broad general outlook. It will help you to remember the essentials, if you see them in an evolutionary context. Since it is relatively easy to recall information when prompted by the written word, a student who first gets a bird's-eye view of the grammar of a new language will be able to recognize essential rules when he meets them in newspapers, letters, or books. In this way, reading will help to fix them from the start. Contrariwise, the beginner who starts reading without the bird's-eye view may become *colour-blind to conventions which are essential* for correct self-expression. Facility in guesswork may then become a hindrance to learning how to write or speak correctly.

To say that the bird's-eye view given in the next few chapters will help the beginner to start writing to a correspondent who will correct gross errors, or to begin reading without becoming colour-blind to rules of grammar, does not mean that they provide an insurance policy

against all possible mistakes, if the rules given are conscientiously applied. Only a series of volumes each nearly as long as this one and each devoted to each of the languages dealt with, could claim to do so. Their aim is to explain what the beginner needs to know in order to avoid serious misunderstandings in straightforward self-expression (see Chapter IV) or the reading of unpretentious prose, and therefore to help the home student to start using a language with as little delay as is possible or advisable. Beyond this point, progress in a foreign, like progress in the home, language depends on trial and error.

It is more easy to form habits than to break them; and it is more difficult to learn by eye alone than by eye and ear together. So it is a bad thing to start memorizing foreign words from the printed page without first learning how to pronounce them recognizably. The spelling conventions (see Chapter II) of different languages are very different, and it is important to learn sufficient about them to avoid *gross* mistakes. Beyond this, further progress is impossible without personal instruction, travel, or gramophone records (such as the Linguaphone or Columbia series) for those who can afford them, and careful attention to foreign broadcasts if such opportunities are not accessible.

Peculiar psychological difficulties beset individuals of English-speaking countries when they approach the study of a foreign language. Some arise from social tradition. Others are due to geographical situation. English-speaking people speak a language which has become world-wide through conquest, colonization, and economic penetration. Partly for this reason and partly because their water frontiers cut them off from daily contact with other speech communities they lack the incentives which encourage a Dane or a Dutchman to acquire linguistic proficiency. Though these extrinsic impediments are undoubtedly powerful, there is another side to the picture. Those who have been brought up to speak the Anglo-American language have one great linguistic advantage. Their word-equipment makes it equally easy for them to take up the study of any Teutonic or any Romance language with a background of familiar associations, because modern English is a hybrid language. Indeed, more than one artificial auxiliary language, notably Steiner's *Pasilingua* put forward in 1885, takes as its basis the English stock in trade of words for this reason. It is the object of this chapter to help the reader to become more language-conscious by recognizing what it implies.

Examples taken from the Lord's Prayer and printed on p. 21 show the close family likeness of the common root-words in the Teutonic

group, including English. For this reason sentences and expressions made up of such words can be used to illustrate grammatical affinities and differences which an American or a Briton with no previous knowledge of other members of the group can recognize without difficulty. The resemblance between members of the group is so close that many linguists speak of them as the Teutonic *dialects*.^{*} English stands apart from other members of the Teutonic group in two ways. Its grammar has undergone much greater simplification, and it has assimilated an enormous proportion of words from other language groups, more especially the Latin. In fact, if we set out to discover its place in the Indo-European family by merely counting the Teutonic and Latin root-words (see p. 16) in a large dictionary, we could make a good case for putting it in the Romance group.

This conclusion would be wrong. Though it is true that more than half the words in a good dictionary are of Latin origin, it is also true that nearly all the root-words which we use *most* often—the class referred to on pp. 127-128—are Teutonic. However freely we sprinkle our prose with foreign words, we cannot speak or write English without using native (i.e. Teutonic) elements. Native are (a) all pronouns, (b) all demonstrative and possessive adjectives, (c) the articles, (d) the auxiliaries, (e) the strong verbs, (f) nearly all prepositions and conjunctions, (g) most of the adverbs of time and place, (h) the numerals, except *dozen*, *million*, *billion*, and *millionard*. Native also are the few flexions which English has retained. Thus the majority of words on a printed page, even if it is about technical matters which rely on a large vocabulary of Latin derivatives, are Teutonic; and though it is possible to write good English prose in which all, or nearly all, the vocabulary is based on Teutonic roots, it would be difficult to write a representative specimen of sustained and intelligible English containing a bare majority of Latin-French words.

* The word *dialect* is used in two senses. In everyday life we associate it with local variations of pronunciation and minor local differences of vocabulary within a single political unit. Since the members of a single political unit are usually able to understand one another in spite of such local variations, dialect differences also signify differences which do not make it absolutely impossible for people to understand one another. In this sense dialects overrun national boundaries. The "Doric" of Robert Burns differs from Bible English or from Anglo-American both with respect to pronunciation and to spelling conventions; as much as Norwegian differs from Swedish or Danish. Anyone who can read Norwegian can read Swedish or Danish, and Norwegians can understand Swedes or Danes when they speak their own languages. We only speak of them as different languages because they are dialects of different sovereign states. It is impossible to draw a hard-and-fast line between language and dialect differences.

The basic stratum, i.e. the most common words, of our English vocabulary is derived from a mixture of dialects more closely allied to Dutch than to other existing members of the group, especially to the speech of the Frisian Islands. These dialects were the common speech of Germanic tribes, called Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who came to Britain between 400 and 700 A.D. The Norse invaders, who left their footprints on our syntax, contributed few *specifically* Scandinavian words to Southern English, though there are many Norse words in dialects spoken in Scotland. Norse was the language of the Orkneys till the end of the fourteenth, and persisted in the outermost Shetlands (Foula) till the end of the eighteenth century. Many words in Scots vernaculars recall current Scandinavian equivalents, e.g. *bra* (fine, good), *bairn* (child), and *flit* (move household effects). Scandinavian suffixes occur in many place-names, such as *-by* (small town), cf. *Grimsby* or *Whitby*, and the latter survives in the compound *by-law* of everyday speech in South Britain.

When the Norman invaders came in 1066 the language of England and of the South of Scotland was almost purely Teutonic. It had assimilated very few Latin words save those which were by then common to Teutonic dialects on the Continent. Except in Wales, Cornwall, and the Scottish highlands, the Celtic or pre-Roman Britain survived only in place-names. After the Norman Conquest, more particularly after the beginning of the fourteenth century, the language of England and of the Scottish lowlands underwent a drastic change. It absorbed a large number of words of Latin origin, first through the influence of the Norman hierarchy, and later through the influence of scholars and writers. It shed a vast load of useless grammatical luggage. Norman scribes revised its spelling, and while this was happening important changes of pronunciation were going on.

○ This latinization of English did not begin immediately after the Conquest. For the greater part of two centuries, there were two languages in England. The overlords spoke Norman French, as the white settlers of Kenya speak modern English. The English serfs still spoke the language in which *Beowulf* and the Bible of Alfred the Great were written. By the beginning of the fourteenth century a social process was gathering momentum. There were self-governing towns with a burgher class of native English stock. There was a flourishing wool trade with Flanders. There were schools where the sons of prosperous burghers learnt French grammar. In the England of Dick Whittington, English again became a written language, but a written language which had to

accommodate itself to a world of familiar things for which the Saxon poets had no names. Investment in trading enterprise fostered a new sort of class collaboration depicted in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and a new type of litigation with an English-speaking clientele. In 1362 Edward III ordered the use of English in the courts, though the *written* law of the land was French till the eighteenth century.

In contradistinction to *Old English*, the purely Teutonic language of *Alfred the Great*, the English of this period, that of *Chaucer* and of *Wycliff*, is called *Middle English*. Scholars refer literary remains to the Middle period if written between about A.D. 1150 and 1500. The process of assimilating words of Latin origin received a new stimulus from the rise of classical scholarship at the end of the middle, and has been nursed through the modern period by the growth of scientific knowledge. One result is that English in its present form has an enormous range of couplets, one member Teutonic like *forgive*, the other Latin or French like *pardon*. Usually the Teutonic one is more intimate, the Latin formal, because Teutonic words are the language of the countryside, Latin or French words the prerogative of lawyers, priests, and scholars. Thus Wamba the jester in *Ivanhoe* points out that the ungulates (*sheep, pig, calf, ox*) have native names while it is still the business of the English people to look after them. When they reach the table of the Norman overlord they have become *mutton, pork, veal, beef*, for which the corresponding French words are *mouton, porc, veau, bœuf*.

Relatively few people learn lists of new words with ease, unless they can connect them with familiar facts, and an adult who has already collected a variegated vocabulary is in a strong position to take advantage of this hybrid character of modern English. To become language-conscious in this way we need to know something about the regularities of sound-change which have been mentioned in the last chapter (p. 185), and we need a few hints which help us to detect when an Anglo-American word is Teutonic or Latin. This can be done by following up clues suggested in Chapters II and V. The spelling of a word is often a sufficient signpost of its origin, especially if we know a little about the sound-changes which have occurred in the history of the Teutonic and Latin families.

How the *sound-shifts* mentioned in Chapter V help to build up word associations is illustrated by the German word *Teil* (*part*) or its derivative verb *teilen* (*separate, divide, distribute, share*). Old Teutonic words which begin with the *d* sound begin with the *t* sound in modern Ger-

man (p. 232). If we apply this rule *Teil* becomes *deil*, which means the same as the Swedish-Danish *del*, with the corresponding derivative verbs *dela* (Swedish) or *dele* (Danish). In its new form it recalls our words *dell* and *deal*. The Oxford Dictionary tells us that the latter comes from Old English *dæl*, which also meant a *part*, and to *deal* cards still means to *divide* the pack into *parts*, to *share* or *distribute* them. The word *dell* (or *dale*) has no connexion with this root. It has the same meaning as the Swedish-Danish *dal*, German *Tal*, and Dutch *dal*, for *valley*.

If you follow this plan, you can introduce an element of adventure into memorizing a vocabulary, and incidentally learn more about the correct use of English words. It may be helpful to look up some of the unusual words in the *Canterbury Tales*, or the *Faerie Queene*. For instance, the smaller Oxford Dictionary tells us that the Chaucerian *eke* means *also*, and compares it with the contemporary Dutch (*ook*) and German (*auch*) equivalents. The Swedish for *also* is *och* or *också*. You can also compare the Middle English *eke* with the Swedish *och* and Danish *og* for our link-word *and*, which we can sometimes replace by *also*.

An example which illustrates how to make associations for memorizing words of Romance origin is *hospitable*. The Oxford Dictionary tells us that this comes from the Latin verb *hospitare* (to entertain). The related word *hospite* meant either *guest* or *host*, and it has survived as the latter. Another related Latin word is *hospitale*, a place for *guests*, later for *travellers*. This was the original meaning of *hospital*, and survives as such in *Knights Hospitallers*. In Old French it appears shortened to *hostel*, which exists in English. In modern French *s* before *t* or *p* has often disappeared. That it was once there, is indicated by a circumflex accent (ˆ) over the preceding vowel, as in *hôtel*. The French words *hôte*, *hôtesse*, *hôtel*, *hôpital*, resolve themselves into their English equivalents when we apply this rule. *Hostelry*, *hospice*, and *hospitality* obviously share the same lineage. A host of other similarities come to life if we are familiar with another sound-change. When an accented *é* precedes *t*, *p*, or *c* at the beginning of a modern French word it often takes the place of the Latin *s* in English words of Romance origin. Thus *état* (state), *étranger* (stranger, foreigner), *étouffe* (stuff), *éponge* (sponge), *épouse* (spouse, wife), *épicié* (grocer—man who sells spices), and *école* (school) come to life if we know this.

Even when there is no precise English equivalent containing the same root as a word in one of the Romance languages, we can usually

lighten the effort of memorizing the latter by fishing up a related word which does contain it. In the table on p. 249 there are twenty-two English words of which six, or one-fourth of the total, recall the Romance equivalent. English words of related meaning at once suggest the Romance root in most of the others. Thus our Teutonic *hunger* pairs off with *famine* and *famished* which suggest the French word *faim*. The French word *fil* for our Teutonic *thread* turns up in *filament*. Similarly we associate *funes* with smoke, *fugitive* with flee, *foliage* with leaves, *factory* production with making things, *filial* piety with son and daughter (more particularly the latter), or *ferrous* metals with iron. That leaves us with a few Italian and French words which are self-explanatory to a naturalist, chemist, or anatomist. Thus *formic* acid is an irritant emitted by ants, *sainfoin* is a leguminous hay substitute, and *Vicia faba* is the botanical name for the common bean.

SOUND-SHIFTS IN THE TEUTONIC LANGUAGES

Before studying further examples of the way in which the hybrid character of English word-equipment helps anyone who is beginning to learn a Teutonic or Romance language, we need to know more about sound-changes such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. The neglect of an enormous volume of relevant research in text-books for beginners shows how little education is enlightened by Bacon's counsel: "we do ill to exalt the powers of the human mind, when we should seek out its proper helps."*

Let us start with the Teutonic group. We have no direct knowledge of the single ancestor of all Teutonic languages, but our earliest records lead us to infer that it underwent a drastic change some time before the beginning of the Christian era. This change, which involved several consonants, may have come about because tribes speaking an Indo-European language came into contact with people who spoke non-Aryan languages such as the peculiar speech still extant among the Basques. Five of these consonant changes appear below, and we can recognize them in the difference between the English form of an Indo-European word and its Latin or Greek equivalent. Thus the first and second are recognizable in comparison of the Greek or Latin *pater*

* English Primers of German—perhaps because philology has been cultivated in Germany—refer to such sound changes, but do not disclose equally relevant information of the way in which English pronunciation has changed since it parted company with what is now German. Otherwise it is true to say that the topic is still taboo in elementary teaching.

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with our word *father*; the first and last by comparing the Greek root *pod-* or Latin *ped-* with our *foot*; the third by comparing the Latin *genus* and *genu* with our *kin* and *knee*; and the last two by comparing the Greek root *kard-* or Latin *cord-* with *heart*:

- (i) *p* became *f*.
- (ii) *t* became *th* (*þ*).
- (iii) *g* became *k*.
- (iv) *k* became the throaty Scots *ch* in *loch*, and subsequently the simple aspirate *h*.
- (v) *d* became *t*.

The reader who knows no Latin and is not likely to acquire more knowledge of Latin than can be got from the next chapter but one, should not find it impossible to detect the same root in some English words of Teutonic and of Latin or Greek origin. Thus we recognize the same root as *foot* in *pedicure*, and the same root as *heart* in *cardiac*, the same root in *trinity* as in *three*, the same root in *fire* as in *pyrex* glass, and the same root in *flat* as in *plateau* or *platitude* (a flat saying).

This primitive or *first* sound-shift in the history of the Teutonic-speaking peoples equipped English with sounds for which the Latin alphabet had no precise equivalents. For reasons sufficiently explained in our survey of the alphabet, this fact has its practical application. With the exception of a few words derived from Greek, English words containing *th* are Teutonic. So also are words which begin with *w* or *y* or contain *gh*. These consonant, or combinations of consonant, symbols are therefore signals which tell us whether we are likely to find a recognizably equivalent or related word in a Teutonic language. The following is a list of five signposts of Teutonic word origin:

Words containing *sh*, e.g. *sheep*, *shield*, *ship*.

Words containing *th*, e.g. *thaw*, *then*, *thin*.

Words containing *gh*, e.g. *laughter*, *through*, *rough*.

Words with initial *w*, e.g. *ware*, *wasp*, *wash*.

Words with initial *sk*, e.g. *skin*, *skirt*, *sky*.

These five signposts help us to recognize a very large number of words of Teutonic origin as such, and many more can be identified by the presence of characteristically Teutonic prefixes, of which the *be-* (in *belong* or *behead*) is the most reliable, and suffixes of which the adjectival *-some* (in *lonesome*), the diminutive *-ling* and the abstract endings *-dom*, *-hood* or *-head*, *-ship*, *-kind*, and *-craft* are most diagnostic.

When we are able to detect words of Teutonic origin in this way, we can lighten the task of memorizing our word-list with a little information about the simultaneous changes of pronunciation which have occurred since the common parent of the Teutonic family split into three main groups—an eastern represented by Gothic, a northern or Scandinavian represented by Old Norse, and a western represented by Old English and Old High German. In what follows we must not confuse *sounds* with their *symbols*. The latter may be arbitrary conventions peculiar to particular languages, or a hang-over from a period when the pronunciation was different. Thus the German *W* is merely another way of writing the sound represented by our *V*; and the sound we usually represent by *F* and sometimes by *GH* (e.g. *laugh*) is either *F* (as in *Fisch*) or *V* (as in *Vater* for *father*). The letter *J* used in English for the peculiarly English sound in *jam* or *Gentile* stands in all other Teutonic languages for a different sound represented by our *Y* in *yeast*. Our own *dʒ* sound in *jam* has no equivalent in German, Danish, Dutch or Swedish. It is confined to English in the Teutonic clan.

These different conventions of closely allied languages may be due to the whims of scribes who originally sponsored the system of spelling in use to-day, or, like the German *W*, to changes of pronunciation since their time. If we want to detect word-equivalence on the printed page, what is more important to know is how pronunciation of related dialects had already diverged before writing began, or how it is reflected in subsequent spelling reforms. For instance, the correspondence between the Swedish words *vind*, *väder*, and *vatten* on the one hand and the German words *Wind*, *Wetter*, and *Wasser* or their English equivalents *wind*, *weather*, and *water* on the other, is partly concealed by the fact that Scandinavian spelling incorporates the V-shift which English has resisted.

English has preserved two old Teutonic consonant sounds which have scarcely left a trace in its sister Teutonic dialects other than Icelandic. One of these is the *þ* sound of *thin*, the other is the *ð* sound of *then*. Modern Icelandic is more conservative than English in so far as *þ* is never softened to *ð* (p. 81) at the beginning of a word. That is illustrated by:

| ICELANDIC | ENGLISH |
|-----------|---------|
| þar | there |
| þessi | this |
| þú | thou |
| þinn | thine |
| þeirra | their |

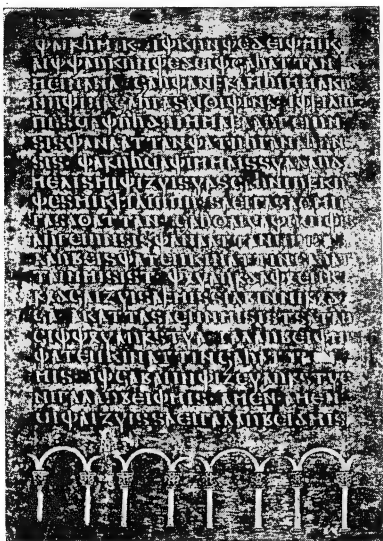


FIG. 28.—PAGE FROM THE "CODEX ARGENTEUS" NOW IN UPPSALA

This is a sixth-century edition of the New Testament translated by Bishop Ulfilas into Gothic about A.D. 350. The characters used are mainly drawn from the Greek alphabet supplemented by Roman and Runic letters. Note for instance the Greek symbol Ψ which stands not for *ps* as in Greek writing but for *p*.

The *Codex Argenteus* now in the University library at Uppsala has 187 of the original 330 leaves of the four gospels intact. Wolfenbüttele and Milan libraries possess other fragments of the gospels, the Pauline epistles, and the Old Testament books Ezra and Nehemiah, together with a part of a Gothic calendar. These are the basis of our earliest knowledge about the Teutonic languages.

In other Teutonic languages, *þ* has changed directly to *t*, or via *ð* to *d*. This is illustrated by many common words, such as our definite article *the*, with its plural equivalent *de* in Swedish, Danish and Dutch, and *die* in German; the English *that* with its neuter equivalent *det* in Swedish and Danish, or *dat* in Dutch; the English *they* and *theirs*, with modern Scandinavian equivalents, *de* and *deras* (Swedish), *deres* (Danish); or the English *thou* with its equivalent Swedish, Danish, and German *du*.

German equivalents of English words with the initial consonants *þ* or *ð*, i.e. either sound represented by *th* in English spelling, start with *d*:

| | | | |
|---------------|--------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Dank</i> , | thanks | <i>Ding</i> , | thing |
| <i>das</i> , | that | <i>denken</i> , | think |
| <i>dann</i> , | then | <i>drei</i> , | three |
| <i>da</i> , | there | <i>Durst</i> , | thirst |
| <i>dick</i> , | thick | <i>Distel</i> , | thistle |
| <i>Dieb</i> , | thief | <i>Dorn</i> , | thorn |
| <i>dünn</i> , | thin | <i>Dorf</i> , | thorp (= village) |

In two ways English has changed as some of the Scandinavian dialects have done. One is that a sound which was SK in Old English (then spelt *sc*) has now become SH, as in German, where the spelling convention is SCH, e.g. shade—*Schatten*, shame—*Scham*, (to) shed—*scheiden*. A partial change of this kind has occurred in Swedish, in which the symbol SK, except when it precedes the back vowels *a*, *ä*, or *o*, is pronounced *ʃ*, i.e. *skepp* has the same initial sound as its equivalent *ship*. The following words illustrate the English shift from *sk* to *sh*. In the Swedish equivalents on the left, the symbols have their original (hard) value. Those of the right are paper survivals, the initial sound being the same as in English:

| SWEDISH | ENGLISH | SWEDISH | ENGLISH |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| skaka | shake | skepp | ship |
| skal | shell | skida | sheath |
| skall | shall | skimra | shimmer |
| skam | shame | skina | shine |
| skarp | sharp | skjuta | shoot |
| sko | shoe | sköld | shield |
| skrika | shriek | | |
| skur | shower | | |

In the evolution of modern English there has also been a weakening of the guttural *g* like the weakening of the guttural *k* illustrated by the words now spelt with the arbitrary combination *sh*. This has had an

important grammatical consequence which will appear at a later stage (p. 264). The hard *g* as in *goat* is generally the sound which corresponds to the symbol in German, Dutch, and Danish. In Swedish it is usually softened to our *y* sound unless followed by a back vowel (*a* in *father*, *aw* in *law*, *oo* in *book*). Swedish spelling does not reflect this softening, but in Danish and Norwegian the softened *g* is replaced by GJ, J or I; and in new Norwegian *y* is substituted for the soft *g* after *ø* (Swedish or German *ö* roughly equivalent to our *ir* in *shirk*). Thus in German *eye* is *Auge*, in Swedish it is *öga* and in Norwegian *öye*. So also *way* is *Weg* in German, *väg* in Swedish, *vej* in Danish, *vei* in Norwegian. In many English words of Teutonic origin the *g* has softened in this way, and Y or W are now its gravestones in the written language. The Y may stamp a diphthong as in *eye* or *way*, or it may be equivalent to the soft Scandinavian G or GJ as in *yellow* (German *gelb*, Swedish *gul*). A W in place of *g* turns up in the panteutonic word for bird (Swed. *fågel*, German *Vogel*) which we now spell as *fowl*, as also in *bow* (Swed. *båge*, German *Bogen*).

In a large class of English words, the combination *gh* is completely silent. The combination originally stood for a breathy sound represented by *ch* in German, and still pronounced as such in Scots. Thus the Scots words for *night* and *light* are close to the German *Nacht* and *Licht*. This sound, which has disappeared in English elsewhere, is almost absent in Scandinavian. Thus the Scandinavian word for *night* is *natt*, and *ljus* for *light* (Swedish) or *lys* (Danish and Norwegian).

So far as the consonants are concerned, the changes from *w* to *v* and from *p* to *t*, or from *ð* to *d*, are the sound-shifts which are most important to anyone who aims at learning Norwegian or Swedish. They are illustrated by:

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | ENGLISH | SWEDISH |
|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| waggon | vagn | thick | tjock |
| water | vatten | thief | tjuv |
| weak | vek | thin | tunn |
| week | veck | thing | ting |
| wild | vild | think | tänka |
| wise | vis | thousand | tusen |
| work | verk | three | tre |
| world | värld | thread | tråd |
| warm | varm | throne | tron |
| way | väg | thumb | tumme |
| weather | väder | | |
| well | väl | | |
| west | väster | | |

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| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | ENGLISH | SWEDISH |
|---------|---------|---------|---------------|
| wet | våt | that | det |
| whale | val | them | dem |
| whistle | vissla | there | där |
| white | vit | these | dessa |
| wide | vid | thine | din |
| willing | villig | thou | du |
| win | vinna | | |
| witness | vittne | | |
| wood | ved | | |
| worst | värst | brother | broder (bror) |
| worth | vård | father | fader (far) |
| wreck | vrak | mother | moder (mor) |

In an English-Swedish dictionary there are many other words beginning with *th* or *sh* with Swedish equivalents, recognizable as such when these changes are made. Of course, the family likeness is obvious in a host of words without sounds which have undergone a shift of this type. Even if the English equivalent given in the dictionary does not correspond to a Swedish word, it is often easy to think of a related one which does so. Thus the Swedish word *skära* (cut) reminds us of *shear*, and *veta* (know) is derived from the same Teutonic root as *wit* (German *wissen*), still used as a verb in Bible English and in the expression *to wit*.

Similarities between English words of Teutonic origin and the corresponding one in another Teutonic language are most difficult to recognize at sight when the latter is German. From the phonetic point of view, German has wandered farthest afield from the old Teutonic homestead. So the similarities of German and English words are less easy to recognize than the family likeness of English and Swedish ones. In the evolution of German, a compact group of changes called the *second sound-shift* took place in middle and south Germany, and these are reflected in German spelling. The most characteristic are the following:

- (a) At the *beginning* of a word (or in the middle after a consonant) *t* was followed by a hiss, i.e. became *ts* (as in *cats*). This *ts* sound is represented by *Z* in German script.
- (b) Inside the word after a vowel the *t* shifted further and became a hiss, now spelt *ss*.
- (c) The initial *p* was followed by *f*, and the result is represented by *PF*.
- (d) After a vowel the shift went further, *f* replaced *p*—in script *FF*.

Another sound-change which took place early in the High German

dialects was the shift from *k* to *ch* (as in Scots *loch*) after vowels. This change is illustrated by (e) below. Besides the preceding, other sound-changes, some of them much later, now distinguish High from Low German dialects (including Old English). The most important are:

- (f) The early shift of the initial *d* to *t*.
 (g) The initial *s* before *l, m, n, p, t*, usually becomes *sh* as in *ship* (spelt SCH except before P and T).
 (h) Between two vowels *v* often becomes *b*.

| ENGLISH | GERMAN | ENGLISH | GERMAN |
|-------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| (a) tap | Zapfen | (e) book | Buch |
| ten | zehn | break | brechen |
| tide (time) | Zeit | make | machen |
| to | zu | rake (tool) | Rechen |
| tongue | Zunge | reek | riechen |
| two | zwei | token | Zeichen |
| | | weak | weich |
| | | week | Woche |
| (b) better | besser | (f) dance | tanzen |
| eat | essen | daughter | Tochter |
| foot | Fuss | day | Tag |
| kettle | Kessel | dream | Traum |
| let | lassen | drink | trinken |
| water | Wasser | | |
| (c) path | Pfad | (g) sleep | schlafen |
| pepper | Pfeffer | smut | Schmutz |
| pipe | Pfeife | snow | Schnee |
| plant | Pflanze | swan | Schwan |
| plaster | Pflaster | sweat | Schweiss |
| (d) hope | hoffen | (h) give | geben |
| pepper | Pfeffer | have | haben |
| pipe | Pfeife | live | leben |
| ape | Affe | liver | Leber |
| gape | gaffen | love | lieben |
| sleep | schlafen | sieve | Sieb |

Some of the words chosen in these examples illustrate more than one sound-shift. For instance, we have to make two changes to get our *sweat* from *Schweiss*. When we apply (b), *Schweiss* changes to *Schweit*, and this changes to *Sweit* when we apply (g). It is then recognizably the same as its English equivalent.

The geographical boundaries between regions where the older or *Low* and the newer or *High* German forms predominate are not the

same for all the shifts mentioned above. The process of change reaches its peak in South German, including German Swiss (High Alemanic) dialects. As we go north and north-west, the typical High German sounds fade out and disappear in the plains. The Low German of north and north-east Germany, like Dutch and Flemish which are really Low German dialects with their own spelling rules, remains true to the earlier Germanic sound-pattern. A line across Germany divides a region where Low German forms predominate from one where the High German prevail. It runs from the Belgian frontier south of Aachen to Düsseldorf, thence to Cassel, striking the Elbe above Magdeburg, passes north of Luther's Wittenberg, and touches the Polish frontier north-east of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. North of the line we hear *dat Water*, South of it, *das Wasser*.

In what has gone before we have seen that English consonants are conservative. The consonants of English have departed from the Old Teutonic pattern less than those of any Teutonic language except Icelandic. The reverse is true of the vowels. In the middle period during the century in which Chaucer wrote, the English vowels shifted while the spelling remained fixed. This explains why we so often succeed in identifying an English word with a German one when we see the two in print, but fail to do so when they strike our ear. German vowels also shifted between the Middle High German and the Modern High German period, and the evolution of two English and German vowels runs parallel. In both languages a primitive long *i* (pronounced *ee* as in *bee*) became the diphthong *y* in *fly*. The German spells it as *EI* (Middle High German *min*, Modern High German *mein*), while English retains the older spelling (Old English *min*, Modern English *mine*). The primitive long *u* (like *oo* in *food*) went through a similar process, but this time the diphthong (*ow* as in *how*) is indicated as such in both languages. The German spells it as *AU* (Middle High German *hus*, Modern High German *Haus*). In English it is *OU* or *OW* (Old English *mus*, *brun*, Modern English *mouse*, *brown*). In all, there were seven characteristic vowel-changes in Middle English, including the two mentioned. Not all of them extended to Scotland, where *house* is still pronounced like its Scandinavian equivalent *hus* and a *cow* is a *ku*. Owing to the chaos of English vowel symbols, these sound-shifts are not of very great assistance to the beginner. Like Spanish, modern German spelling is very regular compared with our own. The following paragraph summarizes its essential conventions. At a first reading it will be wise to skip it, as also to skip the succeeding ones (pp. 236-237)

which deal with pronunciation and spelling of Dutch and Scandinavian dialects.

The few exceptions to the rule that one sound has the same German symbol are:

- (a) the *f*-sound is represented both by F and V, e.g. *füllen* (fill) and *voll* (full);
- (b) the *i*-sound of *file* is represented by EI, e.g. *mein* (my) or AI, e.g. *MAI* (May);
- (c) the *oi*-sound of *boy* is represented by EU or ÄU, e.g. *teuer* (dear), *Häuser* (houses);
- (d) the *ee*-sound in *bee* is represented by IE or IH, e.g. *Liebe* (love), *Ihr* (your);
- (e) the use of a silent H or a double vowel symbol to give A, E, O the long values of *Ah!*, *Eh!*, *Oh!*, e.g. *Jahr* (year)—*Aal* (eel), *mehr* (more)—*Meer* (sea), *bohren* (bore)—*Boot* (boat).

A simple rule decides whether the vowels A, E, I, O are long or short when the long value is not indicated as under (d) and (e) above. Before two or more consonants they have the *short* values of our words *pat-pet-pit-pot*, e.g. *kalt* (cold), *sechs* (six), *ist* (is), *offen* (open). Otherwise when one exception A, E, O, have the *ah!*, *eh!*, *oh!* values of *Ja* (yes), *dem* (the), *wo* (where). The exception is that a final -E (or the -E in -EN) is slurred like the -ER in *worker*.

The German U has two values, the short one before a double consonant is like *u* in *pull*, e.g. *Luft* (air), the long one like *oo* in *pool*, e.g. *gut* (good). Three German vowel symbols (Ä, Ö, Ü) with long and short values in accordance with the same rule have special marks; and they do not exactly correspond to any of our own sounds. The short Ä, e.g. in *Länge* (length) is like the short *e* in *pen*. The long Ä, e.g. in *sägen* (saw) is somewhat nearer to the long *e* in *fête*. The Ö and Ü are pronounced with rounded lips, long Ö, e.g. in *schön* (beautiful) rather like *u* in *fur*, short Ö, e.g. *könnte* (could), rather like *or* in *work*. The long Ü, e.g. *über* (over) is like the *u* in Scots *guid*. To get the short Ü, e.g. *fünf* (five), make the *i* in *pin* with rounded lips.

The pronunciation of German consonants is straightforward. The only silent symbol is H after a vowel. The English contracted syllable represented by the initial KN of *know* (= Scots *kən*), *knife*, *knit*, etc., does not exist in other Teutonic dialects. The German KN-, e.g. in *Knabe* (boy) is pronounced as in *darkness*. The symbols F, H, K, M, N, P, T, X have their characteristic English values. In radio or stage pronunciation the voiced consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, shift towards their voiceless equivalents *p*, *t*, *k* when at the end of a word, e.g. the G of *des Tages* (the day's) is as in *goat*, but of *der Tag* as in *coat*. The stage German R is trilled like the Scots'. The main differences between German and English consonant conventions are:

- (i) CH after a back vowel (A, O, U), e.g. in *Nacht* (night) is hard as

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in Scots *loch*, but is nearer the sound of *h* in *hew* after the front vowels Ä, E, I, Ö, Ü, e.g. in *nicht* (not).

- (ii) S alone at the beginning of a word, e.g. *See* (lake) or syllable, e.g. *lesen* (read) is the *z* sound of *s* in *buys*. Before P or T at the beginning of a word, S (= SCH elsewhere) is like *sh* in *ship*. A double SS or a single S at the end of a word is the true *s* sound of *bliss*, e.g. *Fuss* (foot), *das* (the).
- (iii) Z always stands for the *ts* in *cats*, e.g. *Zunge* (tongue). This is a convention peculiar to German.
- (iv) As in Dutch, W = *v* in *voice*, e.g. *Wasser* (water) and either F or V = *f* in *find*, e.g. *Feder* (feather) or *Vater* (father).
- (v) As in all Teutonic dialects (other than English), J = *y* as in *year*, e.g. in *Ja* (yes).
- (vi) NG is like *ng* in *bing*, e.g. *Finger* is pronounced by analogy to *singer*, not to its English equivalent.
- (vii) CHS = *ks*, e.g. in *Ochs*, ox, and QU = *kv*, e.g. in *Quarz* or *Quelle* (spring).

In German, as in all Teutonic languages other than English, the personal pronoun of polite address (*Sie*) in its several guises (*Ihnen*, etc.) begins with a capital letter. In German as in Danish correspondence, the same applies to *Du*, etc. The custom of using a capital for the nominative of the 1st person singular is peculiarly Anglo-American. In German as in Danish orthography nouns are labelled by an initial capital letter, e.g. *der Schnee* (the snow). This habit, which slows down the speed of typing, did not become fashionable till the middle of the sixteenth century. Luther's Bible follows no consistent plan, e.g. the opening verses of the Old Testament are:

Im anfang schuff Gott Himmel und Erden. Und die Erde war wüst und leer, und es war finster auf der Tieffe, Und der Geist Gottes schwebet auf dem Wasser. Und Gott sprach, Es werde licht, Und es ward licht. Und Gott sahe, dass das licht gut war, Da scheidet Gott das Licht von Finsternis, und nennet das licht, Tag, und die finsternis, Nacht. Da ward aus abend und morgen der Erste tage.

Simple German words and compound nouns are stressed on the first syllable, e.g. *Köchin* (cook), *arbeiten* (work), *Bierfass* (beer vat). Foreign words usually carry the stress on the last syllable, e.g. *Organisation*, *Resultat* (result), *Fabrik* (factory). Words beginning with the prefixes *be-*, *ge-*, *er-*, *emp-*, *ent-*, *ver-*, *zer-*, *miss-* accent the basic element, e.g. *begleiten* (accompany), *erlauben* (allow), *vergessen* (forget).

The second sound-shift does not exist in the everyday speech of ordinary folk in North Germany. It goes without saying that people who speak Dutch and North German or *Platt* dialects, can understand one another. Anyone who can read German should be able to read Dutch. To do so it is only necessary to recall the sound-changes cited

above and to know the peculiar spelling conventions of written Dutch. These are as follows:

With the exception of Z, S, and G, Dutch consonant symbols have values like the German ones. Z sounds as in *zebra*, e.g. *zoon* (son). By itself S stands for a sharp sibilant, like *s* in *sin* or *this*. The combination SJ, e.g. in *meisje* (girl), is like *sh* in *ship*. Except before R, the combination SCH is pronounced *s* + *ch* of Scotch *loch* or German *ach*. Otherwise it is like *s*. Thus SCHR = *sr*, e.g. *schrijven* (write). Dutch G stands for a weaker variety of *ch* in *loch*. In words of Latin or French origin T before IE is pronounced like *s*, e.g. *natie* (nation).

In syllables ending in a consonant, e.g. *vallen* (fall), *mes* (knife), *soh* (sock), the single vowel symbols A, E, and O are like their English equivalents in *what*, *pen*, *pot*. If A, E, and O end a syllable, as in *vader* (father), *zeven* (seven), *boven* (above), they have their vowel values in *rather*, *fête*, *nor*. The terminal -EN is pronounced like the final *a* in *banana*. Thus the final -*n* in the -*en* of the verb plural and infinitive (p. 263) is a paper survival. The single I, e.g. *vinden* (find) is pronounced as in our *pit*. In syllables ending in a consonant, e.g. *kus* (kiss) U resembles the *u* of *rust*. Otherwise U (or UU) is like the French *u* or the German *ü*.

The double vowel symbols AA, e.g. in *maan* (moon), OO, e.g. in *oom* (uncle), EE, e.g. *twee* (two) are respectively equal to *ah!*, *oh!*, *eh!* The combinations IE (equivalent to Y in words of foreign origin), e.g. in *niet* (not), EI, e.g. in *einde* (end), AU, e.g. in *nauw* (narrow) have the same values as in German. There is a group of combinations peculiar to Dutch:

- (i) IJ, e.g. *mijn* (my) near to *i* in *file*;
- (ii) EU, e.g. *deur* (door) like the French *eu* or English *u*, *o*, *e*, *i* in *fur*, *worm*, *pert*, *fir*;
- (iii) OE, e.g. *goed* (good) near to *oo* in *fool*;
- (iv) OU, e.g. *oud* (old) near to the *o* in *old*;
- (v) UI, e.g. *huis* (house) rather like *oi* in *foil*.

The triple and quadruple groups are pronounced as follows:

- AAI, e.g. *fraai* (fine) like *y* in *fly*;
- OOI, e.g. *hooi* (hay) like *oy* in *boy*;
- OEI, e.g. *moelijk* (difficult) roughly *oo-y* (as in *boot* and *pity*);
- EEUW, e.g. *leeuw* (lion) roughly *ay-oo* (as in *tray* and *too*);
- IEUW, e.g. *nieuw*, roughly *ew* in its English equivalent.

Each of the Scandinavian dialects has words peculiar to itself, as Scots Doric contains words which do not occur in the daily speech of Kent or Kansas. The proportion of recognizably common or actually

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identical words in Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish is enormous. Any one who can speak or read one of them can be intelligible to some one who speaks either of the other two, and can read all three with little difficulty. The difficulty can be greatly reduced by a few hints about the spelling conventions characteristic of each, and the sound-shift peculiar to Danish.

Norwegian has two vowel symbols not in our alphabet. It shares *ä* with Swedish (*aa* in Danish) and *ø* with Danish (*ö* in Swedish). The Swedish *ä* is written as *e* in Norwegian except before *r*, when it is *æ*, as always in Danish. The Swedish *ju* is always *y* in Danish and Norwegian words. The initial *hv* of Danish and Norwegian equivalents for English words which begin with *wh* is replaced by *v* alone in Swedish. The double Danish or Norwegian *hh*, which shortens the preceding vowel, is written as *ck* in Swedish. The Swedish and Norwegian *nn* and *ll* are replaced by *nd* and *ld* in Danish. In Danish and in Norwegian a soft Swedish *g*, pronounced like our *y*, is represented by *gj*. The terminal vowel *a* of Swedish words becomes *e* in Danish and Norwegian. The most striking difference of pronunciation reflected in spelling is the shift from a final voiceless *p*, *t*, *k* in Swedish or Norwegian to the voiced equivalents *b*, *d*, *g* in Danish, as illustrated by:

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH |
|---------|---------|--------|
| ship | skepp | Skib |
| foot | fo | Fod |
| speech | språk | Spring |

The identity of some words is obscured by the spelling of prepositions used as prefixes, e.g. Swedish *upp* for Danish *op*. When due allowance is made for all these differences of spelling or of pronunciation, it is safe to say that ninety-five per cent. of the words of a serviceable vocabulary are either identical in any of the three Scandinavian dialects mentioned, or can be appropriately modified in accordance with the rules above.

Scandinavian symbols usually have the same values as those of German in the preceding table. The notable Swedish exceptions are as follows:

- (a) before front vowels (E, I, Y, Ä, Ö), G softens to *y* as in *yew*, e.g. *get* (goat), K becomes *ch* as in German *ich*, e.g. *kära* (dear), SK becomes *sh* as in *ship* (*skepp*);
- (b) After L or R the final G is like *y* in *bury*, e.g. *berg* (mountain);
- (c) SJ, e.g. *sju* (seven), SKJ or STJ, e.g. *stjärna* (star) is like *sh* in *ship*;
- (d) Before R, e.g. *flückor* (girls) and in many monosyllables, e.g. *stol* (chair), O is like *oo* in *good*.
- (e) Ä is generally like *oa* in *oar*.

The Danish *AA* replaces the Swedish *Å*; *Æ* and *Ö* replace the German-Swedish *A* and *Ö*. Other differences are:

- (a) General tendency of voiceless (*P*, *T*, *K*) to assume the sound values of the corresponding voiced consonants (*b*, *d*, *g*). Thus *ikke* is pronounced like *igger* in *nigger*;
- (b) Terminal *G*, final *V* after *L*, and initial *H* before *V* (where *hv* replaces *wh* of the English equivalent, e.g. *hvad* = what) are silent;
- (c) *D* is silent after *L*, *N*, *R*, e.g. *holde* (hold), *finde* (find) and like *ð* when it follows a vowel.

SOUND-CHANGES IN THE LATIN FAMILY

Most English words of Latin origin are of two kinds. First come words derived from the French of Normandy and Picardy. These were brought in by the Norman conquerors. When this Norman and Picardian French had ceased to be a spoken language in England, the influx of French words did not stop. A second and even larger wave broke over England. This was partly due to the influence of Paris as a literary centre in medieval times. Thus borrowed French words of the period between Chaucer and Caxton do not come from the same region as the earlier Norman words and they are more distinctively French in the modern sense of the term. Since Caxton's time the introduction of Latin or Neo-Latin (French) roots has never ceased. There are now about two thousand primary Latin roots in English, excluding several times as many derivatives and the enormous variety of technical terms not listed in an ordinary dictionary. Owing to the fact that words of Latin origin have come into English directly from classical sources and indirectly through French, our English vocabulary has a very large number of doublets, illustrated by the list printed on the next page.

French itself has suffered a similar fate. Legions of Classical Latin words have marched into the French language since the sixteenth century. The Roman grammarian Varo would have been unable to identify Old French *filz*, *larron*, and *conseil* with Latin *filius*, *latro*, and *consilium* respectively, but would have had no difficulty in detecting the Latin origin of the more modern words of the following list (p. 240). There as elsewhere below the printed form of a Latin noun or adjective is usually the *ablative singular*.*

* The case system had decayed in the daily speech (p. 325) of the late Empire and the ablative or dative is often the literary case form nearest to the colloquial singular.



FIG. 29.

This remarkable Rune stone now stands in the national park in Stockholm. It was placed over the grave of a young man named Vämöð by his father Varin. The rune begins: *To the memory of Vämöð stands this stone. But Varin the father engraved it for his dead son.* Then follow many verses of a long elegy.

| ENGLISH WORDS DERIVED THROUGH FRENCH | ENGLISH WORDS DIRECTLY DERIVED FROM LATIN | LATIN |
|--------------------------------------|---|---------------|
| conceit | concept | conceptu |
| constraint | constriction | constrictione |
| couch | collocate | collocare |
| count | compute | computare |
| coy | quiet | quieto |
| dainty | dignity | dignitate |
| defeat | defect | defecto |
| dungeon | dominion | dominio |
| esteem | estimate | aestimare |
| fashion | faction | factione |
| fear | fact | facto |
| frail | fragile | fragili |
| loyal | legal | legali |
| mayor | major | majore |
| penance | penitence | poenitentia |
| poor | pauper | pauperi |
| privy | private | privato |
| royal | regal | regali |
| rule | regulate | regulare |
| Sir | senior | seniore |
| strait | strict | stricto |
| sure | secure | seculo |
| trait | tract | tractu |
| treason | tradition | traditione |

The spelling of many French loan-words is identical with that of the corresponding words in modern French, e.g. *figure*, *front*, *fruit*, *gain*, *grace*, *grain*, *table*, *torrent*, *torture*, or does not deviate sufficiently to make identification impossible, e.g. *chain* (*chaîne*), *charity* (*charité*), *colour* (*couleur*). Furthermore, words which look alike or similar in French and English have usually an area of common meaning. On the other hand, there are many which betray the beginner. The reason for this is that the meaning of words often changes in the course of centuries through metaphorical usage, through specialization or through generalization. Even since the time of James I, such words as *crafty* (originally *skilled*) and *cunning* (*knowing*, *wise*), have done so, and many words such as *homely* (*plain* in America, *domesticated* in England) do not mean the same thing on both sides of the Atlantic. So it is not surprising that French *spirituel* means *witty* or that *figure* refers to the face alone.

If we were to ask for *mutton* (*mouton*) and *mustard* (*moutarde*), *onions* (*oignons*) and *vinegar* (*vinaigre*) in a French inn, we should not

be understood unless we indicated our wishes in writing. Sometimes our own pronunciation of a French loan-word (e.g. *damage*) is nearer to the original than that of a Frenchman to-day. Modern French has discarded many words which survive in English, e.g. *able, bacon, chattel, mischief, nice, noise, nuisance, pledge, plenty, random, remember, revel*. English is thus a museum in which relics of Old and Middle French are exhibited; but English words of Latin origin derived from borrowed French words are far less numerous than English words coined directly from Latin roots, and these are the words which lighten our

| LATIN | FRENCH | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | (a) Older | (b) Newer |
| causa | CHOSE (<i>thing</i>) | cause (<i>cause</i>) |
| calculo | CAILLOU (<i>pebble</i>) | calcul (<i>calculus</i>) |
| calce | CHAU (<i>lime</i>) | calque (<i>tracing</i>) |
| carta | CHARTRE (<i>charter</i>) | carte (<i>card</i>) |
| captivo | CHÉTIF (<i>puny, weak</i>) | captif (<i>captive</i>) |
| factione | FAÇON (<i>style</i>) | faction (<i>faction</i>) |
| fabrica | FORGE (<i>smithy</i>) | fabrique (<i>factory</i>) |
| fragili | FRÈLE (<i>frail</i>) | fragile (<i>fragile</i>) |
| hospitale | HÔTEL (<i>hotel, mansion</i>) | hôpital (<i>hospital</i>) |
| parabola | PAROLE (<i>speech</i>) | parabole (<i>parable</i>) |
| pietate | PITTÉ (<i>pity</i>) | piété (<i>piety</i>) |
| praedicator | PRÊCHEUR (<i>preacher</i>) | prédicateur (<i>preacher</i>) |
| questione | QUÊTE (<i>quest</i>) | question (<i>question</i>) |
| rigido | RAIDE (<i>stiff</i>) | rigide (<i>rigid</i>) |
| redemptio | RANÇON (<i>ransom</i>) | rédemption (<i>redemption</i>) |

task in learning a Romance language such as Spanish. To take full advantage of our Latin legacy we therefore need to know a little about how the pronunciation of Latin changed when it split up into the daughter dialects which are now spoken, and how the sound-changes are reflected in the spelling of each.

There are several signposts by which English words of Latin or French origin can be recognized. We have already come across one of them (C for the *k* sound) in Chapter II. Another important one is the combination -TI- for the sound represented by *sh* in words of Teutonic parentage. The following is a list of some of the most reliable clues:

- (1) The combinations CT, TI (pronounced *sh*) and SC, e.g. *action* and *scale*.

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- (2) Words containing the sound *ʒ* (p. 83) represented by the French *J* of *jeu* (game) or *G* of *rouge* (red), e.g. *vision* or *treasure*.
- (3) Words beginning with *J* and *G* pronounced as *J* in *jam*, e.g. *gentle*, *giant*, *jacket*.
- (4) Nearly all words containing *OI*, e.g. *boil*, *moisture*, *soil*.
- (5) All words in which *OU* stands for long *u*, e.g. *group*, *soup*, *tour*.
- (6) Words beginning with *CH* followed by *a* (where *ch* = *tsh*), e.g. *challenge*, *change*, *charm*.
- (7) Words with final *GUE*, initial *QU*, and final *QUE*, e.g. *fatigue*, *quarter*, *brusque*.
- (8) All words in which final *S* and *T* are mute, e.g. *debris*, *bouquet*.
- (9) Nearly all words ending in *-ANT*, *-ENT*, e.g. *agent*, *merchant*, *student*.
- (10) Most polysyllabic words with end stress, e.g. *buffoon*, *campaign*, *élite*.

At one time the habit of attaching Latin affixes to native words or words containing a Greek or Teutonic root was frowned on. So other signposts are several Latin particles, or numerals used as affixes (*contra-*, *pre-*, *ad-* or *ad-*, *ante-*, *per-*, *multi-*, *uni-*, *di-*, *tri-*). Some of these are easily confused with Greek ones (*a-*, *anti-*, *peri-*) which do not mean the same. The abstract noun-ending *-ion* in *constipation* is also Latin, as is the termination *-it* in *deposit*. The following is a list of the more common affixes of Latin or French origin and the characteristic meaning of the prefixes:

(a) PREFIXES:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| <i>ab-</i> (away) | <i>extra-</i> (beyond) | <i>re-</i> (again) |
| <i>ad-</i> (to) | <i>in-</i> (in) | <i>retro-</i> (backward) |
| <i>ambi-</i> (both) | <i>in-</i> , <i>ne-</i> , <i>non-</i> (not) | <i>semi-</i> (half) |
| <i>ante-</i> (before) | <i>inter-</i> (between) | <i>sine-</i> (without) |
| <i>bene-</i> (well) | <i>intra-</i> (within) | <i>sub-</i> (under) |
| <i>bi-</i> (twice) | <i>pen-</i> (almost) | <i>subter-</i> (under) |
| <i>circum-</i> (around) | <i>per-</i> (through) | <i>super-</i> (above) |
| <i>contra-</i> (against) | <i>post-</i> (after) | <i>trans-</i> (across) |
| <i>con-</i> (with) | <i>pre-</i> (before) | <i>tri-</i> (three) |
| <i>de-</i> (from) | <i>preter-</i> (beyond) | <i>ultra-</i> (beyond) |
| <i>ex-</i> , <i>e-</i> (out of) | <i>pro-</i> (for, forth) | <i>vice-</i> (in place of) |

(b) SUFFIXES:

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>-able</i> | <i>-ance</i> | <i>-esque</i> | <i>-ite</i> | <i>-ment</i> |
| <i>-acious</i> | <i>-ary</i> | <i>-ess</i> | <i>-ity</i> | <i>-mony</i> |
| <i>-acy</i> | <i>-ery</i> or <i>-ory</i> | <i>-ette</i> | <i>-ive</i> | <i>-tude</i> |
| <i>-age</i> | <i>-ent</i> , <i>ant</i> | <i>-ion</i> | <i>-ise</i> | |

Like French, all Romance languages have a stock of old words of a more familiar type derived directly from Vulgar Latin, and a newer,

larger stratum of Classical Latin words introduced by scholars, clergy, lawyers or technicians. Words of the second class are easy to recognize. The roots have the same shape as those of our own loan-words which belong to the same class. The others, that is to say the older ones, are less easy to recognize, and therefore more difficult to memorize. The home student can get some fun out of the otherwise dreary task of memorizing a basic word-list by noting the sound-shifts which disguise or even distort beyond recognition the original Latin form. Illustrative examples of this trick will be the basis of the next few pages which deal with phonetic changes during the period when Latin was breaking up into what we now call French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian.

When Latin began to break up into these dialects the *H* had become silent. Initially the symbol has disappeared in all but four Italian words. It is soundless in French and in Spanish words, though it survives in the spelling. Apparently the people of the Roman Empire also became slack about the use of compound consonants such as *ct*, *pt*, *st*. The first of these has disappeared in all the daughter dialects, except in Latin words *reintroduced* by scholars. In Italian words other than those of the last-named type *CT* = *TT*, in Spanish *CT* = *CH* (as in *much*), in Portuguese and Old French *CT* = *IT*. In Modern French the symbol remains *-IT*, but the *T* is usually silent. The combination *pt* becomes *t* (or *tt*) in old words of all the Romance dialects, though scholars have sometimes put back an unpronounced *p* or *b* in script, as in the modern French *sept* for the Old French *set* (seven) or as in our *debt* derived from the French *dette*

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|--------|---------|---------|------------|--------|---------|
| DICTO | detto | dicho | dito | dit | said |
| FACTO | fatto | hecho | feito | fait | done |
| LACTE | latte | leche | leite | lait | milk |
| LECTO | letto | lecho | leito | lit | bed |
| NOCTE | notte | noche | noite | nuit | night |
| OCTO | otto | ocho | oito | huit | eight |
| SEPTEM | sette | siete | sete | sept | seven |
| TECTO | tetto | techo | teto | toit | roof |

Except in French there was decay of the initial combinations *pt*, *cl*, *fl*. In Italian *l* fades out in the *y*-sound represented by *l*. In Spanish

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the *lli* sound of *million*, represented by *LL*, may replace any one of the three compounds cited. In Portuguese the three consonant combinations make way for the *sh* sound represented by *CH*.

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|--------|---------|---------|------------|----------|----------------|
| PLENO | pieno | lleno | cheio | plein | <i>full</i> |
| PLUERE | piovere | llover | chover | pleuvoir | <i>to rain</i> |
| CLAVE | chiave | llave | chave | clef | <i>key</i> |
| FLAMMA | fiamma | llama | chama | flamme | <i>flame</i> |

In two of its daughter dialects the *medial* and *final l* of a Latin word often takes the soft value of *lli* in *million*. The symbol for this is *GL* in Italian and *LH* in Portuguese. In Spanish it gave way to the *ch* in Scots *loch*. This is represented by *J*. In many French words, including all those in the list below, a Latin *L* has become the *y* sound in *yes*. This pronunciation, which is Parisian in origin, appears from the seventeenth century on and does not intrude in the written language.

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|----------|-----------|---------|------------|---------|-----------------|
| AURICULA | orecchio | oreja | orelha | oreille | <i>ear</i> |
| CONSILIO | consiglio | consejo | conselho | conseil | <i>counsel</i> |
| FILIA | figlia | hija | filha | fille | <i>daughter</i> |
| FOLIA | foglia | hoja | fôlha | feuille | <i>leaf</i> |
| OCULO | occhio | ojo | ôlho | œil | <i>eye</i> |
| PALEA | paglia | paja | palha | paille | <i>straw</i> |
| TRIPALIO | travaglio | trabajo | trabalho | travail | <i>work</i> |

Between vowels *b* and *p* of Latin words were also unstable. Of the two the former softened to the *v* sound even before Vulgar Latin broke up. In French it maintains itself as *v* or has faded out, in Italian and Portuguese words it vacillates between *b* and *v*, and in Spanish it appears uniformly as *b*, but the Spanish Academy Grammar admits that "in the greater part of Spain the pronunciation of *b* and *v* is the same although it ought not to be." Latin *p* between vowels survives in Italian alone. In French it has become *v*, and in Spanish and Portuguese soft *b*.

Another change affected all Latin dialects except Portuguese. A short stressed *e* and *o* respectively made way for the compound vowels *ie*

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|----------|---------|---------|------------|---------|----------|
| CAPILLO | capello | cabello | cabelo | cheveu | hair |
| CAPRA | capra | | cabra | chèvre | goat |
| LEPORE | lepre | liebre | lebre | lièvre | hare |
| OPERARIO | operaio | obrero | obreiro | ouvrier | worker |
| SAPERE | sapere | | saber | savoir | to know |
| SAPORE | sapere | | sabor | savoir | taste |
| BIBERE | bevere | | beber | boire | to drink |
| CABALLO | cavallo | caballo | cavalo | cheval | horse |
| FEBRE | febbre | fiebre | febre | fièvre | fever |
| HABERE | avere | haber | haver | avoir | to have |
| PROBARE | provare | probar | provar | prouver | to prove |

and *ue*. In French the latter became a sound like *ø* in German. It is written *-EU* in the ensuing examples.

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|-------|---------|---------|------------|--------|----------|
| PEDE | piede | pie | pé | piéd | foot |
| PETRA | pietra | pedra | pedra | pierre | stone |
| TENET | | tiene | tem | tient | he holds |
| DECEM | dieci | diez | dez | dix | ten |
| MORIT | muore | muere | morre | meurt | he dies |
| POTET | può | puede | pode | peut | he can |
| NOVO | nuovo | nuevo | novo | neuf | new |
| FOCO | fuoco | fuego | fogo | feu | fire |
| PROBA | pruova | prueba | prova | preuve | proof |

In general Latin had fewer compound vowels than its descendants. The most prominent one, *au*, has become a simple vowel in all our four Romance languages. Its descendant is spelt *O* in Italian and Spanish, *OU* or *OI* in Portuguese, and *O* or *AU* in French.

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|---------|---------|---------|------------|--------|---------|
| AURO | | oro | ouro | or | gold |
| CAUSA | | cosa | cousa | chose | thing |
| PAUPERI | povero | | pobre | pauvre | poor |

Another common tendency at work during the period of differentiation of the Romance dialects is reflected in spelling. Spanish, Portu-

guese, and French equivalents of classical Latin words beginning with ST, SC, SP, SQ, SL, appropriate a vowel, e.g. Latin *spiritu*, Spanish *espíritu*, Portuguese *espírito*, French *esprit*, or Latin *scribere* (to write), Spanish *escribir*, Portuguese *escrever*, French *écrire*. This *e*- turns up in Latin inscriptions of the second century A.D., and was once part of the spoken language of the Empire. It dropped out in Italian, e.g. *spirito* or *scrivere*. In English words derived from French or Latin this initial *e* is absent. There are a few exceptions, e.g. *estate*, *esquire*, *espouse*, *especially*. The following list illustrates the contrast and also shows a French peculiarity explained in the next paragraph.

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----------|------------|
| <i>scald</i> | échauffer | escaldar | <i>spine</i> | épine | espina |
| <i>scarlet</i> | écarlate | escarlata | <i>sponge</i> | éponge | esponja |
| <i>school</i> | école | escuela | <i>spouse</i> | époux | esposo |
| <i>scripture</i> | écriture | escritura | <i>stamp</i> | étampe | estampa |
| <i>scum</i> | écume | espuma | <i>standard</i> | étandard | estandarte |
| <i>slave</i> | esclave | esclavo | <i>state</i> | état | estado |
| <i>shuce</i> | écluse | esclusa | <i>stanch</i> | étancher | estancar |
| <i>space</i> | espace | espacio | <i>stomach</i> | estomac | estómago |
| <i>spade</i> | épée | espada | <i>strange</i> | étrange | extraño |
| <i>Spain</i> | Espagne | España | <i>study</i> | étudier | estudiar |
| <i>spice</i> | épice | especia | <i>stuff</i> | étoffe | estofa |

We have now looked at what was happening to Latin dialects simultaneously in different parts of the disintegrated empire during the four or so centuries after the fall of Rome. We shall now look at more local changes. From this viewpoint French stands most apart from its sister languages. We have already met (p. 225) one peculiarity of French.

| ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | MIDDLE FRENCH | MODERN FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|----------|----------|------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| | bastardo | | bastard | BÂTARD | <i>bastard</i> |
| | bestia | besta | beste | BÊTE | <i>beast</i> |
| chiostro | claustró | | cloistre | CLOÎTRE | <i>cloister</i> |
| | costa | | coste | CÔTE | <i>coast</i> |
| costare | costar | custar | couster | COÛTER | <i>(to) cost</i> |
| festa | fiesta | festa | feste | FÊTE | <i>feast</i> |
| isola | isla | ilha | isle | ÎLE | <i>isle</i> |
| ostrica | ostra | | oistre | HUITRE | <i>oyster</i> |

The compound consonant *st* has made way for *t*. The preceding vowel then carries a circumflex accent, as in the examples below. The change began in the eleventh century, but a mute *S* before *T* persisted in written French till the reforms of 1740.

Another specifically Old French sound-change has also cropped up in preceding tables. The modern French *C* is a hard (*k*) sound only before *a*, *o*, and *u*. Otherwise it stands for *s*. Where *C* preceded *a* in Latin words it softened to the *sh* sound in *ship*, spelt *CH* in French orthography (cf. *chamois*, *champagne*), as in the following:

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|---------|---------|---------|------------|---------|---------|
| caballo | cavallo | caballo | cavalo | CHEVAL | horse |
| camisa | camicia | | camisa | CHEMISE | shirt |
| capra | capra | | cabra | CHÈVRE | goat |
| capite | capo | cabeza | cabeça | CHEF* | head |
| caro | | caro | | CHER | dear |
| causa | | cosa | cousa | CHOSE | thing |

In many English words derived from French this initial *CH* conceals correspondence with the Spanish or Italian equivalent. It does so, for instance, in those below:

| LATIN | SPANISH | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|-------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| calefacere | calentar | chauffer | chafe |
| cambio | cambio | change | change |
| campione | campeón | champion | champion |
| cancellario | canciller | chancelier | chancellor |
| cantare | cantar | chanter | chant |
| capitulum | capítulo | chapitre | chapter |
| captiare | cazar | chasser | chase |
| caritate | caridad | charité | charity |
| carta | carta | charte | chart |
| casto | casto | chaste | chaste |

Another characteristically French sound-shift recalls what happened in Middle English and is still going on in Scandinavian dialects. Between two vowels *g* softened to *y* or *i* or disappeared. Hence we get English old-new couplets such as *royal-regal*, *loyal-legal*, *frail-fragile*. (The English pronunciation of *royal* and *loyal* is a survival of the Old French stage.) Examples are in the following table.

* In a metaphorical sense. The anatomical head is *la tête*.

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|-----------|-----------|---------|------------|---------|-------------------|
| augusto | | agosto | | AOÛT | August |
| castigare | castigare | | castigar | CHÂTIER | to chastise |
| integro | intero | entero | inteiro | ENTIER | entire |
| fugire | fuggire | huir | fugir | FUIR | to flee |
| lege | legge | ley | lei | LOI | law |
| ligare | legare | | ligar | LIER | to tie |
| negare | negare | | negar | NIER | to deny |
| nigro | nero | | negro | NOIR | black |
| pacare | pagare | | pagar | PAYER | to pay |
| pagano | | pagano | pagao | PAÏEN | heathen |
| plaga | piaga | llaga | praga | PLAIE | wound (plague) |
| rua | (strada) | (calle) | rua | RUE | street |

Another French consonant-shift scarcely conceals the Latin equivalent. A *v* which through phonetic loss has become final hardens to *f*, or is mute, as shown in the next instalment for our vocabulary of Romance words. One reason for mentioning this is that it brings to life a grammatical irregularity. The feminine form (p. 357) of adjectives which have the masculine singular ending *-f* takes *-ve* in place of it.

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|-----------|---------|-----------|------------|-------------|---------|
| bove | bove | buey | boi | BŒUF | ox |
| breve | | breve | | BRÈF (-ève) | brief |
| novo (-a) | nuovo | nuevo | novo | NEUF (-ve) | new |
| novem | novè | nueve | nove | NEUF | nine |
| clave | chiave | llave | chave | CLEF | key |
| nervo | nervo | nervio | nervo | NERF | nerve |
| ovo | uovo | huevo | ôvo | ŒUF | egg |
| vivo (-a) | | vivo (-a) | | VIF (-ve) | alive |

Two vowel-shifts are peculiar to French: (a) in an open syllable the Latin stressed *a* became an *e* sound, spelt to-day E, È, Ê, AI, or -ER; (b) in the same position the Latin stressed *e* changed to the diphthong OI. The combination now stands for a sound like *wa* in Scots *we twa*. French grammarians disapproved of this pronunciation till the Revolution put its seal on it. Examples of these changes are overleaf.

What is most characteristic of modern French words is loss of body through successive elimination of terminal vowels, medial consonants, and final consonants. The consequence is that French has a very large proportion of monosyllables. Indeed, almost every bisyllabic Latin word which has left a direct descendant in modern French is now represented by a single syllable, as illustrated by the following couplets in which a

medial consonant has disappeared: lege-LOI (*law*), fide-FOI (*faith*), videt-VOIT (*sees*), credit CROIT (*believes*), or patre-PÈRE (*father*), matre-MÈRE (*mother*), fratre-FRÈRE (*brother*), sorore-SOEUR (*sister*). In other French words, as in the last four, an unaccented final E exists only on paper. The last remark would be equally true about the majority of final consonants, e.g. the silent T in *voit* or *croit*. One result of this is a great gap (see p. 35) between the flexional system of the written and of the spoken language. No other Romance language furnishes comparable examples of drastic shortening, e.g. EAU (pronounced *o*) from *aqua* (water), HAUT (pronounced *o*) from *alto* (high), MI from *medio* (half), AOÛT (pronounced *a-oo* or *oo*) from *augusto* (August), ROND (pronounced

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|-------------|---------|---------|------------|---------|--------------|
| (a) cantare | cantare | | cantar | CHANTER | sing |
| claro | chiaro | | claro | CLAIR | clear |
| ala | | ala | | AILE | wing (aisle) |
| prato | prato | | prado | PRÉ | meadow |
| sale | sale | | sal | SEL | salt |
| patre | | padre | pai | PÈRE | father |
| (b) seta | seta | | seda | SOIE | silk |
| me | | me | | MOI | me |
| velo | | velo | vêu | VOILE | veil |
| tela | | tela | | TOILE | cloth |

rô) from *rotundo* (round), sÛR (pronounced *syr*) from *securus* (safe), HÔTE (pronounced *oat*) from *hospite* (host). Thus the Latin ancestry of most French words, other than those which have been introduced by scholars in comparatively recent times, is far less apparent than that of their Italian or Spanish equivalents.

As a spoken language Spanish has moved further away from Latin than Italian has, but not so far as French. Partly for this reason, but also because the spelling of Spanish words is highly regular, there is less to say about the sound-changes in relation to the appearance of the printed word. For recognizing the similarity of English words of Latin origin to their Spanish equivalents, the important ones are few. Some have turned up in the preceding paragraphs. The most misleading one is still to come. This is the disappearance of the *initial f*, replaced in script by what is now *silent H*, cf. *hacienda*, which comes from the Latin word *facienda*. Some linguists attribute this to the influence of the Moorish occupation, and others to that of the pre-Aryan population now represented by the Basques, who have no *f* sound. The first of these suggestions is unlikely, because *H* at the beginning of a word crops up at a comparatively late stage in old documents. The Spanish Jews who emigrated to Salonika about A.D. 1500 still preserve the

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Latin *f*, e.g. *fierro* for *hierro* (iron) and *favlar* for *hablar* (to speak). So also do the Portuguese. The change began in the neighbourhood of Burgos on the Spanish border of the Pyrenees, and in Gascony on the French side. That is to say, it prevailed where Spanish and French communities were in closest contact with the *f*-less Basques. Below are a few characteristic examples of the change from *f* to *H*, i.e. the *disappearance* of *f*.

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|----------|--------------------|---------|------------|-------------------|-----------|
| faba | fava | HAVA | fava | fève | bean |
| fabulari | (<i>parlare</i>) | HABLAR | falar | (<i>parler</i>) | to speak |
| facere | fare | HACER | fazer | faire | to make |
| falcone | falcone | HALCÓN | falcão | faucon | falcon |
| fame | fame | HAMBRE | fome | faim | hunger |
| farina | farina | HARINA | farinha | farine | flour |
| fendere | fendere | HENDER | fender | fendre | to split |
| foeno | fieno | HERNO | feno | foin | hay |
| fervore | fervore | HERVOR | fervor | ferveur | fervour |
| ferro | ferro | HIERRO | ferro | fer | iron |
| fico | fico | HIGO | figo | figue | fig |
| filio | figlio | HIJO | filho | fil | son |
| filia | figlia | HIJA | filha | fille | daughter |
| filo | filo | HILO | fio | fil | thread |
| folia | foglia | HOJA | fôlha | feuille | leaf |
| furca | forca | HORCA | fôrca | fourche | pitchfork |
| forma | forma | HORMA | forma | forme | form |
| formica | formica | HORMIGA | formiga | fourmi | ant |
| fugire | fuggire | HUIR | fugir | fuir | to flee |
| fumo | fumo | HUMO | fumo | fumée | smoke |
| furone | furetto | HUR 5 | furão | furet | ferret |
| ficato | fegato | HÍGADO | figado | foie | liver |

The disappearance of initial *f* did not take place in all old Spanish words. It remained intact when followed by *r* or *ue*, as is shown in the following:

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|---------|---------|---------|------------|--------|--------------------|
| fronte | fronte | frente | | front | forehead, front |
| frigido | freddo | frio | | froid | cold |
| fricto | fritto | frito | | frit | fried |
| foco | fuoco | fuego | fogo | feu | fire |
| forti | forte | fuerte | forte | fort | strong |
| fortia | forza | fuerza | fôrça | force | force |

Many Spanish words have come to look different from equivalent ones in other Romance languages because of the interpolation of an additional consonant:

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|----------|----------|----------|------------|--------|-----------|
| fame | fame | hambre | fome | faim | hunger |
| homine | uomo | hombre | homem | homme | man |
| legumine | legume | legumbre | legume | légume | vegetable |
| sanguine | sangue | sangre | sangue | sang | blood |
| seminare | seminare | sembrar | semeiar | semer | to sow |

The table before the last but one shows that Portuguese does not share this *f*-less word-form. As previous ones have shown, Portuguese differs from Spanish in two other ways. It participated in the *b-v* shift which Spanish resisted, and it resisted the replacement of *e* and *o* by the compounds *ie* and *ue*. Portuguese shares with French the tendency to slough off medial consonants. It shares with Spanish elimination of a medial *d*, as illustrated by the first five, and, with no other Romance language the disappearance of *h*, as illustrated by the last four examples in the next table. The reader will find other differences between Portuguese and Spanish in Chapter VIII, p. 345.

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|---------|---------|---------|------------|---------|------------|
| cadere | cadere | caer | CAIR | choir* | to fall |
| credere | credere | creer | CRER | croire | to believe |
| fideli | fedele | | FIEL | fidèle | faithful |
| audire | udire | oir | OUVIR | ouï† | to hear |
| laudare | lodare | loar | LOUVAR | louer | to praise |
| caelo | | cielo | CÉU | ciel | sky |
| colore | colore | color | CÔR | couleur | colour |
| salute | salute | salud | SAÚDE | salut | health |
| volare | volare | volar | VOAR | voler | to fly |

THE GREEK CONTRIBUTION

The revolt against papal authority in the sixteenth century went hand in hand with biblical scholarship and a renewal of interest in Greek philosophy. Greek words, disguised by Latin spelling, came into English usage. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a steady

* *archaic*, the usual verb equivalent of *to fall* is *tomber*.

† *archaic*, the usual verb equivalent of *to hear* is *en-tendre*. The imperative of *ouir* survives in our law courts as *oyez, oyez* (*hear, oh hear!*).

trickle became a torrent. On the whole, medical science had favoured Latin more than Greek roots from which to build new technical terms. The introduction of modern chemical nomenclature in the closing years of the eighteenth century set a new fashion. Modern scholarship, whether literary or naturalistic, prefers Greek to Latin; and proprietary products have fallen into line. At no other time in our history have there been so many words of Greek origin on the lips of the English-speaking peoples.

To-day Latin as a quarry for word-building material has lost its former importance. In the terminology of modern science, especially in *aeronautics*, *bio-chemistry*, *chemotherapy*, *genetics*, its place is increasingly taken by Greek. But the inventor of a new process or instrument does not scan the pages of Plato or Aristotle for a suitable name. He goes to the lexicon and creates something which was never heard before. So it happens that the language of Euripides is sending out new shoots in the name of a dental cream, a mouth-wash or a patent medicine. A large number of these artificially created scientific and technical terms are becoming common property. When they are of an unwieldy length, everyday speech tends to subject them to a process of clipping similar to what resulted in *alms*, shortened in the course of centuries from the same Greek root which yields *eleemosynary*. What used to take several centuries is now reached in a few decades, if not in a few years. With the same snappiness with which popular parlance has shortened *pepper* (Greek *peperi*) to *pep*, it has changed *photograph* to *photo*, *automobile* to *auto*, *telephone* to *phone*, and *stenographer* to *stenog*.

Most words of Greek origin are easy to recognize in script by certain peculiar consonant combinations introduced by Latin scribes. Of these *ph* pronounced like *f*, in *phonograph*, and *ch* pronounced like *k* in a *Christian chorus*, are infallible. So also is the *rh* in *rheumatism* and *diarrhoea*. An initial *ps* pronounced like *s* alone, as in *psychology* or *pseudonym*, is nearly always indicative of Greek origin, as is the vowel combination *oe* or a *y* pronounced as in *lyre*. The combination *th* for *p* represented in Greek by *θ* is common to Greek and Teutonic root-words. Scholars of the Reformation period used Latin spelling conventions such as *C* for *K* in Greek roots. This practice is dying out. Though we still write *cycle* and *cyst*, the Greek *K* is now used at the beginning of some technical words coined from Greek sources, as illustrated by *kinetic*, *kerosene*, or *kleptomania*. German and French, like English, adhere to the earlier Latin transliteration *PH* where Scandinavians, Spaniards, and Italians have adopted the later *F*.

Romance languages other than French render TH by T, RH by R and Y by I, as in the Spanish words *fotografia, teatro, diarrea, sintoma*.

Many words of Greek origin can be recognized at sight by their prefixes, of which the following are specially important. Of the examples given, the first of each pair is literary, the second a product of the new technical humanism:

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|-------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>amphi-</i> | both or around | as in | <i>amphitheatre,</i> | <i>amphibious.</i> |
| <i>a- or an-</i> | not | as in | <i>amnesty,</i> | <i>amorphous.</i> |
| <i>ana-</i> | back, again, | as in | <i>anachronism,</i> | <i>anabolism.</i> |
| <i>anti-</i> | against | as in | <i>antithesis,</i> | <i>antiseptic.</i> |
| <i>apo-</i> | away | as in | <i>apostasy,</i> | <i>apogamy.</i> |
| <i>auto-</i> | by itself | as in | <i>autocrat,</i> | <i>auto-erotic.</i> |
| <i>dia-</i> | through | as in | <i>diagonal,</i> | <i>dia-magnetic.</i> |
| <i>dys-</i> | bad | as in | <i>dysgenic,</i> | <i>dyspepsia.</i> |
| <i>ec-, ex-</i> | from, out of | as in | <i>exodus,</i> | <i>ecdysis.</i> |
| <i>endo-</i> | within | as in | <i>endogenous,</i> | <i>endometrium.</i> |
| <i>epi-</i> | upon | as in | <i>epigram,</i> | <i>epidiascope.</i> |
| <i>eu-</i> | good | as in | <i>eulogy,</i> | <i>eugenic.</i> |
| <i>hemi-</i> | half | as in | <i>hemisphere,</i> | <i>hemicycle.</i> |
| <i>hetero-</i> | different | as in | <i>heterodox,</i> | <i>heterodyne.</i> |
| <i>homo-</i> | same | as in | <i>homophone,</i> | <i>homosexual.</i> |
| <i>hyper-</i> | above | as in | <i>hyperbole,</i> | <i>hypertrophy.</i> |
| <i>hypo-</i> | below | as in | <i>hypothesis,</i> | <i>hypophosphate.</i> |
| <i>iso-</i> | equal | as in | <i>isosceles,</i> | <i>isomer.</i> |
| <i>kata-</i> | down | as in | <i>catastrophe,</i> | <i>catalysis.</i> |
| <i>meta-</i> | after | as in | <i>metaphysics,</i> | <i>metabolism.</i> |
| <i>neo-</i> | new | as in | <i>neologism,</i> | <i>neon.</i> |
| <i>palaeo-</i> | old | as in | <i>palaeography,</i> | <i>palaeolithic.</i> |
| <i>pan-</i> | all | as in | <i>pantheism,</i> | <i>panchromatic.</i> |
| <i>para-</i> | beside | as in | <i>paradox,</i> | <i>parameter.</i> |
| <i>peri-</i> | around | as in | <i>periphrasis,</i> | <i>periscope.</i> |
| <i>poly-</i> | many | as in | <i>polytheism,</i> | <i>polydactyly.</i> |
| <i>pro-</i> | before | as in | <i>prologue,</i> | <i>prognosis.</i> |
| <i>proto-</i> | first | as in | <i>protocol,</i> | <i>protoplasm.</i> |
| <i>pseudo-</i> | false | as in | <i>pseudonym,</i> | <i>pseudopodium.</i> |
| <i>syn-, sym-</i> | together | as in | <i>synchronous,</i> | <i>symbiosis.</i> |

To these we should add the numeral prefixes: *mono-* (1) as *monogamy*, *di* (2), *tri-* (3), *tetra-* (4), *penta* (5), *hexa-* (6), in *tripod*, *tetrahedron*, *pentagon*, *hexagon*; *hepta-* (7) as in *heptameter*, *octo-* (8), as in *octopus* and *octagon*, *deka-* (10), as in *decalogue*, *kilo-* (1000) in *kilometer* or *kilogram*. One of the foregoing prefixes, *ex-* or *ec-* is like its Latin equivalent and is not diagnostic. So also is *pro-*. The only outstanding Greek suffixes are *-ic* or *-ics* in *dialectic* and *mathematics*, with the derivative *-ical* and *-ism*, e.g. in *theism*. The last exhibit in the language museum

(Part IV) of *The Loom* is a list of Greek words used to build international technical terms.

Both in its ancient and modern form, Greek stands apart from other languages of the Aryan family. Two thousand five hundred years ago, closely related dialects were spoken throughout the Balkan peninsula, the Aegean Islands, including Cyprus and Crete, in the western part of Asia Minor, and in many settlements of the Black Sea. That people who spoke these dialects could understand one another was the only tie between all the constantly warring and rarely united communities called collectively Ancient Greece. By the fourth century B.C., a common standard for written communication based on mainland Attic was accepted. This *koine*, which was officially adopted by the Macedonian kings, supplanted all its local competitors (Ionic, Doric, Aeolic, Arcadian, Corinthian, etc.) except Spartan, which still survives locally in modern Greece as *Tsaconian*. The *koine* spread over the Near and Middle East. After the division of the Macedonian Empire, it disintegrated into regional forms such as the Macedonian Greek of the mainland and the Alexandrian Greek into which the Jews of Egypt translated their Old Testament (Septuaginta). Even in the third century A.D. the Western Church relied mainly on Greek. During the fourth, it began to die out in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and North Africa, and Augustine could not read Plato in the original. When Constantinople fell to the Turks in the fifteenth century Greek survived as a living language only in vernaculars restricted to the southernmost portion of the Balkan peninsula and its vicinity.

There was little vernacular writing before Greece won its independence from the Turks in 1827. Thereafter classical models had a strong influence on the form adopted. As a written language, modern Greek is therefore a product, and a highly artificial product, of the last century. The gap between the written and the spoken language is greater than in any other European language. While Italian spelling has become more phonetic with the march of time, Greek spelling has relinquished the claims of convenience to cherish an historic memory of departed glory. A modern movement to bring the literary language nearer to the spoken has met with no success. In 1911, students of the University of Athens demonstrated in public against the proposal to translate the Bible into folk-Greek. Excluding the vocative, classical Greek had four case-forms corresponding to those of Old Norse, Old English, and Old German. Modern Greek, as prescribed in the text-books used in the schools, retains three case-forms of the adjective, noun, and article, and

the three gender-classes still exist. It has dropped two tense-forms (perfect and future) which are replaced by analytical constructions. Otherwise it has not moved far from the elaborate flexional system of ancestral Greek.

PRONUNCIATION OF SPANISH, ITALIAN AND FRENCH

From various clues such as the study of puns and of metre in Latin literature, or of features common to two or more of its modern descendants, it seems quite clear that the Latin of the Roman Empire had a very regular system of spelling. With few exceptions a particular symbol always stood for a particular sound, or a group of very closely related sounds. This is almost true of Italian or of Spanish to-day. French spelling is scarcely more regular than that of English. The home-student who wishes to learn a Romance language will need to be familiar with its sound patterns and conventions. Other readers should *skip the rest of the chapter*. There are notes on the pronunciation of Portuguese in Chapter VIII (p. 345).

We have seen that Italian is rich in double consonants such as *tt*, *ll*, *mm*, *zz*, etc., and it is necessary to *linger* on them in pronouncing a word in which one of them occurs. One inconsistency, common to Italian, Spanish, and French spelling, involves the pronunciation of the symbols C and G. In Latin they always had their hard values in *cat* and *goat*. In its modern descendants they still have them when they precede the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*. Thus we meet the same hard C in *costa* (Italian and Spanish), *côte* (French) as in its equivalent *coast*. So also we meet the same hard G in *governo* (Italian), *gobierno* (Spanish), *gouvernement* (French), for *government*. Before *e* and *i* the Italian C is the CH sound in *child*, and the Italian G is the soft G of *gem*. Before *e* and *i* the Spanish C has the same value as the Spanish Z before *a*, *o* and *u*,* i.e. the TH in *thin*, and the Spanish G has the value which Spanish J has before *all* vowels, i.e. the guttural sound of Ch in Scots *loch*. Before *e* and *i* the French C is the C in *cinder* and the French G is the same as the French J (p. 241), which is our S in *treasure*.

When the hard *c* and *g* sounds precede *e* and *i* in the Italian word the symbols which stand for them are CH as in *chianti* and GH as in *ghiaccio* (ice). The corresponding Spanish and French symbols are QU as in Fr. *bouquet* and GU as in Fr. *guide*. The symbols CI and GI before

* The θ value for the Spanish Z and G before *e* and *i* is Castilian. In Spanish-speaking America both C and Z have the value of the French C in CIGARETTE.

a, o, u in an Italian word have the same values as *C* or *G* before *e* or *i*, corresponding to our *CH* in *chocolate* (*cioccolata*), and our *J* in *journal* (*giornale*). Italian *SC* before *E* or *I* is pronounced like *SH* in *ship*, elsewhere like *SC* in *scope*. *SCH* has the same value as *SCH* in *school*. Similarly the French *GE* before *a, o, u* as in *nous mangeons* (we eat) stands for the soft French *J* or *G* alone before *e* and *i*. A subscript mark called the *cedilla* shows that a French or Portuguese *C* before *a, o, u*, as in *leçon* (lesson) has the value of *C* in *cinder*.

These inconsistencies and conventions draw attention to the chief differences between the sound values of identical symbols in the Romance group. Thus the Italian *CH* of *chianti* has the *k* value in *character*, the Spanish *CH* in *mucho* its value in the equivalent *much*, and the French *CH* is the *sh* sound in *chamois* or *champagne*. The symbol *J* does not occur in modern Italian. The Spanish *J* is the *CH* in Scots *loch*, and the French *J* is the *SI* sound in *vision*. The Italian *Z* usually corresponds to *ts*, the Spanish-American to *C* in *citrus*, and the French *Z* to our own in *maze*. There is no *z* sound in Spanish. In Italian and in French an *S* between two vowels as in *easy* stands for *z*, otherwise for the pure *s* sound in *silly*. The Spanish *S* is always pure, i.e. a hiss as in *case*, never a buzz as in *rose*. The French and Spanish *QU* is the *k* sound in *lacquer*. The Italian *QU* is the *kw* sound in *liquid*.

The *LLI* sound of *billiards* has cropped up earlier in this chapter, in Italian with the symbol *GL*, in Portuguese with *LH*, in Spanish with *LL*. Originally, and to-day in some dialects, the *LL* of a French word had the same value, which has otherwise faded to the *y* sound in *yes*. In some French words the *LL* still stands for an ordinary *l* sound, e.g. *ville* (town) or *village*. The *N* in some Latin words has undergone a softening analogous to the *LLI* sound. For this *N* sound as in *onion*, the Italian and French symbol is *GN* as in *Mignon*. The Spanish symbol is *Ñ*, as in *cañón* (tube). The mark is called the *tilde*.

Another feature of the sound-pattern of Romance languages mentioned in passing is the total absence of an *h* sound. Though the symbol remains, there is no aspirate in a French word which begins with *H*, e.g. *herbe* (grass), nor in a Spanish one, e.g. *hombre* (man). The *H* of French and Spanish is a dead letter and it has disappeared altogether in corresponding Italian words, e.g. *erba* or *uomo*. The four Italian words which cling to it are: *ho* (I have), *hai* (thou hast), *ha* (he has), *hanno* (they have). The initial *H* of these words distinguishes them from their

homophones: *o* (or), *ai* (to the), *a* (to), *anno* (year). Conversely, the symbol R which is often a dead letter in Anglo-American words is always audible in words of Romance languages. The Spanish and Italian R is an R rolled on the tip of the tongue. The more fashionable Parisian variant of the French R is less forcible and somewhat throaty.

Italian and Spanish have stuck to the very thrifty battery of Latin vowels. The simple vowel symbols A, E, I, O, U, are roughly equivalent to *ah*, *eh*, or *e* in *yes*, *ee*, *oh*, *oo* in *too*. Romance vowels are pure vowels. Unlike long English vowels they have no tendency towards diphthongization. To get the correct value it is necessary to keep lips and tongue fixed during articulation. If you do, you will pronounce the Italian O of *dove* (where) correctly like the AW of *law*. Otherwise it will sound like the O of *alone* and be wrong. When in Italian or Spanish two vowels come together, and one of them is *i* or *u*, the other vowel (*a*, *e*, *o*) takes the stress, and *i* or *u* are quickly passed over. The vowel equipment of Portuguese (see p. 345) and of French has travelled far from the Latin homestead.

No single French vowel *exactly* corresponds to any English one. All we can attempt to do is to give approximate equivalents which a Frenchman could recognize as such.

Before a double consonant *a* is usually as in *man*, e.g. *patte* (paw).

Before a single consonant it is often long as in *far*. The circumflex (ˆ) written above a vowel lengthens it, and is a sign that at one time the vowel was followed by S + consonant, e.g. *château* (castle).

Without an accent E may be short and open like the E of *let*, e.g. *sel* (salt), or is faintly audible like the first E in *veneer*, e.g. *leçon*. A final E without an accent, e.g. *barbe* (beard), is always silent in daily speech, like the *e* in our word *made*. Ê is pronounced like the E in *net*, but is longer, e.g. *pécher* (to sin). Final -ER and -EZ in verb forms have the sound value of Ê, e.g. *chasser* (to chase), *payez* (pay!). E sounds like the *ai* in *affair*, e.g. *mère* (mother). E has roughly the same open sound of *ea* in *treacherous*, but is longer, e.g. *pêcher* (to fish). O is generally short as in *long*, e.g. *lot* (lot). Ô sounds like O in *opal*, e.g. *ôter* (remove). The sound represented by U has no equivalent in English. If you speak Scots, pronounce it like the U of *guid*; if you know German, like the Ü of *über*. Otherwise, pout your lips as if you were to pronounce the U of *pool*, but without uttering any sound. Then, with the lips in the same position as before, try to pronounce the E of *flea*, and you may obtain the sound of French U in *lune* (moon), or *punir* (punish).

AI may either be pronounced like Ê, as in *vrai* (true), or like Ê, as in *je chanterai* (I shall sing). AU and EAU sound like OU in *ought*, e.g. *cause*, *beau* (beautiful). EU resembles the pronunciation of EA

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in heard, e.g. *Europe*. OU is like the OO of *loot*, e.g. *doux* (sweet). OI sounds like *wa*, e.g. *soir*.

Unless the following word begins with a vowel, final consonants, chiefly T, D, S, X, Z, and less often C, F, L, are usually silent, e.g. *sonnet*, *nid* (nest), *vers*, *yeux* (eyes), *nez* (nose), *trop* (too much), *estomac* (stomach), *clef* (key), *fusil* (rifle). Americans and English are familiar with many borrowed French words in which the final consonants are not pronounced, e.g. *ballet*, *gourmand*, *chamois*, *pince-nez*. These silent finals, which preserve continuity with the past of the language, become vocal under certain conditions. When a word ending in a mute consonant precedes one with an initial vowel, French safeguards smoothness of speech by bringing the dead letter back to life. It becomes the beginning of the following word. Thus *on en a pour son argent* (it is worth the money) is pronounced *on en a pour son argent*. For this so-called *liaison* there is no hard-and-fast rule. Common people use it more sparingly than those who affect culture. It is customary between article and noun, e.g. *les enfants* (the children), pointer word or possessive adjective and noun, e.g. *nos amis* (our friends), numeral and noun, e.g. *trois autos* (three motor cars), pronoun and verb, e.g. *ils arrivent* (they arrive). The French have other means of avoiding a clash of two vowels. One is liquidation of the first vowel, e.g. *Poiseau* for *le oiseau* (the bird), the other is separation of the two vowels by a Latin-derived *t*, e.g. *a-t-il?* (Latin *habet-ille?* = has he?). Unlike French, Spanish is not averse to vowel collision, cf. *la obscuridad* and *l'obscurité* (darkness).

French is a highly nasal language. At an early stage of its evolution the nasal consonants M and N became silent, or almost so, imparting a nasal twang to the preceding vowel. When English-speaking people first try to pronounce a nasal vowel like the one in the French word *son* (sound) they usually say *song*. To make sure that you actually nasalize the O instead of producing an ordinary O followed by a nasal consonant, take the advice of an English phonetician and make the following experiment:

"Pinch the nose tightly so that no air can escape, and then say the sound. If the nasalized vowel is being said, then it can be prolonged indefinitely; but if *ng* is being pronounced, then the sound will come to an abrupt ending."

Modern French has four different nasal vowels which in script are represented by a great variety of vowel-consonant combinations:

- (1) Nasalized A (a), written AN, EN, AM, EM, e.g. *dans* (in), *mensonge* (lie), *ambition*, *membre*.

- (2) Nasalized E (e), written IN, EN, AIN, EIN, IM, AIM, e.g. *fin*, *romain*, *plein* (full), *simple*, *faim* (hunger), *chien* (dog).
- (3) Nasalized O (o), written ON, OM, e.g. *bon* (good), *corrompu* (corrupt).
- (4) Nasalized U (u), written UN, UM, e.g. *brun* (brown), *humble*.

IN- has a nasal sound when prefixed to a word beginning with a consonant, as in *injuste*. When prefixed to a word beginning with a vowel or a mute H, as in *inutile*, *inhumain*, it is pronounced like the IN- in English *inefficient*.

Double N does not cause nasalization of the preceding vowel, e.g. *bannir* (banish).

The French H is an empty symbol. It is always soundless, but its presence at the beginning of some words affects pronunciation of its predecessor. From this point of view we can put French nouns with an initial H in two classes. In words of the *mute-H* class it is a dummy, i.e. its succeeding vowel brings to life an otherwise mute final consonant of the preceding word, or suppresses the vowel of the definite article. In a second class of words the initial H, though silent on its own account, protects the following vowel from a tie-up with the preceding consonant, or the suppression of the final vowel of the definite article. The second class consists of Teutonic words, largely those which the Franks left behind them, or of Greek words introduced by scholars.

DUMMY H

| | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>Pherbe</i> | (grass) |
| <i>Pheure</i> | (the hour) |
| <i>Phirondelle</i> | (the swallow) |
| <i>Phuile</i> | (oil) |
| <i>Phuitre</i> | (the oyster) |
| <i>Phabitude</i> | (custom) |
| <i>Phomme</i> | (the man) |
| <i>Phéritage</i> | |
| <i>Phistorien</i> | |
| <i>Phonneur</i> | |
| <i>Phiver</i> | (winter) |
| <i>Phôtel</i> | (the hotel) |

BUFFER H

| | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>la hache</i> | (the axe) |
| <i>la haie</i> | (the hedger) |
| <i>la haine</i> | (hate) |
| <i>la harpe</i> | (the harp) |
| <i>la Hongrie</i> | (Hungary) |
| <i>le hibou</i> | (the owl) |
| <i>le hareng</i> | (the herring) |
| <i>le hasard</i> | (chance) |
| <i>le héros</i> | (the hero) |
| <i>le homard</i> | (the lobster) |
| <i>le havre</i> | (the harbour) |

The buffer H of *héros* prevents confusion between *les héros* and *les zéros*, when other evidence is lacking.

STRESS.—The way in which the common people of the Roman Empire stressed their words has left a deep mark on the modern Romance languages. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans never stressed the last syllable of a polysyllabic word. Words of two syllables had the stress on the first, e.g. *puro* (pure). Words of more than two had it on the last but one if

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the vowel was long, e.g. *colōres*. Otherwise it was on the last but two, as in *dsino* (ass). On the whole Spaniards and Italians still place emphasis where it used to be in Vulgar Latin times, as in the Spanish equivalents, *colōres*, *dsno*. Many Italian and even more Spanish words now have stress on the final syllable because what came after it has disappeared, e.g. Spanish *ciudad*, Italian *città* (Latin *civitate*). In Italian, end stress is indicated by a *grave* (˘) accent, the only one in its script, as in *temeritd* (temerity). The *grave* accent also serves to distinguish a few monosyllables from words which look alike and sound alike, e.g. *è* (is), *e* (and), or *dà* (he gives), *da* (from; at). Spanish has more words with end stress, and a trickier system of stress marks. Rules of Spanish stress are as follows:

- (1) Words ending in a vowel, e.g. *salubre*, or in N, e.g. *imagen*, or S, e.g. *martes*, and stressed on the last but one syllable, do without the accent.
- (2) Words ending in a consonant other than N or S, and stressed on the last syllable, do without the accent, e.g. *esperar*, *propriedad*.
- (3) Words which do not come under these two rules require the acute (´), e.g. *fuí*, *imaginación*.
- (4) The acute accent also serves to distinguish between words of like spelling but different meaning, e.g. *más* (more), *mas* (but), *el* (the)—*él* (he).

With regard to stress French stands quite apart from her sisters. When, as usual, the unstressed part of an original Latin word has disappeared, we should expect to find the stress on the final syllable, cf. Latin *amico*, French *ami*. In fact, a rule of this sort gives an exaggerated impression. Predominance of the final syllable is slight, and a trifling increase in stress goes with rise of tone. For purpose of emphasis or contrast, stress may fall on a syllable other than the last.

Since C and G are sources of trouble to the student of any Romance language, the following table may prove useful:

C AND G BEFORE E AND I

| LATIN | | ITALIAN | | SPANISH | | PORTUGUESE | | FRENCH | |
|-------------------------------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|------------|---------|--------|---------|
| LETTER | SOUND | LETTER | SOUND | LETTER | SOUND | LETTER | SOUND | LETTER | SOUND |
| C | | C | | C | | C | | C | |
| centum = 100 | cold | cento | chin | ciento | thin | cento | cinder | cent | cinder |
| G | | G | | | | G | | G, J | |
| genero= brother- in-law | gift | genero | gem | (y, h) | — | genro | measure | gendre | measure |

FURTHER READING

- BAUGH *History of the English Language.*
JESPERSEN *Growth and Structure of the English Language.*
MENCKEN *The American Language.*
MYERS *The Foundations of English.*
PARTRIDGE *The World of Words.*
SKEAT *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English
 Language.*
The Linguaphone and Columbia Records.

CHAPTER VII

OUR TEUTONIC RELATIVES—A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF TEUTONIC GRAMMAR

THE object of this chapter is to give a bird's-eye view of the grammar of four Teutonic languages, more especially German, for the benefit of the home student who may wish to learn one of them by using the methods outlined in the preceding chapter. The reader who does *not* intend to do so will find a more detailed treatment of principles already stated in Chapter V. The reader who *does* must pay attention to each cross-reference for relevant material printed in another context.

Some striking peculiarities of English are: (a) great reduction of its flexional system owing to loss of useless grammatical devices such as gender-, number-, or case-concord of adjectives; (b) great regularity of remaining flexions, e.g. the plural *-s*. Both reduction and levelling have taken place in all Teutonic languages, but in no other have these processes gone so far. German is the most *conservative* of those with which we shall deal. It has not gone far beyond the level of English in the time of Alfred the Great. Consequently it is the most difficult to learn. A brief account of the evolution of English grammar will help to bring the dead bones of German grammar to life, and lighten the task of learning for the beginner.

If Alfred the Great had established schools to make the Old English Bible, like the Reformation Bible, accessible to the common people, English-speaking boys and girls would have had much more grammar to learn about than American or British boys and girls now need to know. Like Icelandic and German, Old English was still a highly *inflected* language. The reader of the *Loom* has already met two examples of this difference between the English of Alfred's time and the English of to-day. Old English had more *case-forms* of the personal pronoun (p. 115) and more *personal* forms (p. 97) of the verb.

In modern English the personal pronouns and the relative pronouns (*who*) have three case-forms, at least in the singular: the *nominative* (verb subject), the possessive or *genitive*, and the *objective*, which may be the "direct" or "indirect" object of a verb and is always used after a directive. Old English had *four* case-forms in the singular and plural,

together with corresponding ones of the *dual* number, which has disappeared in all modern Teutonic languages except Icelandic. The original four case-forms included a nominative and genitive used as we still use them, an *accusative* or direct object form also used after certain prepositions, e.g. *purgh* (through—German *durch*), and a *dative* or indirect object form used after the majority of prepositions. The fate of these two *object* or *preposition* case-forms has been different in different Teutonic languages. Comparison of the tables printed on pp. 167 and 126 shows that the Old English dative eventually displaced the accusative. The Old Norse accusative supplanted the dative, which has disappeared in Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian. These languages have therefore three case-forms like English. The same is true of Dutch (p. 126), though a trace of a separate dative persists in the third person plural. German and Icelandic have stuck to the old four case-forms. If you want to learn German it is necessary to memorize the rules given in small print below.

Germans still use the accusative case-form of the pronoun (or adjective) as the *direct object* and always after some prepositions: *durch* (through), *ohne* (without), *gegen* (against), *um* (around), *für* (for). When the verb expresses motion, the accusative case-form *also* comes after the prepositions *in*, *auf*, (on), *über* (over), *unter* (under), *zwischen* (between), *an* (at), *hinter* (behind), *vor* (in front of), *neben* (beside). The dative or *indirect object* form follows: (a) these prepositions if the verb indicates rest, (b) *aus* (out of), *ausser* (except), *bei* (at, near), *gegenüber* (opposite), *mit* (with), *nach* (after, to), *seit* (since), *von* (of, from), *zu* (to). Prepositions followed by the genitive are: *anstatt* (instead of), *diesseits* (on this side of), *trotz* (in spite of), *während* (during), *wegen* (because of).

What happened to the *verb* after the Battle of Hastings can be seen from the table on the facing page.

This table exhibits several features which Old English shares with German (or Dutch) but not with modern English or with modern Scandinavian dialects. If we leave out of account the ritual *thou*-form no longer used in Anglo-American conversation or prose, the only surviving *personal* flexion of its verb is the third person singular *-s* of the present tense. The personal flexion of the Old English plural (*-ath* in the present and *-on* in the past) had already disappeared in *Mayflower* times, but in two ways the English of the Pilgrim Fathers was more like Alfred's English. The Old English flexion of the third person singular, as in the Bible forms *doeth*, *saith*, *loveth*, *hateth*, *findeth*, *hungereth* and *thirsteth*, etc., was still current in South Britain; and the Old Teutonic *thou*-form with its flexion *-st* was still used, as in German. The *-th*

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terminal of the third person singular present disappeared early in North Britain. The *-s* ending had already replaced it in the fourteenth century. During the eighteenth century, the Northumbrian form came everywhere into its own.

Another difference between the Old and the modern English verb is that the former had a special *infinitive* form. The infinitive, which is the dictionary form of the verb, does not always correspond to the dictionary form of the modern English verb. The latter (except that of the

| ANGLO-AMERICAN | BIBLE ENGLISH | OLD ENGLISH | GERMAN |
|--|--|---|---|
| I } do you } he } does we } you } do they } | I do thou doest he doeth we } do you } they } | ic do thu dest he deth we } doth ge } hie } | ich tus *du tust er tuf wir tun *ihr tut sie tun |
| I } you } did he } we } you } they } | I did thou didst he } did we } you } they } | ic dyde thu dydest he dyde we } dydon ge } hie } | ich tat du tat(e)st er tat wir taten ihr tatet sie taten |
| I have done | I have done | ic haebbe gedon | ich habe getan |
| I had done | I had done | ic haefde gedon | ich hatte getan |
| (to) do | (to) do | don | (zu) run |

verb *to be*) is also the present tense-form of all persons other than the third singular, and is used as an imperative. The Oxford or Webster dictionary verb corresponds to the typical Teutonic infinitive: (a) after the preposition *to* (e.g. try to *do* this); (b) after certain helper verbs (p. 150), (e.g. I shall *do* so myself, if I cannot make him *do* it). In such situations other Teutonic languages require a form with its own characteristic terminal. In Old English this infinitive ending was *-ian*, *-an* (or *-n*), corresponding to the Dutch or German *-en* or *-n*.

* In German the *du* and *ihr* forms are used only between intimates and relatives. The *Sie* form replaces both in other circumstances (see p. 146). The pronoun *sie* and the possessive *ihr* (with their case-forms) are always written or printed with a capital if they stand for the second person, and so are *du*, *ihr*, and *dein*, *euer* when used in letters.

To us, perhaps, the oddest thing about the Old English verb is its past participle. Like that of modern Dutch or German, it carried the prefix *ge-*. Originally it had nothing to do with past time. It was attached to the beginning of a large class of verb-roots in *all* their derivatives, and survives as such in some current German verbs. Thus the Old English for *to win* is *gewinnan*, equivalent to the German *gewinnen*. If, as is probable, it was once a preposition, it had ceased to mean anything much more definite than the *be-* in *behold*, *belong*, *believe*. The past participle pattern of these *ge-* verbs infected others, and became its characteristic label, as *be-* has become an adjectival affix in *bedecked*, *beloved*, *bewigged*, *beflagged*. Before Chaucer's time the softening process (p. 230) which changed the pronoun *ge* to *ye* had transformed *gedon* to *y-done*. The vestigial *y-*prefix lingered on in a few archaic expressions used in poetry for several centuries after Chaucer. For instance, we read in Milton, "By heaven *y-clept* (i.e. *called*) Euphrosyne."

In the *Prologue* of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* the *y*-inflected participle occurs frequently, as in

It is ful fair to been *ycleped* "madame,"
And goon to vigilies al before,
And have a mantel roialliche *ybore*.

In the opening lines, "the yonge sonne hath in the Ram (i.e. in the sign of Aries) his halve course *yronne*." The story tells "of sondry folk, by aventure *yfalle* in felaweshipe." The Knight "was late *ycome* from his viage." Of the Prioress we learn that

At mete wel *ytaught* was she with alle:
She leet no morsel from hir lippes falle.

The Monk "hadde of gold *ywroght* a ful curious pyn." Of the Shipman we are told that "full many a draughte of wyn had he *ydrawe*." The Plowman had "*ylad* of dong ful many a fother (cart-load)." The Steward's hair "was by his erys ful round *yshorn*," and the Host was "boold of his speeche, and wys, and wel *ytaught*."

Such forms are fairly common in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, e.g.:

A gentle knight was pricking on the plaine
Ycladd in mightie armes and silver shielde . .

Grammatical similarities between German and Old English are more striking when we allow for phonetic changes (p. 231) which have occurred in the history of the former (i.e. *p* to *d* or *t*, *d* to *t*). When we

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make these substitutions, we see that there is only one essential difference between the flexion of the German and the Old English verb. In German the plural ending *-en*, corresponding to the *-on* of the Old English *past*, is also the corresponding plural* ending of the *present*

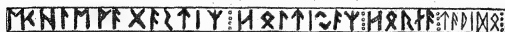


FIG. 30.—EARLIEST TEUTONIC INSCRIPTION

(See p. 76 for translation and Fig. 17 for code of Runic signs.)

tense. Otherwise the behaviour of the German verb is essentially like that of the English verb in the time of Alfred the Great.

If we go back a little further to the earliest Teutonic document, i.e. the Gothic Bible of Bishop Ulfilas (Fig. 28), we meet a more formidable array of verb-flexions. The example printed below shows that the Gothic verb had separate endings for all three persons of the plural as for the singular. It also had *dual* forms of the first and second person. The separate pronoun, not always used in the written language, is in brackets:

| ANGLO-AMERICAN | | GOTHIC | | GERMAN | | DUTCH |
|----------------|--------|---------------|--|------------|--|----------------|
| I take | | (ik) nima | | ich nehme | | ik neem |
| you take | | (thu) nimis | | du nimmst | | jij } neem |
| it takes | | (ita) nimith | | es nimmt | | het } neem |
| we (two) take | | (wit) nimos | | | | |
| you (two) take | | (jut?) nimats | | | | |
| we | } take | (weis) nimam | | wir nehmen | | wij } nemen |
| you | | (jus) nimith | | ihr nehmt | | jullie } nemen |
| they | | (ija) nimand | | sie nehmen | | zij } nemen |

Thus a levelling process has gone on throughout the history of the verb in all the Teutonic languages. In Dutch and in German it has stopped short at the stage which English had reached at the Battle of Hastings. In Norwegian, in Danish, and in *non-literary* Swedish, it has led to the disappearance of *all* personal flexions. The survival of the third person singular *-s* of the English present tense is offset by the fact that English—unlike the Scandinavian languages—has lost the flexion of its infinitive. As far as the verb is concerned, the grammar of the Teutonic languages offers few difficulties for anyone who knows English. You have to remember sound-changes (see p. 231) which

* Excluding the *familiar* form of the second person.

dictate the past tense-form, and the two following rules about personal endings:

- (a) In German and Dutch, the Bible English *-th* of *cometh* is hardened to *-t*, and the plural forms of both tenses have the infinitive ending *-en* tacked on to the stem;
- (b) In modern Scandinavian languages the ending of the invariant present tense is *-er* or *-ar*, the past tense is invariant as in English, and the infinitive ends in *-e* (Danish and Norwegian), or *-a* (Swedish).

For an American or anyone born in the British Isles, the difficulties of a Teutonic language begin with the noun and the adjective, especially

OLD ENGLISH AND GERMAN NOUNS

| | DAY (masc.) | WATER (neut.) | TONGUE (fem.) | BEAR (masc.) |
|------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| (a) OLD ENGLISH: | | | | |
| Sing. | Nom. | waeter | tunge | bera |
| | Acc. | | | |
| | Dat. | | | |
| | Gen. | | | |
| Plur. | Nom. | waeter | tungan | beran |
| | Acc. | | | |
| | Gen. | | | |
| | Dat. | | | |
| | | | | |
| Sing. | Nom. | Tag | Zunge | Bär |
| | Acc. | | | |
| | Dat. | | | |
| | Gen. | | | |
| Plur. | Nom. | Tage | Wasser | Bären |
| | Acc. | | | |
| | Gen. | | | |
| | Dat. | | | |
| | | | | |
| Sing. | Nom. | Tage | Wasser | Bären |
| | Acc. | | | |
| | Gen. | | | |
| | Dat. | | | |
| | | | | |
| Plur. | Nom. | Tagen | Wassern | Bären |
| | Acc. | | | |
| | Gen. | | | |
| | Dat. | | | |

the latter. The modern English noun has four forms in writing. Of these, only two are in common use, viz. the ordinary singular form (e.g. *mother*), the ordinary plural (e.g. *mothers*) nearly always derived from the singular by adding *-s*. Nowadays we rarely use the *optional* genitives (e.g. *mother's* and *mothers'*) when the noun stands for an inanimate object such as *chamber* or *pot*. The Old English noun had

four case-forms in the singular and four in the plural, making eight altogether, and the rules for using them were the same as the rules for the corresponding pronouns (p. 262). The nouns chosen as museum exhibits illustrate sound-changes described in the preceding chapter. The change from *daeg* to *day* is an example of the softening of the Old English *g*, and *tunge-Zunge*, *waeter-Wasser* illustrate the shift from T to Z (initial) or SS (medial).

Our table of Old English nouns with their modern German equivalents discloses two difficulties with which our Norman conquerors would have had to deal as best they could, if they had condescended to learn the language of the people. To use a noun correctly they would have had to choose the appropriate case-ending, and there was no simple rule to guide the choice. There were several classes (declensions) of noun-behaviour. If the learner had followed the practice of modern school-books, he (or she) would have to know which declension a noun belonged to before he could decide what ending, singular or plural, the direct object, the indirect object, the possessive, or the form appropriate to the preceding preposition ought to take.

During the two centuries after the Conquest these difficulties solved themselves. The distinction between nominative, accusative and dative forms was not essential, because it either depends on a quite arbitrary custom of using one or other case-form after a particular preposition, or does something which can be expressed just as well by word-order (pp. 118 and 155). It had disappeared before the beginning of the fourteenth century. The distinction between the singular and the plural, and the possessive use of the genitive case-forms do have a function, and a plural flexion together with a genitive have persisted. For reasons we do not know the English people made the best of a bad job by the chivalrous device of adopting the typical *masculine* nominative and accusative plural ending *-as* (our *-es* or *-s*) to signify plurality. Similarly the typical masculine or neuter genitive singular *-es* (our *'s* or *'*) spread to nouns which originally did not have this genitive ending.

Perhaps, as Bradley suggests, the growing popularity of the *-s* terminal was the survival of the fittest. It gained ground because it was easiest to distinguish. The result was an immense simplification. The words *waeter*, *tunge*, and *bera* were once representative of large classes of nouns, and there were others with plural endings in *-a*, *-u*, and *-e*. To-day there are scarcely a dozen English nouns in daily use outside the class of those which tack on *-s* in the plural. Such levelling also occurred in Swedish, Danish and Dutch; but standardization of

the plural ending did not go so far as in English. So the chief difficulty with Teutonic, other than German or Icelandic, nouns is the choice of the right plural ending. No such levelling of case-forms has taken place in Icelandic; and in German it has not gone so far as in the modern Scandinavian languages or in Dutch. All German nouns have a dative plural ending in *-en* or *-n* corresponding to the common dative plural ending *-um* of Old English nouns. In literary German the dative singular ending *-e*, common to Old English nouns, is still in use, though it is almost dead in speech. German feminine nouns are invariant throughout the singular. Some German nouns still behave much like our Old English *bera*. These always tack on *-n* in the singular except when used as the subject of the verb.

The student who wishes to learn German, or is learning it, should notice more carefully how the German noun as still used resembles the English noun of the Venerable Bede:

- (a) Just as all Old English nouns took the ending *-um* in the dative plural, all German nouns have the dative plural ending *-EN* or *-N*.
- (b) Just as some Old English masculine nouns such as *bera* (p. 266) added *-n* for all cases in the singular other than the nominative, one class of German masculine nouns add *-EN* or *-N* when used in the singular except as subject of the verb. This class includes nouns with the nominative ending *-E* and a few others, notably *BÄR* (*bear*), *OCHS* (*ox*), *TOR* (*fool*), *DIAMANT* (*diamond*), *HERR* (*gentleman*), *PRINZ* (*prince*), *KAMERAD* (*comrade*), *SOLDAT* (*soldier*), *MENSCH* (*man*).
- (c) Other German, like other Old English, masculine, and German neuter, nouns, like Old English neuters, take the characteristic Teutonic genitive singular ending *-ES* or *-S*.
- (d) Just as Old English feminine nouns take the nominative and accusative ending *-an* in the plural, most German feminine nouns take the ending *-EN* in *all* cases of the plural.

In our last table the gender of each noun is printed after it. Our simple rules for deciding whether to use *he*, *she* or *it* would not have helped our Norman conquerors to decide that a *day* is masculine. For reasons already indicated (p. 114), the gender-class of an Old English noun means much more than how to use pronouns in a reasonable way, when we substitute *he*, *she* or *it* for a noun. Unlike the modern English adjective and pointer-word, both of which (with two exceptions, *this-these* and *that-those*) are *invariant*, the adjective or pointer-word of English before the Conquest had singular and plural case-endings, not necessarily the same ones, for masculine, feminine or neuter nouns.

Neither the fact that an adjective had these endings, all of them quite unnecessary if we always put it next to the noun it qualifies, nor the fact that there is no rhyme nor reason in classifying a *day* as masculine, a *child* as neuter, and a *crime* as feminine, were the only grounds for complaint. In the old or less progressive Teutonic languages, the adjective misbehaves in a way which even Greeks and Romans prohibited. After another qualifying word such as a demonstrative (*the, this, that*) or a possessive (*my, his, your, etc.*) it does not take the ending appropriate to the same case, the same gender, and the same number when no such *determinative* accompanies it. The next museum exhibit is put in to show you the sort of adjective the Normans found when they landed near Brighton. All the derivatives in this table have been levelled down in modern English, and now correspond to the single word *blind*.

THE OLD TEUTONIC ADJECTIVE

| | (i) STRONG FORM | | | | (ii) WEAK FORM | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|---------|----------------|-------------|------------|---------|
| | MASC. SING. | NEUT. SING. | FEM. SING. | PLURAL | MASC. SING. | NEUT. SING. | FEM. SING. | PLURAL |
| (a) OLD ENGLISH | | | | | | | | |
| NOMIN. | | blind | | blinde | blinda | | | |
| ACCUS. | blindne | | | blinde | | blinde | | |
| DAT. | | blindum | | blindum | | | | blindum |
| GEN. | | blindes | blindre | | | blindan | | blindra |
| (b) GERMAN | | | | | | | | |
| NOMIN. | blinder | blindes | blinds | | blinde | | | |
| ACCUS. | blinden | | | | | | | |
| DAT. | blindem | | | blinden | blinden | | | |
| GEN. | blindes | | blinder | | | | | |

The table emphasizes how German lags behind. Like the Old English, the modern German adjective has two declensions, a *strong* one for use *without* an accompanying determinative word, and a *weak* one for use when a determinative precedes it. The strong adjective-forms have case and number endings like those of the more typical masculine, neuter, and feminine noun-classes. The weak adjective forms are less profuse. German has only two. In Dutch and in *modern* Scandinavian

languages (excluding Icelandic), the distinction between masculine and feminine, together with all case differences, has been dropped. The weak plural has merged with a single strong form for use with singular or plural nouns (see p. 279).

To write German correctly we have to choose the right case-form of the adjective. The rule usually given in grammar books is that the adjective has to have the same case, number, and gender as the noun with which it goes. Since the strong adjective has more distinct case-forms than the German noun, we cannot always recognize the case of the noun by its form. What we mean by the case of the noun is the case of the pronoun which can take its place. The pronoun has retained the four case-forms of the adjective.

During the three centuries after the Norman Conquest grammatical simplification of English went on apace. By A.D. 1400 English had outstripped Dutch, and we might now call Anglo-American an *isolating*, as opposed to a *flexional* language. What flexions now persist are shared by some or all of the surviving Teutonic dialects. So it is true to say that Anglo-American grammar is essentially a Teutonic language. We have already met three features common to all Teutonic dialects, including English (p. 187). Of these the behaviour of the verb is the most important. The Teutonic verb has only two tense forms, of which the so-called *present* often expresses future time (e.g. *I go to London to-morrow*). There are two ways of making the simple past. Some verbs (*strong* class) undergo *internal* vowel change. Others (*weak* class) add a suffix with the *d* or *t* sound to the root. The existence of a compact class of verbs which undergo comparable stem vowel changes, and the weak suffix with the *d* or *t* sound, are two trade-marks of the Teutonic group.

In connexion with verb irregularities which confuse a beginner three facts are helpful. One is that all strong verbs are *old*, and all newer ones belong to the weak class, which has now incorporated many verbs which were once strong. This has gone furthest in English. So it is usually safe to bet that if an English verb is strong, its etymological equivalent in another Teutonic language will also be strong. It is often safe to make another assumption. If two verbs undergo the same vowel change in English, equivalent verbs in another Teutonic language undergo a corresponding change. Thus the German verbs *finden* and *binden*, equivalent to our words *find* and *bind*, have similar past tense forms *fund* and *band* with corresponding past participles *gefunden* and *gebunden*. So also the Danish verbs *finde* and *binde* form their past tense forms (*fandt* and *bandt*) and past participles (*fundet* and *bundet*) in the

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same way. The difference between the weak D and T types (represented by *spilled* and *spelt* in English) is more apparent than real. In the spoken language (see p. 81), a D changes to T after the *voiceless* consonants F, K, P, S, and a T changes to D after the *voiced* consonants V, G, B, Z, M. In English -(E)D is usually, and in German -(E)TE is always the terminal added to the stem of a weak verb in its past tense.

The past participle of all transitive verbs goes with the present or

SIX TEUTONIC STRONG VERBS

(INFINITIVE—PAST TENSE SINGULAR—PAST PARTICIPLE)

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------|---------|--------|----------|----------|
| COME | komma | komme | komen | kommen |
| came | kom | kom | kwam | kam |
| come | kommit | kommet | gekomen | gekommen |
| FIND | finna | finde | vinden | finden |
| found | fann | fandt | vond | fandt |
| found | funnit | fundet | gevonden | gefunden |
| FLY | flyga | flyve | vliegen | fliegen |
| flew | flög | fløj | vloog | flog |
| flown | flugit | fløjet | gevlogen | geflogen |
| RIDE | rida | ride | rijden | reiten |
| rode | red | red | reed | ritt |
| ridden | ridit | redet | gereden | geritten |
| SEE | se | se | zien | sehen |
| saw | såg | saa | zag | sah |
| seen | sett | set | gezien | gesehen |
| SING | sjunga | syng | zingen | singen |
| sang | sjöng | sang | zong | sang |
| sung | sjungit | sunget | gezongen | gesungen |

past of Teutonic forms of the verb *have* in combinations equivalent to *have given* or *had given*. The table on p. 187 shows the conjugation of *have* in the Teutonic dialects. The use of other helper verbs (see p. 152) displays a strong family likeness. In fact, the same root-verbs are used in Danish, Swedish, and Dutch where the English verbs *shall* or *will*, *should* or *would*, are used alone or in front of *have* or *had* or any other verb to express future time or condition.

We have met with one common characteristic of the Teutonic languages in Chapter V where there is a table of the comparison of the

adjective. All the Teutonic languages form three classes of derivatives other than those usually called *flexions*. Some of them are important. For instance, it is less useful for the foreigner to know that a *gander* is a male *goose* or that the plural of *louse* is *lice*, than to learn the trick of manufacturing numberless new words such as *fisher* or *writer* by tacking

ENGLISH-TEUTONIC AFFIXES

| ENGLISH | EXAMPLE | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|----------------|------------|---------|--------|---------|-----------|
| (a) Noun: | | | | | |
| -DOM | kingdom | -DOM | -DOM | -DOM | -TUM |
| -ER | writer | -ARE | -ER | -ER | -ER |
| -HOOD (-HEAD) | fatherhood | -HET | -HED | -HEID | -HEIT |
| -ING | warning | -ING | -ING | -ING | -UNG |
| -LING | darling | -LING | -LING | -LING | -LING |
| -NESS | kindness | — | — | -NIS | -NIS |
| -SHIP | friendship | -SKAP | -SKAB | -SCHAP | -SCHAFT |
| (b) Adjective: | | | | | |
| -FUL | wishful | -FULL | -FULD | -VOL | -VOLL |
| -ISH | hellish | -ISK | -ISK | -ISCH | -ISCH |
| -LESS | lifeless | -LÖS | -LÖS | -LOOS | -LOS |
| -LY | lonely | -LIG | -LIG | -LIJK | -LICH |
| -SOME | loathsome | -SAM | -SOM | -ZAAM | -SAM |
| -Y | dusty | -IG | -IG | -IG | -ICH, -IG |
| UN- | unkind | O- | U- | ON- | UN- |
| (c) Adverb: | | | | | |
| -WARDS | homewards | — | — | -WAARTS | -WÄRTS |
| -WISE | likewise | -VIS | -VIS | -WIJZE | -WEISE |
| (d) Verb: | | | | | |
| BE- | behold | BE- | BE- | BE- | BE- |
| — | — | -ERA | -ERE | -EEREN | -IEREN |
| FOR- | forbid | FÖR- | FOR- | VER- | VER- |
| FORE- | foresee | FÖRE- | FORE- | VOOR- | VOR- |
| MIS- | mistake | MISS- | MIS- | MIS- | MISS- |

-er on to a verb. The older Teutonic verbs readily combine with prepositions, e.g. *undergo*, or *overcome* (Swedish *överkomma*), and with other prefixes which have no separate existence. Teutonic languages have many adjectives or adverbs formed from nouns by adding -ly (English), -lig (Swedish-Danish), -lijk (Dutch), and -lich (German), corresponding to Old English -lic. In modern English this terminal is characteristic of adverbial derivatives (see p. 111) but we still cling to a few adjectives such as *godly*, *manly*, *brotherly*, *kindly*. At least one of

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the affixes in the accompanying table, though very much alive, is not native. It has no precise English equivalent, recognizable as such. From about the twelfth century onwards German courtly poetry assimilated many French verbs. The infinitive ending *-ier* became Germanized as *-ieren*, and this terminal subsequently attached itself to native roots, as in *halbieren* (halve). The stress on the suffix *-ier-* instead of on the root labels it as an intruder. It turns up later as *-er-* in Scandinavian, and in Dutch it is *-eer-*. It is very prolific. In fact, it can tack itself on to almost any current international root, as of scientific terms, e.g. *telefonera* (Swed.), *telefonere* (Dan.), *telefoneeren* (Dutch), *telefonieren* (German). German, but not Dutch, verbs of this class have past participles without the *ge-* prefix, e.g. *ich habe telegraphiert* (I have telegraphed).

It is possible to avoid some errors of self-expression if our bird's-eye view takes in some of the outstanding *differences* between English and other Teutonic languages. One of these, the disappearance of grammatical gender, and with it of adjectival concord, has been mentioned more than once. Several syntactical peculiarities of modern English are also pitfalls for the beginner. One common to *Mayflower* English and to English in its present stage, is the identity of word-order in different clauses of a complex sentence (pp. 161 to 165). The moral of this is to stick to simple sentences when possible, and to recognize the conjunctions listed on p. 161 as danger-signals when it is not convenient to do so. The way to deal with some other outstanding syntactical peculiarities of Anglo-American when writing or speaking German, Dutch, Swedish, or Danish has been suggested in Chapter IV. *Express yourself in the idiom of the Pilgrim Fathers*. Three important rules to recall are: (a) *inversion* of the verb and its subject unless the latter is the first word in a simple statement (p. 154); (b) use of the *simple interrogative*, e.g. *what say you?* (p. 158); (c) use of the *direct negative*, e.g. *I know not how* (p. 160).

In the same chapter we have met with four other characteristics of Anglo-American usage, and the student of any other Teutonic language should recall them at this stage. They are: (a) the economy of English particles; (b) the peculiar uses of the English *-ing derivative* as verb-noun or with a helper (p. 139) to signify present time and continued action; (c) the disappearance of the distinction (p. 149) between *transitive* and *intransitive* verbs; (d) the transference of the *indirect object* to the subject in passive constructions (p. 150).

It is important to note the wide range of the two epithets *all* and *only*. We can use the former before a plural or before a singular noun,

e.g. *all the water*. Swedish, Danish, Dutch and German prescribe separate words (see table on p. 283) for *all* before a plural noun and *all the*, i.e. *the whole*. The English word *only* can qualify a verb, adjective, or noun. As an adverb, i.e. qualifier of a verb or adjective, its usual

TEUTONIC POINTER-WORDS AND LINK PRONOUNS*

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN† |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| (a) Demonstratives (see pp. 144-5). | | | | |
| THIS | denna (c.s.) detta (n.s.) dessa (pl.) | denne (c.s.) dette (n.s.) disse (pl.) | deze (c.s.) dit (n.s.) deze (pl.) | dieser (m.s.)‡ dieses (n.s.) diese (f.s. & m.n.f.pl.) |
| THAT | | den det de | die dat die | ener encs ene |
| WHICH | vilken vilket vilka | hvilken hvilket hvilke | welke welk welke | welcher welches welche |

(b) Link Pronouns (see pp. 144-5).

| THAT | ATT | AT | DAT | DAS |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|--|---|
| WHO, THAT, WHICH (as subject) | SOM | | DIE (c.s. & c.n. pl.) DAT (n.sg.) | DER (m.) DAS (n.) DIE (f.s. & m.n.f.pl.) |
| WHOM, THAT, WHICH (as object) | | | | DEN (m.) DAS (n.) DIE (f.s. & m.n.f.pl.) |
| TO WHOM | TILL VILKEN (c.) | TIL HVILKEN | AAN WIE (persons) | DEM (m.n.) |
| TO WHICH | TILL VILKET (n.) TILL VILKA (pl.) | TIL HVILKET TIL HVILKE | WAARAAN (things) | DER (f.) DENEN (c.pl.) |
| WHOSE, OF WHICH | VEMES | HVIS | VAN WIE (persons) WAARVAN (things) | DESSEN (m.n.) DEREN (f.s. & m.n.f.pl.) |
| WHOM, WHICH (after all other prepositions) | VILKA | (H)VILKEN (c.) (H)VILKET (n.) HVILKE (pl.) | prep. + WIE (persons) WAAR + prep. (things) | as for WHOM above after pre- positions on page 263, otherwise as for TO WHOM. |
| WHAT | SAD | HVAD | WAT | WAS |

meaning is the same as *merely*. As an adjective its usual meaning is *solitary* or *single*. Swedish, Danish, Dutch, and German prescribe separate words (see pp. 283 and 341) for *only* as adverb meaning *merely* and as adjective meaning *single*.

* c. common, n. neuter, m. masculine, f. feminine, gender. s. singular, pl. plural. For conventions respecting *capitals*, see p. 371.

† Nominative case-forms only given here (see p. 293).

‡ In common speech stressed *der*, *die*, *dat*, replace *dieser*, etc., e.g. *der Mann* with stress on *Mann* means *the man*, but with stress on *der* it means *this man*.

Teutonic verbs include several confusing clusters of near synonyms. At one time all Teutonic dialects had a verb *fara* or *faran*, meaning to go or to travel. It survives in set English expressions such as *farewell* or "to go far and *fare* worse." The word *ford* comes from the same root. Otherwise *go* and its Dutch equivalent *gaan* have taken over its functions. The Scandinavian equivalent of *go* is more fastidious. We can use the Swedish *gå* when a human being *goes* on foot or when a train or other vehicle *goes*, but when we speak of going in a train or other vehicle the right verb is *fara*. Analogous remarks apply to Danish, and to the use of the German verbs *gehen* and *fahren*, but German usage is now less exacting.

Another cluster corresponds to *place*, *set* or *lay*, for all of which we can usually substitute *put*. The choice of the right word for *put* is perplexing in other Teutonic languages, especially in German. It therefore calls for explanation. We have three English words for bodily orientation, all Teutonic: *stand*, *sit*, *lie*. A bottle *stands* on the table if upright or *lies* if fallen; and we *set*, i.e. *make sit*, a flag on a pole. German preserves these distinctions meticulously in the corresponding causative verb forms *stellen* (Swed. *ställa*), *setzen* (Swed. *sätta*), *legen* (Swed. *lägga*) corresponding to *stehen*, *sitzen*, *liegen* (Swed. *stå*, *sitta*, *ligga*) for *stand*, *sit*, *lie*. They are not interchangeable though each equivalent to *put*. The intransitive forms in all Teutonic languages are strong, the causative weak.

German is more exacting than its sister languages in another way. We can combine *put* with a variety of directives. German demands separate derivative verbs, e.g. *aufsetzen* (einen Hut) = to put on (a hat), *anziehen* (einen Rock) = to put on (a coat), *umbinden* (eine Schürze) = to put on (an apron). It is important to remember that the English verb *make* has a wider range than its dictionary equivalent in other Teutonic languages. *Making* in the sense of *compelling* is specifically English. For the correct word see *compel* or *force*.

To complete our bird's-eye view, we have now to ask how the several members of the Teutonic group differ from and resemble one another. For this purpose we may draw a line across the map of Europe corresponding roughly with the fifty-fifth parallel of latitude. North of it, the Teutonic group is represented by Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish, south by Dutch (including Flemish), and High German. This line now splits the Teutonic group into two natural clans with highly characteristic grammatical features

TEUTONIC INTERROGATIVES*

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| how? | hur | hvordan | hoe | wie |
| how much? | hur mycket | hvor meget | hoeveel | wieviel |
| how many? | hur många | hvor mange | | wieviele |
| when? | när | naar | wanneer | wann |
| whence? | varifrån | hvorfra | vanwaar | woher |
| whither? | vart | hvorhen | waarheen | wohin |
| where | var | hvor | waar | wo |
| why? | varför | hvorfor | waarom | warum |
| who? | VEM | HVEM | WIE | WER |
| which? | { VILKEN, VILKET, VILKA } | { HVILKEN, HVILKET, HVILKE } | { WELKE WELK WELKE } | { WELCHER (-ES, -E) } |
| what? | VAD | HVAD | WAT | WAS |
| whom? | VEM | HVEM | WIEN | WEN |
| to whom? | TILL VEM | TIL HVEM | AAN WIE | WEM |
| whose? | VEMS | HVIS | VAN WIE | WESSEN |
| what kind of...? | vad slags | hvilken slags | wat voor een | was für ein |

THE SCANDINAVIAN CLAN

The Scandinavian clan consists of four official languages of which *Icelandic* differs little from Old Norse of the sagas. Icelanders read the latter as we read Shakespeare, if we do so. The others, Swedish, Danish and Norwegian, differ from one another scarcely more than do some dialects within the British Isles. The first is spoken throughout Sweden by over six million people, and by a substantial Swedish minority in Finland. Danish is the official language of Denmark, with a population of three and three-quarter millions. The Norwegian dialects are the vernaculars of about two and three-quarter millions. The official language of Norway is less highly standardized than that of Denmark. Till 1905, when Norway seceded from Sweden, it was still Danish. This official Dano-Norwegian of the ruling clique was then the medium of instruction in all higher education as well as of administrative procedure, and was far removed from the speech of the masses. Since secession, the government has introduced successive changes to make the spelling more phonetic and the accepted grammatical standards

* Same conventions as on p. 371.

nearer to those of common intercourse. To accommodate local sentiment of communities separated by great distances in a vast and thinly-populated territory, the newest official spelling and grammar-books admit many alternative forms; and as yet no English-Norwegian dictionaries incorporate the changes which came into force in 1938. The net result of all these changes is that written Norwegian is now as close to Swedish as to Danish.

The grammar of Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian is very much simpler than that of German. The word-order (see Chapter IV) is essentially like that of the authorized English Bible except that the negative particle precedes the verb in a subordinate clause. Illustrations of this are the Swedish and Danish equivalents of the sentence: *he said that he could not come*:

Han sade att han inte (or icke) kunde komma. (Swed.)

Han sagde at han ikke kunde komme. (Dan.)

- Personal flexion of the verb has disappeared. The present tense ending for all persons singular and (except in literary Swedish) all persons plural, is the same, *-r* added to the infinitive form: the only exception to this rule is that the present tense of some Swedish verbs ends in *-er* instead of *-ar*. The infinitive ending is *-a* (Swedish) or *-e* (Danish and Norwegian). The past tense of weak verbs ends in *-de* or *-te* (cf. *loved* and *slept*) in accordance with the preceding consonant (p. 81) when the end vowel of the stem is omitted. Compound tense forms are analogous to our own. Thus we have (Swedish) *jag kallar* (I call), *jag kallade* (I called), *jag har kallat* (I have called), *jag hade kallat* (I had called), *jag skall kalla* (I shall call), *jag skulle kalla* (I should call). In the Danish equivalent *e* replaces *a* throughout (e.g. *jeg kalder*). Any good dictionary gives a list of the past tenses and past participles of strong verbs.

The *active* past participle used with *hava* or *have* always ends in *t* as above. The *passive* adjectival form is nearly always the same in Norwegian, often in Danish, but never in Swedish. The Swedish adjectival form ends in *-d* (sing.) or *-de* (plur.) when the verb is weak, or *-en* (sing.), *-ena* (plur.) when it is strong, as in *given* or *givna* in contradistinction to *givit* (given) after *hava*. The many Danish verbs which form a *contracted* past analogous to *dreamt* (in contradistinction to *dreamed*), e.g. *betalt* (pay-paid), have no special adjectival form, and uncontracted verbs have kept the *d* form in the plural only, e.g. *straffet* (punished) in the singular, *traffede* in the plural.

afur á vald si.
fylkjum í Hópel-hérað
Smáskæruhópar í
hafa undanfarna mánuði
við í næsta nágrenni höfuðs

ÞON í morgun. FÚ.
Óstaðfest fregn frá Tokio
hermir, að Japanir muni ekki

ag
r á
ndir
snaði,
eða að
starf Á-
alfrétta-
klu bet-
a starfs
falskrif-
karitari
á aðfa
vinna
tta-
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ng 6

Sami mokaflinn ennþá fyrir öllu Norðurlandi

Um 90 þúsund tunnur saltaðar alls á öllu landinu og í kvöld er búist við að 200 þús. mál verði komin á land í bræðslu

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SAMI mokaflinn er ennþá svo að segja fyrir öllu Norðurlandi, enda hefir verið átt viðföðung stíllinn.

Verksmiðjan á Sólbakki
búin að fá af k-

FIG. 31.—CUTTING FROM ICELANDIC NEWSPAPER SHOWING THE TWO *th* SYMBOLS Þ (AS IN *thin*) AND ð (AS IN *them*).

One outstanding oddity of the Scandinavian clan is the flexional passive already mentioned on p. 120. Any part of the verb can take a passive meaning if we add *-s* to the end of it or if it ends in *-r*, substitute *s* for the latter, e.g. in Swedish:

| att kalla to call | | att kallas to be called | |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| jag kallar | I call | jag kallas | I am called |
| jag kallade | I called | jag kallades | I was called |
| jag har kallat | I have called | jag har kallats | I have been called |
| jag skall kalla | I shall call | jag skall kallas | I shall be called |
| jag skulle kalla | I should call | jag skulle kallas | I should be called |

The rule is the same for all three dialects, and it is the easiest way of handling a passive construction. In the spoken language it is more usual to substitute a roundabout construction in which *bliva* (Swed.), *blive* (Dan.), *bli* (Norweg.) takes the place of our *be*, and *vara* or *vaere* (*be*) replaces *to have*. This passive auxiliary was originally equivalent to the German *bleiben* (remain). Its present tense is *blir* or *bliver*, its past tense *blev* (Norweg. *ble*); past participle *blivit*, *blevet*, or *blitt*. The verb *bliva* takes the adjective participial (p. 277), *not* the form used with *hava* in an

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active construction, when (as always in Swedish) the two are different, e.g.:

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>jag blir straffad</i> | I am being punished | <i>jeg bliver straffet</i> |
| <i>vi blir (bliva) straffade</i> | we are being punished | <i>vi bliver straffede</i> |

Similarly we have:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>jag skall bliva straffad</i> | I shall be punished | <i>jeg skal blive straffet</i> |
| <i>jag har blivit straffad</i> | I have been punished | <i>jeg er blevet straffet</i> |
| <i>jag hade blivit straffad</i> | I had been punished | <i>jeg var blevet straffet</i> |

The only flexions of the noun are the genitive *-s* (see below) and the plural ending, typically *-er* in Danish, Norwegian, and many Swedish nouns (*-ar* and *-or* in some Swedish). A few nouns form a plural analogous to that of our *ox-oxen*. Two words of this class are common to all three dialects:—*car-ears*: *öra-öron* (Swed.), *Øre-Øren* (Dan., Norweg.), and *eye-eyes*, *öga-ögon* (Swed.), *Øje-Øjne* (Dan.), *øye-øyne* (Norweg.). A large class like our *sheep*, with no plural flexion, includes all monosyllabic nouns of neuter gender. A few words (p. 206) like our *mouse-mice*, *man-men* (Swed. *man-män*, Dan. *Mand-Mænd*, Norweg. *Mann-Menn*) form the plural by internal vowel-change alone. As in German, many monosyllables with the stem vowels *o*, *a*, have modified plurals, e.g. *book-books* = *bok-böcker* (Swed.), *Bog-Bøger* (Dan.).

The so-called indefinite article (*a* or *an*) has two forms in official Swedish and Danish. Norwegian, like some Swedish dialects, now has three. One, *ett* (Swedish) or *et* (Dan. and Norweg.) stands before nouns classed as neuter. The other, *en*, stands before nouns classed as non-neuter (common gender) in Swedish and Danish, or masculine in Norwegian, which has a feminine *ei* as well. Thus we have *en god fader* (a good father), and *et(t) godt barn* (a good child). The adjective has three forms:

(a) root + the suffix *-a* (Sw.) or *-e* (Dan. and Norweg.) when associated with any plural noun or any singular noun preceded by a demonstrative or possessive, e.g.:

| | SWEDISH | DANISH |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| good women | <i>goda kvinnor</i> | <i>gode Kvinder</i> |
| my young child | <i>mitt unga barn</i> | <i>mit unge Barn</i> |
| this good book | <i>denna goda bok</i> | <i>denne gode Bog</i> |

(b) root *alone*, when associated with a *singular non-neuter* noun which is not preceded by a demonstrative or possessive, e.g.:

| | | |
|------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| a good dog | <i>en god hund</i> | <i>en god Hund</i> |
|------------|--------------------|--------------------|

(c) root + suffix *-t*, when associated with a *singular neuter* noun not preceded by a demonstrative or possessive, e.g.:

a young child *ett ungt barn* *ett ungt Barn*

The oddest feature of the Scandinavian clan is the behaviour of the definite article. If a *singular* noun is *not* preceded by an adjective, the definite article has the same form as the indefinite but is fused to the end of the noun itself, e.g.:

en bok = a book = *en Bog* : *boken* = the book = *Bogen*
ett barn = a child = *et Barn* : *barnet* = the child = *Barnet*

If the noun is plural the suffix *-na* (Swed.) or *-ne* (Dan. and Norweg.) is tacked on to it when the last consonant is *r*. If the plural does not end in *-r*, the definite article suffix is *-en* (Swed.) or *-ene* (Dan. and Norweg.), e.g.:

gator = streets = *Gader* : *gatorna* = the streets = *Gaderne*
barn = children = *Börn* : *barnen* = the children = *Børnene*

If an adjective precedes a noun the definite article is expressed by the demonstrative *den* (com.), *det* (neut.), *de* (plur.) which otherwise means *that*. In Swedish it is still accompanied by the terminal article, e.g.:

de goda hundarna = the good dogs = *de gode Hundene*

The fusion of the terminal definite article with the noun is so complete that it comes between the latter and the genitive *-s*, e.g.:

| | | |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| a dog's | <i>en hunds</i> | <i>en Hunds</i> |
| the dog's | <i>hundens</i> | <i>Hundens</i> |
| the dogs' | <i>hundarnas</i> | <i>Hundenes</i> |
| a child's | <i>ett barns</i> | <i>et Barns</i> |
| the child's | <i>barnets</i> | <i>Barnets</i> |
| the children's | <i>barnens</i> | <i>Børnernes</i> |

Comparison of the Scandinavian (p. 190) is like that of the English adjective. Comparatives and superlatives have no separate neuter form. A pitfall for the beginner arises from the fact that our *much* and *many* have the same comparative and superlative forms. Thus we have:

| | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>mycket-mer-mest</i> | much-more-most | <i>meget-mer-mest</i> |
| <i>många-flera-flest</i> | many-more-most | <i>mange-flere-fleste</i> |

Scandinavian adverbs are formed from adjectives by adding the neuter suffix *-t* (also by adding *-vis* or *-en*). The *-t* is not added to Danish and Norwegian adjectives which end in *-lig*.

The survival of gender is less troublesome than it would otherwise be because most nouns belong to the non-neuter (*common*) class. The neuter class includes *substances, trees, fruits, young animals*, including *barn* (child), *countries, continents*, and all abstract nouns which end in

se imidlertid blev
es at rederne fant det
nytteløst å fortsette så lenge de nor-
ske maskinister stod utenom.

Mange med i biblio- tekmøtet på Rjukan.

RJUKAN, 8. august.

(AP) Norsk Bibliotekforening holder i disse dager sitt årsmøte på Rjukan. Rjukan offentlige bibliotek feirer samtidig sitt 25-års jubileum. Årsmøtet har fått en usedvanlig stor tilslutning, idet ikke mindre enn 120 bibliotekfolk fra hele landet deltar. Søndag var det åpent foredrag i Folkets hus, hvor Johan Inckel jr. talte om «Publi-

med til rapporter og
b) a. tr!

FIG. 32.—CUTTING FROM A NORWEGIAN NEWSPAPER SHOWING THE SCANDINAVIAN VOWEL SYMBOLS *ø* AND *ä*.

-*ande* or -*ende*. Besides these there is a compact group of common words shown on page 282.

The Scandinavian negative particle is quite unlike the English-Dutch-German *not-niet-nicht*. In Danish and Norwegian it is *ikke*, of which the literary Swedish equivalent (used only in books) is *icke*. In conversation or correspondence Swedes use *inte*, e.g. *jag skall inte se honom* = I shall not see him = *jeg skal ikke se ham*.

There is a much greater gap between the written and spoken language of Sweden than of Denmark and modern Norway. Many flexions which

exist in literature have no existence in spoken Swedish or in correspondence. In literary Swedish the plural of the present tense is identical with the infinitive, and the past of strong verbs has plural forms which end in *o*, some being very irregular, e.g. for *gå* (go) we have the two past forms *gick-gingo* and analogous ones for *få* (may). The plural flexion of the verb is never used in speech. The final *-de* of the past tense-form is often silent. The infinitive and the corresponding present tense-form of

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH |
|---------|---------|--------|----------|---------|--------|
| anima | djur | Dyr | floor | golv | Gulv |
| egg | ägg | Aeg | hotel | hotell | Hotel |
| life | | LIV | house | | HUS |
| people | | FOLK | roof | tak | Tag |
| pig | | SVIN | table | | BORD |
| sheep | får | Faar | window | fönster | Vindue |
| blood | | BLOD | country | | LAND |
| bone | | BEN | language | språk | Sprog |
| ear | öra | Øre | letter | | BREV |
| eye | öga | Øje | light | ljus | Lys |
| hair | hår | Haar | name | namn | Navn |
| heart | hjärta | Hjerte | weather | väde | Vejr |
| leg | | BEN | word | | ORD |
| wa. er | vatten | Vand | year | år | Aar |

many verbs is contracted as in Norwegian, e.g. *be* (*bedja*), request, *bl* (*bliva*), become, *dra* (*draga*), carry, *ge* (*giva*), give, *ha* (*hava*), have, *ta* (*taga*) take. Similarly *skall* contracts to *ska*, *Eder* to *Er* (you or your), *broder* (brother) to *bror*.

The terminal article and the flexional passive are both highly characteristic of the Scandinavian clan. Another of its peculiarities is a booby-trap for the beginner, because English, like Dutch or German, has no equivalent for it. Scandinavian dialects have special forms of the possessive adjective of the third person (analogous to the Latin *suius*) corresponding to the reflexive pronoun *sig*. They are *sin* (sing. common), *sitt* or *sit* (neut. sing.), *sina* or *sine* (plur.) in accordance with the gender and number of the thing possessed. We must *always* (and *only*) use them when they refer back to the subject of the verb, e.g.:

Jag har hans bok (I have his book).

Han har sin bok (He has his book).

Jag besökte hennes bror (I visited her brother).

Hon älskar sitt barn (She loves her child).

Jeg har hans Bog.

Han har sin Bog.

Jeg besøgte hendes Broder.

Hun elsker sit Barn.

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TEUTONIC INDEFINITE POINTER-WORDS

| | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN† |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| A, AN | ett (n.) | et (n.) | een | in (m. & n.) eine (f.) |
| ALL (pl)* | alla | alle | al | alle |
| AS MUCH AS | så mycken (-r) som | saa megen (-r) som | zooveel als | so viel wie |
| BOTH | båda (bågge) | begge (baade) | beide | |
| EACH, EVERY, EACH ONE | var | hver | elk (e-), ieder (-e) | ieder (-st, -e) |
| ENOUGH | nog | nok | genoeg | genug |
| EVERYONE | ENVAR | ENHVER | IEDERREIN | JEDERMANN (ALLE) |
| EVERYTHING | ALLT | ALT | ALLES | ALLES |
| FEW | få | faa | weinige | wenige |
| MANY | många | mange | veel | viele |
| MUCH | mycken (-r) | megen (-r) | veel | viel |
| NO, NOT ANY | | ingen (c.) intet (n.) | geen | kein (m. & n.) keine (f.) |
| NOBODY | | INGEN | | NIEMAND |
| NOTHING | | INTET | NIETS | NICHTS |
| ONE (pron.) | | MAN (RN) | MEN | MAN |
| ONLY† | enda | enc | eenig (-e) | einzig (e) |
| OTHER | annan annat andra | anden andet andre | ander andere | anderer (m.) anderes (n.) andere (f.) |
| SEVERAL | flera | flere | verscheidene | mehrere, verschiedene |
| SOME, ANY | någon något några | nogen noget nogle | eenig | etwas |
| SOMEONE | NÅGON | NOGEN | IEMAND | IEMAND |
| SOMETHING | NÅGOT | NOGET | IETS | ETWAS |
| SUCH | sådan (-t, -a) | saadan (-t, -e) | zulk (-e) | solcher (-st, -e) |
| THE | | den (c.s.) det (n.s.) | de (c.s.) het (n.s.) | der (m.s.) das (n.s.) |
| TOO MUCH | för mycken (-r) | for megen (-r) | te veel | zuviel |

THE SOUTHERN CLAN

The flexional passive of the Scandinavian verb and the terminal definite article of the Scandinavian noun are features which the English and the southern representatives of the Teutonic group have never had at any stage in their common history. The southern clan, which includes Dutch and German, also has positive grammatical characteristics which its members do not share with its northern relatives. Three of them recall characteristics of Old English:

- (i) The flexional ending of the third person singular of the present tense of a Dutch or German verb is *t*. In accordance with the

* *All* before a singular noun is equivalent to *the whole* (Swed. *hela*, Dan. *helt*, Dutch *geheel*, German *ganz*).

† Not as adverb, see p. 341.

‡ Invariant unless masculine, neuter and feminine nominative case-forms are in parenthesis.

phonetic evolution of the modern Teutonic languages, this corresponds to the final *-th* in *Mayflower* English (e.g. *saith*, *loveth*).

- (ii) The infinitive ends in *-en*, as the Old English infinitive ends in *-an* (e.g. Dutch-German *finden*, Old English, *findan*).
- (iii) The past participle of most verbs carries the prefix *ge-*, which softened to *y-* in Middle English, and had almost completely disappeared by the beginning of the seventeenth century.

When the Roman occupation of Britain came to an end, the domain of Low and High German, in contradistinction to Norse, was roughly what it is to-day, and a process of differentiation had begun. In the Lowlands and throughout the area which is now North Germany there have been no drastic phonetic changes other than those which are also incorporated in the modern Scandinavian dialects (e.g. *w* to *v*, *þ* to *ð* or *t* and *ð* to *d*). To the South, a *second sound-shift* (p. 231) occurred before the time of Alfred the Great. The German dialects had begun to split apart in two divisions when west Germanic tribes first invaded Britain.

This division into *Low* or north and *High* or south and middle German cuts across the official separation of the written languages. Dutch (including Belgian Dutch or Flemish) is Low German with its own spelling conventions. What is ordinarily called the German language embodies the High German (*second*) sound-shift and an elaborate battery of useless flexions which Dutch has discarded. It is the written language of Germany as a whole, of Austria and of parts of Switzerland. Throughout the same area it is also the pattern of educated and of *public* speech. The country dialects of northern Germany are Low German. This *Plattdeutsch*, which is nearer to Dutch than to the daily speech of south or middle Germany, has its own literature, like the Scots Doric.

The flexional grammar of Dutch is very simple. The chief difficulty is that there are two forms of the definite article, *de* and *het*. The latter is used only before *singular* nouns classed as neuter, e.g. *de stoel—de stoelen* (the chair—the chairs), *het boek—de boeken* (the book—the books). There is only one indefinite article, *een*. Adjectives have two forms, e.g. *deze man is rijk* and *deze rijke man* for *this man is rich* and *this rich man* respectively. Reduction of the troublesome apparatus of adjectival concord has gone as far as in the English of Chaucer, and the inconvenience of gender crops up only in the choice of the definite article. As in Middle English, the suffix *-e* is added to the

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ordinary root form of the adjective before a plural noun or a singular noun preceded by an article, demonstrative or possessive.

What is true of many of the dialects of Germany and Switzerland is true of Dutch. The genitive case-form of the noun is absent in *speech*. It has made way for the roundabout usage with *van* equivalent to the German *von* (of), e.g. *de vrouw van mijn vriend* (in dialectical and colloquial German *die Frau von meinem Freund*—the wife of my friend or my friend's wife). Thus case-distinction survives in Dutch even less than in English. The only noun-flexion still important is the plural ending. This has been much less regularized than in English. Alone among the Teutonic languages, Dutch shares with English a class of nouns with the plural terminal *-s*. This includes those that end in *-el*, *-en*, and *-er*, e.g. *tafel-tafels* (table-tables), *kamer-kamers* (room-rooms). The majority of Dutch nouns take *-en* like *oxen*, e.g. *huis-huizen* (house-houses).

With due regard to the sound-shift, the Dutch verb is essentially the same as the German. There is one important difference. In Dutch, *zal* (our *shall*) is the auxiliary verb used to express future time. In Cape Dutch or Afrikaans (one of the two official languages of the Union of South Africa) the simple past (e.g. *I heard*), habitually replaced in some German dialects by the roundabout construction with *have* (e.g. *I have heard*), has almost completely disappeared in favour of the latter. This alternative construction is a useful trick in German conversation, because the past tense and past participle of Teutonic verbs (cf. *gave, given*), are often unlike. So the use of the informal construction dispenses with need for memorizing the past tense forms. The present tense of the Afrikaans verb is invariant and identical with the infinitive, which has no terminal.

The first person singular of the present tense is the *root* (i.e. the *infinitive* after removal of the suffix *-en*). The 2nd and 3rd person singular is formed from the first by adding *-t*, and all persons of the plural are the same as the infinitive. The past tense of weak verbs is formed by adding *-te* or *-de* in the singular, or *-ten* and *-den* in the plural, to the root. Whether we use the *d* (as in *loved*) or *t* form (as in *slept*) is determined (see p. 81) in accordance with pronunciation of a dental after a voiced or voiceless consonant. Thus we have:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>ik leer</i> (I learn). | <i>ik leerde</i> (I learned). |
| <i>ik lach</i> (I laugh). | <i>ik lachte</i> (I laughed). |

The past participle is formed by putting *ge-* in front of the root and adding *-d* or *-t*. The compound tenses are formed as in English, e.g.:

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| <i>ik heb geleerd</i> (I have learned). | <i>ik zal leeren</i> (I shall learn). |
|---|---------------------------------------|

Passive expression follows the German pattern (p. 298) with the auxiliary *word-wordt-worden* (present), *werd-werden* (past).

Owing to the ease with which it is possible to recognize the equivalence of Dutch words and English words of Teutonic stock, as also to the relative simplicity of its flexional system which, with Danish, stands near to English, Dutch would be a very easy language for anyone already at home with Anglo-American if it shared the features of word-order common to English, Scandinavian dialects, and French. As we shall now see, the chief difficulties arise in connexion with the construction of the sentence.

GERMAN WORD ORDER

The most important difference between English and the two Germanic languages is the *order of words*. It is so great that half the work of translating a passage from a German or Dutch book remains to be done when the meaning of all the individual words is clear, especially if it conveys new information or deals with abstract issues. Were it otherwise, the meaning of any piece of simple Dutch prose would be transparent to an English-speaking reader who had spent an hour or so examining the Table of Particles, *etc.*, elsewhere in *The Loom of Language*. To make rapid progress in reading Dutch or German, it is therefore essential to absorb the word-pattern of the printed page. One suggestion which may help the reader to apply the rules given in the preceding paragraph appears on p. 166.

How the meaning of the simplest narrative may be obscured by the unfamiliarity of the arrangement of words, unless the reader is attuned to it by the painless effort of previous exercise in *syntactical translation*, can be seen from the following word-for-word translation of a passage from one of Hoffmann's *Tales*:

"Have you now reasonable become, my dear lord Count," sneered the gipsy. "I thought to me indeed that itself the money find would. For I have you indeed always as a prudent and intelligent man known."

"Indeed thou shalt it have, but under one condition."

"And that sounds?"

"That thou now nor never to the young Count the secret of his birth betray. Thou hast it surely not perhaps already done?"

"Aye, there must I indeed a real dunce be," replied Rollet laughing. "Rather had I from me myself the tongue out-cut. No, no, about that can you yourself be calm. For if I him it told had, so would he his way to the Lady mother certainly even without me already found have."

To write German correctly it is necessary to know its archaic system

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of concord between the noun, pronoun, and adjective (p. 293), as well as to know how to arrange German words in the right way. To read German fluently, the former is unimportant and the latter is all-important. So the word-pattern of German is the common denominator, and should be the *first concern* of the beginner who does not share the conviction that all learning must and should be painful. At this stage the reader should therefore read once more the remarks on pp. 153-166. To emphasize the importance of German (or Dutch) word-order, we shall now bring the essential rules together:

(a) Principal clauses, co-ordinate clauses, and simple sentences:

- (i) Inversion of verb and subject when another sentence element or a subordinate clause precedes the latter (p. 154):

Oft kommt mein Mann nicht nach Hause
Often my husband does not come home.

Wei' es Sonntag ist, koche ich nicht
Because it is Sunday, I am not cooking.

- (ii) Past participle or infinitive go to the end of the sentence or clause:

Die Katze hat die Milch nicht getrunken
The cat hasn't drunk the milk.

Der Hund will mir folgen
The dog wants to follow me.

- (iii) The simple negative follows the object (direct or indirect) when it negates the statement as a whole, but precedes a word or phrase which it negates otherwise:

Mein Vater hat mir gestern den Scheck nicht gegeben
My father did not give me the cheque yesterday.

Mein Vater hat mir nicht gestern den Scheck gegeben
My father did not give me the cheque yesterday.

(b) Subordinate clauses:

- (iv) The finite verb goes to the end, immediately after the participle or infinitive when it is a helper:

Sie kam nach Hause, weil sie kein Geld mehr hatte
She came home because she had no more money.

Mein Bruder sagte mir, dass er nach Berlin gehen wollte(will)
My brother told me that he wanted to go to Berlin.

In all other Teutonic languages, except Dutch, and in all Romance

languages, words connected by meaning are placed in close proximity. German, and not only written German, dislocates them. Thus the article may be separated from its noun by a string of qualifiers, and the length of the string is determined by the whims of the writer, e.g. *der gestern Abend auf dem Alexanderplatz von einem Lastauto überfahrene Bäckermeister Müller ist heute morgen seinen Verletzungen erlegen* = the yesterday evening on the Alexandraplatz by a lorry run over master-baker Müller has this morning to his injuries succumbed. The auxiliary pushes the verb to the end of the statement, as in *ich werde dich heute Abend aufsuchen* (I shall you this evening visit). When you get to the end of a sentence you may always fish up an unsuspected negation, e.g. *er befriedigte unsere Wünsche nicht* = he satisfied our wishes not. The dependent clause is rounded up by the verb, e.g. *er behauptet, dass er ihn in Chicago getroffen habe* = he says that he him in Chicago met had; and when the subordinate is placed before the main clause it calls for inversion of the verb in the latter (*da er arbeitslos ist, kann er die Miete nicht bezahlen* = since he unemployed is, can he the rent not pay). Even the preposition may leave its customary place before the noun and march behind it, e.g. *der Dame gegenüber* (opposite the lady)—as was possible in Latin, e.g. *pax vobiscum* (peace be with you).

Other preliminary essentials for a reading knowledge of German are already contained in the tables of pronouns, particles, demonstratives, and helper verbs, together with what has been said about the common features of all the Teutonic languages or of the Germanic clan. Anyone who wishes to write German correctly must also master the concord of noun and adjective. The behaviour of nouns, of adjectives, and of pronouns in relation to one another confronts those of us who are interested in the social use of language and its future with an arresting problem.

It is easy to understand why Icelanders can still read the Sagas. The Norse community in Iceland has been isolated from foreign invasion and intimate trade contacts with the outside world, while the speech-habits of Britain and some parts of Europe have been eroded by conquest and commerce. The conservative character of German is not such a simple story. The Hanseatic ports once held leadership in maritime trade. There were famous culture centres such as Nuremberg, Augsburg and Mainz. There was the flourishing mining industry of South Germany and Saxony. There were the great international banking-houses of the Fugger and Welser. Still, Germany was not yet a nation like fourteenth-century England or sixteenth-century France.

It had no metropolis comparable to London, Paris, Rome, or Madrid. The Berlin of to-day does not enjoy a supremacy which these capitals had earned three hundred years ago. Till the present generation German was not the language of a single political unit in the sense that Icelandic has been for a thousand years. When Napoleon's campaigns brought about the downfall of the Holy Roman Empire, German was the common literary medium of a loose confederation of sovereign states with no common standard of speech. Modern Germany as a political unity begins after the battle of Sedan. The union of all the High German-speaking peoples outside Switzerland did not come about till Hitler absorbed Austria in the Third Reich.

In the fourteenth century, that is to say about the time when English became the official language of the English judiciary, the secretariat of the chancelleries of the Holy Roman Empire gave up the use of Latin. They started to write in German. The royal chancellery of Prague set the fashion, and the court of the Elector of Saxony fell into step. This administrative German, a language with archaic features like that of our own law courts, was the only common standard when the task of translating the Bible brought Luther face to face with a medley of local dialects. "I speak," he tells us, "according to the usage of the Saxon chancellery which is followed by all the princes and kings of Germany. All the imperial cities, all the courts of princes, write according to the usage of the Saxon chancellery which is that of my own prince."

Luther's Bible made this archaic German the printed and written language of the Protestant states, north and south. At first, the Catholic countries resisted. In time they also adopted the same standard. Its spread received much help from the printers who had a material interest in using spelling and grammatical forms free from all too obvious provincialisms. By the middle of the eighteenth century Germany already had a standardized literary and written language. During the nineteenth century what had begun as a paper language also came to be a spoken language. Still, linguistic unification has never gone so far in Germany as in France. Most German children are nurtured on local dialects. They do not get their initiation to the spoken and written norm till they reach school; and those who remain in the country habitually speak a local vernacular. In the larger towns most people speak a language which stands somewhere between dialect and what is taught in school, but the pronunciation even of educated people, who deliberately pursue the prescribed model, usually betrays the

part of the country from which they come. There are also considerable regional differences of vocabulary, as illustrated by a conversation between a Berliner and a Wiener:

"A Berliner in Vienna goes into a shop and asks for a *Reisemütze* (travelling cap). The assistant corrects him: 'You want a *Reisekappe*,' and shows him several. The Berliner remarks: '*Die bunten liebe ich nicht*' (I don't like those with several colours). The assistant turns this sentence into his own German: '*Die farbigen gefallen Ihnen nicht?*' The Viennese, you see, *loves (liebt)* only people; he does not *love* things. Lastly, the Berliner says: '*Wie teuer ist diese Mütze?*' (How much is this cap?), and again is guilty, all innocently, of a most crude Berlinism. *Teuer*, indeed, applies to prices above the normal, to unduly high prices. The Viennese merely says: '*Was kostet das?*' The Berliner looks round for the *Kasse* (cash-desk) and finds the sign: *Kassa*. He leaves the shop saying, since it is still early in the day: '*Guten Morgen*,' greatly to the surprise of the Viennese, who uses this form of words on arrival only, and not on leaving. The Viennese in turn replies with the words: '*Ich habe die Ehre! Guten Tag!*' and this time the Berliner is surprised, since he uses the expression *Guten Tag!* only on arrival, and not when leaving."

(E. Tonnelat: *A History of the German Language*)

THE GERMAN NOUN

The usual practice of text-books is to exhibit tables of different declensions of German nouns such as those given on p. 197. This way of displaying the eccentricities of the German noun is useful if we want to compare it with its equivalent in one of the older and more highly inflected representatives of the Teutonic family; but it is not a good way of summarizing the peculiarities which we need to *remember*, because the German noun of to-day is simpler than the Teutonic noun in the time of Alfred the Great. For instance, a distinctive genitive plural ending has disappeared altogether. In the spoken language the dative singular case-ending survives only in set expressions such as *nach Hause* (home) or *zu Hause* (at home). Essential rules we need to remember about what endings we have to add to the nominative singular (i.e. dictionary) form are the following:

A. In the SINGULAR:

- (i) Feminine nouns do not change.
- (ii) Masculine nouns which, like *der Knabe* (boy), have -E in the nominative take -EN in all other cases. A few others (e.g. MENSCH, KAMERAD, SOLDAT, PRINZ, OCHS, NERV) also take -EN.
- (iii) The other masculine nouns and *all* neuter nouns add -ES or -S (after -EL, -ER, -EN, -CHEN) in the genitive.

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- (iv) Proper names and technical terms derived from foreign roots such as TELEFON or RADIUM add -S in the genitive and do not otherwise change.

B. The DATIVE PLURAL of ALL nouns ends in -(E)N.

C. In ALL OTHER CASES of the PLURAL:

- (i) Add -EN to all polysyllabic feminines (except *Mutter* and *Tochter*) and to all the masculines mentioned under A(ii).
- (ii) Masculines and neuters in -ER, -EL, -EN, -CHEN (diminutives), do not change, but many of the masculines and all feminines and neuters (diminutives) have root-vowel change (Umlaut) as stated under D.
- (iii) Many monosyllabic masculines, feminines, and neuters take -E. Some of the masculines and all the feminines have Umlaut, e.g. *der Sohn* (son)—*die Söhne* (sons).
- (iv) The most common monosyllabic neuters (e.g. *Bild*, *Blatt*, *Buch*, *Ei*, *Feld*, *Glas*, *Haus*, *Kind*, *Kleid*, *Land*, *Licht*, *Loch*, etc.), and a few masculines of one syllable have -ER (dative -ERN). All nouns of this group have Umlaut.
- (v) A small number of masculines and neuters show mixed declension, i.e. -(E)S in the genitive singular and -(E)N in the plural. None of them has Umlaut. Examples are: *AUGE* (eye), *BAUER* (farmer), *BETT* (bed), *DOKTOR* (PROFESSOR), *DIREKTOR*, *REKTOR*, etc.), *NACHBAR* (neighbour), *OHR* (ear), *STAAT* (state), *STRAHL* (ray).

D. The root vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, and the diphthong *au* may change to *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, *äu* in the plural.

The genitive form of the German noun follows the thing possessed as in *der Hut meines Vaters* (my father's hat). In this example the masculine singular noun carries its genitive terminal. Since no plural and no feminine singular nouns have a special genitive ending, the beginner will ask how to express the same relation when the noun is neither masculine singular nor neuter singular. The answer is that it usually comes after a pointer-word or adjective which does carry the case trade-mark. Thus *my sister's hat* is *der Hut meiner Schwester*. The roundabout method of expression is common in speech, and is easier to handle, e.g. *der Hut von meinem Vater* (the hat of my father), or *der Hut von meiner Schwester*.

To apply the rules given in the preceding and in succeeding paragraphs we need to be able to recognize the *gender class to which a German noun belongs*. Each noun in the museum exhibits of Part IV is so labelled by the definite article (nominative sing.) *der* (m.), *die* (f.), *das* (n.). The following rules are helpful:

(i) MASCULINE are:

- (a) Names of adult males (excluding diminutives), seasons, months, days and compass points. Notable exceptions: *Die Nacht* (night), *die Woche* (week), *das Jahr* (year).
 (b) Nouns which end in -EN (excluding infinitives so used).

(ii) FEMININE are:

- (a) Names of adult females (excluding diminutives). Notable exception: *das Weib* (wife or woman).
 (b) Nouns which end in -EI, -HEIT, -KEIT, -SCHAFT, -IN, and -UNG and foreign words which end in -IE, -IK, -ION, -TÄT.

(iii) NEUTER are:

- (a) Diminutives which end in -LEIN or -CHEN.
 (b) Metals.
 (c) All other parts of speech used as nouns, together with the following common words:

| | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| EIS (ice) | EI (egg) | BLATT (leaf) |
| ENDE (end) | HUHN (fowl) | DORF (village) |
| FEUER (fire) | INSEKT | GRAS (grass) |
| GAS (gas) | KANINCHEN (rabbit) | HAUS |
| JAHR (year) | PFERD (horse) | HOTEL |
| LICHT (light) | SCHAF (sheep) | LAND |
| WASSER (water) | SCHWEIN (pig) | STROH (straw) |
| | TIER (animal) | |
| BAD (bath) | BIER (beer) | AUGE (eye) |
| BETT (bed) | BROT (bread) | BEIN (leg) |
| BILD (picture) | FETT (fat) | BLUT (blood) |
| BUCH (book) | FLEISCH (meat) | HAAR (hair) |
| FENSTER (window) | GEMÜSE (greens) | HERZ (heart) |
| KISSEN (cushion) | ÖL (oil) | OHR (ear) |
| SCHLOSS (lock, castle) | | |
| ZIMMER (room) | | |
| BILLET (ticket) | BECKEN (basin) | |
| BOOT (boat) | GLAS | |
| DACH (roof) | KLEID (dress) | |
| DECK | PAPIER | |
| DOCK | TUCH (cloth) | |
| SCHIFF (ship) | | |
| SEGEL (sail) | | |

German verb-roots used as nouns without change are generally masculine, e.g. *fallen—der Fall*, *laufen—der Lauf* (run—course), *sitzen—der Sitz* (sit—seat), *schreien—der Schrei* (cry). If the verb-root changes,

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e.g. by vowel mutation, the noun is usually feminine, e.g. *geben*—*die Gabe* (give—gift), *helfen*—*die Hilfe* (help), *schreiben*—*die Schrift* (write—script).

CONCORD OF THE GERMAN ADJECTIVE

The most difficult thing about German for the beginner is the elaborate flexion of the adjective. Its behaviour depends on (i) whether it is predicative, i.e. separated from its noun by the verb *be*; (ii) whether it stands before a noun without any pointer-word or possessive adjective in front of it; (iii) whether it stands between a noun and a pointer-word or possessive adjective.

These remarks apply to *ordinary* adjectives. Numerals (other than *ein**) do not change. Demonstratives (table on p. 274), the articles and possessives (table on p. 127) always behave in the same way in accordance with the number of the noun, its gender class and its *case*. The demonstratives (*dieser, jeder, jener, solcher, mancher, welcher*) behave like the definite article (*der, die, das*, etc.). In the singular the possessives (*mein*, etc.) behave like the indefinite article (*ein*), as also does *kein* (no). In the plural they take the same endings as demonstratives.

| | MASC. SING. | NEUTER SING. | FEMIN. SING. | PLURAL | MASC. | NEUTER | FEMIN. |
|--------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|-------|--------|--------|
| Nomin. | DER | DAS | DIE | | EIN | | EINE |
| Acc. | DEN | | | | EINEN | | |
| Gen. | DES | | DER | DEN | EINES | | EINER |
| Dat. | DEM | | | | EINEM | | |

In the preceding table the nominative case-form is the one which goes with a noun, if subject of the verb. The genitive is the one which goes with a noun used in a possessive sense. The accusative case-form goes with a noun which is the direct object, and the dative with a noun which is the indirect object. If a preposition comes before the determinative (demonstrative, possessive or article) we have to choose between the accusative and dative case-forms in accordance with the recipe on p. 262. Thus the accusative case-form goes with *ohne* (without), *für* (for), and *durch* (through). The dative goes with *mit* (with), *von* (of or from),

* *Zwei* and *drei* have genitive forms, *zweiter, dreier*, still in use.

and *in* unless the verb denotes motion. With the neuter, feminine and masculine nouns *das Haus* (house), *die Frau* (woman), *der Hut* (hat), we therefore write:

| SINGULAR | | PLURAL | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>ohne das Haus</i> | <i>mit dem Haus</i> | <i>ohne die Häuser</i> | <i>mit den Häusern</i> |
| <i>ohne mein Haus</i> | <i>mit meinem Haus</i> | <i>ohne meine Häuser</i> | <i>in meinen Häusern</i> |
| <i>für die Frau</i> | <i>von der Frau</i> | <i>für die Frauen</i> | <i>von den Frauen</i> |
| <i>für meine Frau</i> | <i>von meiner Frau</i> | <i>für unsere Frauen</i> | <i>von unseren Frauen</i> |
| <i>durch den Hut</i> | <i>in dem Hut</i> | <i>durch die Hüte</i> | <i>in den Hüten</i> |
| <i>durch meinen Hut</i> | <i>in meinem Hut</i> | <i>durch meine Hüte</i> | <i>von meinen Hüten</i> |

The rules for choice of endings appropriate to ordinary adjectives fall under four headings:

(i) If predicative, an adjective has the dictionary form *without addition of any ending*. It behaves as all English adjectives behave. We do not have to bother about the number, gender or case of the noun. We use the same word *dumm* to say:

Das ist dumm = this is stupid. *Sie ist dumm* = she is stupid.
Er ist dumm = he is stupid. *Wir sind dumm* = we are stupid.

(ii) If the adjective comes after a *demonstrative* or the *definite article* it behaves like nouns of the *weak* class represented by *der Knabe* (p. 290). We then have to choose between the two endings -E and -EN in accordance with the number, gender, and case of the noun. The ending -E is the form which always goes with a singular subject. It is also the accusative case-form for singular nouns of the feminine and neuter classes. Otherwise we have to use the ending -EN. The following table shows the relation of the definite article to an accompanying (*weak*) adjective:

| | MASCULINE SINGULAR | NEUTER SINGULAR | FEMININE SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|--------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| Nomin. | der blindE | das blindE | die blindE | die blindEN |
| Accus. | den blindEN | | | |
| Gen. | des blindEN | | der blindEN | |
| Dat. | dem blindEN | | den blindEN | |

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Thus we have to use the weak forms of the adjective in:

von der guten Frau = from the good woman.
mit diesem neuen Geld = with this new money.
ohne die alten Hüte = without the old hats.

(iii) When no demonstrative, article or possessive stands in front of the adjective, it takes the *strong* endings of the various case-forms of the demonstrative. Once we know the case-forms of *der*, *das*, *die*, we know the strong endings of the adjective. The table below shows the essential similarity between the strong endings of the adjective and the endings of the *absent* (in brackets) demonstrative:

| | MASCULINE SINGULAR | NEUTER SINGULAR | FEMININE SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|--------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| Nomin. | (dER) rotER | (daS) rotES | (diE) rotE | |
| Accus. | (dEN) rotEN | | | |
| Gen. | (dES) rotES | | (dER) rotER | |
| Dat. | (dEM) rotEM | | | (dEN) rotEN |

Accordingly we use the strong forms analogous to the corresponding absent demonstrative in:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>ohne rotes Blut</i> without red blood <i>für gute Frauen</i> for good women | <i>mit rotem Blut</i> with red blood <i>von guten Frauen</i> of good women |
|---|---|

(iv) The behaviour of an ordinary adjective when it stands alone before the noun and when it follows a demonstrative or the definite article might be summed up by saying that it does not carry the strong ending if preceded by another word which has it. This statement includes what happens when it comes after the other class of determinatives, i.e. after *ein*, *kein*, and the possessives *mein*, *sein*, etc. The nominative singular masculine, as well as both the nominative and accusative singular neuter forms of these words lack the strong endings of the other case-forms; and the adjective which follows the indefinite article or possessive takes the strong endings of the masculine singular nominative and of both

nominative and accusative singular neuter. Otherwise an adjective which follows *ein*, *kein*, *mein*, etc., has the weak endings. The following table illustrates the partnership:

| | MASCULINE SINGULAR | NEUTER SINGULAR | FEMININE SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|--------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| Nomin. | mein rotER | mein rotES | meine rotE | meine rotEN |
| Accus. | meinen rotEN | | | |
| Gen. | meines rotEN | | meiner rotEN | |
| Dat. | meinem rotEN | | | meinen rotEN |

Accordingly we have to say:

ohne das grosse Haus
ohne ein grosses Haus

ohne die gute Frau
ohne eine gute Frau

Analogous to the difference between the nominative and accusative case-forms of *der*, etc., and *ein* is the difference between the possessive pronouns *meiner*, *meines*, *meine*, etc. (mine), and the possessive adjective *mein* (my). There are (see p. 127) five ways of saying *it is mine* in German, if the word *it* refers to a masculine noun such as *Hut*: *es ist meiner*; *es ist der meinige*; *es ist der meine*; *er ist mein*; *er gehört mir*. Some nouns derived from adjectives and participles retain the two forms appropriate to the definite and indefinite articles, e.g.:

| | | |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| <i>der Angestellte</i> | (employee) | <i>ein Angestellter</i> |
| <i>der Beamte</i> | (official) | <i>ein Beamter</i> |
| <i>der Fremde</i> | (stranger) | <i>ein Fremder</i> |
| <i>der Gelehrte</i> | (scholar) | <i>ein Gelehrter</i> |
| <i>der Reisende</i> | (traveller) | <i>ein Reisender</i> |

Unlike the English adverb of manner with its suffix *-ly* and the French one with the suffix *-ment*, most German adverbs belong to our *fast* class (p. 111). They are identical with the uninflected adjective as used alone after the verb, e.g.:

sie hat eine entzückende Stimme
sie singt entzückend

she has a charming voice
she sings in a charming way

This praiseworthy feature of German accidance—or lack of accidance—is one, and perhaps the only one, which we might wish to incorporate in a world auxiliary. Some German adverbs which are not equivalent to the

uninflected adjective are survivals of the genitive case form, e.g. *rechts* (to the right), *links* (to the left), *flugs* (quickly), *stets* (always). The genitive case-form of the noun is also used to express *indefinite* time, e.g. *eines Tages* (one day), *morgens* (in the morning). The latter must not be confused with *morgen* (to-morrow). The accusative form is used in adverbial expressions involving *definite* time, e.g.:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>er lag den ganzen Tag im Bett</i> | he lay the whole day in bed |
| <i>er geht jeden Tag in den Park</i> | he goes to the park every day |

THE GERMAN VERB

With one outstanding exception, and with due allowances for the second sound-shift, the High German verb is like the Dutch. The past with *haben* can replace the English simple past or the English past with *have*. The past with *hatte* (*er hatte gehört*—he had heard) is like the English construction. In parts of Germany, the simple past has disappeared in daily speech. A Bavarian housewife says *ich habe Kartoffeln geschält*. Context or the insertion of a particle of time shows whether this means: (a) I was peeling potatoes, (b) I have just peeled potatoes. The following table summarizes the formation of the simple present and simple past by suffixes added to the stem of a *weak* verb (i.e. what remains after removing the affix *-en* from the infinitive) or by helper verbs. A good dictionary always gives lists of *strong* verbs and their parts. The reader will find some important irregularities of personal flexion in the discussion of internal vowel change on p. 208 in Chapter V.

| | PRESENT | PAST TENSE | FUTURE |
|-----------|---------|------------|--------|
| 1st Sing. | -E | habe | werde |
| 3rd Sing. | -(E)T | or hat | wird |
| Plural | -EN | haben | werden |

The one exception mentioned in the preceding paragraph is the way in which future time and condition are expressed. In Dutch, as in Scandinavian dialects, the corresponding equivalents *zal* and *zoude* replace *shall* and *should*. At one time the *shall* (SOLL) verb of High German dialects was also a helper to indicate future time. During the fourteenth century it disappeared as a time marker in the Court German of the chancelleries, and reverted to its original compulsive meaning in *thou shalt not commit adultery*. In daily speech future time is usually

expressed by the simple present with or without an explicit particle (e.g. *soon*), or adverbial expression (e.g. *next week*) as in all Teutonic languages. In literary German the place of *shall* is taken by *WERDEN*, the common Germanic helper in passive expressions, e.g.:

ich werde kommen = *I shall come.*

er wird kommen = *he will come.*

wir, Sie, sie werden kommen = *we shall come, you, they will come.*

Similarly, when *should* or *would* are used after a condition (e.g. *if he came I should see him*) in contradistinction to situations in which they signify *compulsion* (*you should know*), they are translated by the past, *würde*. If followed by *have*, the latter is translated by *sein* (be), e.g.:

er würde gehen = *he would go.*

er würde gegangen sein = *he would have gone.*

This helper verb *werden* (*worden* in Dutch) is equivalent to the Old English *weorþan* which means *to become*. Its participle has persisted as an affix in *forward*, *inward*, etc. It is used (like its Dutch equivalent) in passive expressions where we should use *be*, and the German verb *to be* then replaces our verb *to have*, e.g.:

er wird gehört = *he is heard.*

er wurde gehört = *he was heard.*

er ist gehört worden = *he has been heard.*

er war gehört worden = *he had been heard.*

Unfortunately it is not true to say that we can always use the parts of *werden* to translate those of the verb *be*, when it precedes a past participle in what looks like a passive construction. Sometimes the German construction is more like our own, i.e. *sein* (be) replaces *werden*. To know whether a German would use one or the other, the best thing to do is to apply the following tests: where it is possible to insert *already* in an English sentence of this type, the correct German equivalent is *sein*, e.g.:

Unglücklicherweise war der Fisch (bereits) gefangen

Unluckily the fish was (already) caught

In all other circumstances use *werden*. It can always be used if the subject of the equivalent active statement is explicitly mentioned.

The German equivalents for some English verbs which take a direct object do not behave like typical *transitive* verbs which can be followed by the accusative case-form of a noun or pronoun. The equivalent of the English direct object has the dative case-form which usually stands for

our indirect object. It cannot become the subject of the verb *werden* in a passive construction. Such verbs include seven common ones: *antworten* (answer), *begegnen* (meet), *danken* (thank), *dienen* (serve), *folgen* (follow), *gehören* (obey), *helfen* (help). We have to use these verbs in the active form, either by making the direct object of the English passive construction the German subject when the former is explicitly mentioned, or by introducing the impersonal subject *man*, as in *man dankte mir für meine Dienste* (I was thanked for my service = one thanked me for my service). Reflexive substitutes are not uncommon, e.g. *plötzlich öffnete sich die Tür* (suddenly the door was opened). There is an alternative clumsy impersonal construction involving the passive construction with the indefinite subject *es*, e.g. *es wurde mir gedankt*. Because of all these difficulties, and because Germans themselves avoid passive constructions in everyday speech, the beginner should cultivate the habit of *active* statement.

Though it is true that the German verb *haben* is always equivalent to our *have* when it is used to signify past time, the converse is not true. With many verbs a German uses the parts of *sein* (p. 101). Verbs which go with *haben* are all transitive, e.g. *ich habe gegeben* (I have given), reflexive, e.g. *sie hat sich geschämt* (she felt ashamed), and the helpers *sollen*, *können*, *wollen*, *lassen*, e.g. *er hat nicht kommen wollen* (he did not want to come). The German uses *sein* and its parts when our *have* is followed by an English verb of motion, such as *kommen* (come), *gehen* (go), *reisen* (travel), *steigen* (climb), e.g. *ich bin gegangen* (I have gone). The verbs *bleiben*, *werden* and *sein* itself also go with *sein*, as illustrated on p. 298.

The present tense-forms of five English and German helpers are derived from the past of old strong verbs. They have acquired new weak past tense forms. They have singular and plural forms in both, but no specific personal flexions of the third person singular present.

| | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | can | may | shall | will | must |
| Sing. | <i>kann</i> | <i>mag</i> | <i>soll</i> | <i>will</i> | <i>muß</i> |
| Plur. | <i>können</i> | <i>mögen</i> | <i>sollen</i> | <i>wollen</i> | <i>müssen</i> |
| | could | might | should | would | |
| Sing. | <i>konnte</i> | <i>mochte</i> | <i>sollte</i> | <i>wollte</i> | <i>musste</i> |
| Plur. | <i>konnten</i> | <i>mochten</i> | <i>sollten</i> | <i>wollten</i> | <i>mussten</i> |

Though derived from common Teutonic roots the corresponding English and German words do not convey the same meaning. For reasons stated on p. 151, this is not surprising. Below is a table to show the correct use of these German helpers, including also *darf-*

dürfen-durfte, a sixth form from a root which does not correspond to that of any English auxiliary:

MÜSSEN

necessity (must, have to):

ich muss nun packen
I have to pack now.

er musste Amerika verlassen
he had to leave America.

es muss interessant gewesen sein
it must have been very interesting.

KÖNNEN

(i) capability (can, be able):

können Sie tanzen?
can you dance?

wir konnten nicht kommen
we were unable to come.

(ii) possibility (may):

er kann schon am Mittwoch eintreffen

he may arrive (already) on Wednesday.

(iii) idiomatic, e.g.:

er kann Spanisch
he knows Spanish.

ich kann nichts dafür
I can't help it.

MÖGEN

(i) possibility (may):

Sie mögen recht haben
you may be right.

(ii) preference (like to):

ich mag heute nicht ausgehen
I don't like to go out to-day.

mögen Sie ihn?
do you like him?

MÖGEN—(contd.)

ich möchte Sie gern besuchen
I should like to look you up

ich möchte lieber hier bleiben
I would rather stay here.

WOLLEN

(i) intention (will):

ich will und werde ihn zwingen
I will and shall force him.

(ii) volition (wants to, wish to):

er will dich sprechen
he wants to talk to you.

(iii) idiomatic:

ich wollte eben gehen als . . .
I was just leaving when . . .

sie will uns gesehen haben
she pretends having seen us

er will nach Holland
he wants to go to Holland

SOLLEN

(i) obligation (shall, be to, ought to):

du sollst nicht stehlen
thou shalt not steal.

sag ihm, er soll gehen
tell him to go.

Sie sollten ihm kein Geld leihen
you should not lend him any money.

Sie hätten früher kommen sollen
you should have come earlier.

(ii) idiomatic,

er soll ihr Geliebter sein
he is said to be her lover.

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SOLLEN—(contd.)

was soll ich tun?

what shall I do?

sollte er vielleicht krank sein?

can he be ill?

DÜRFEN

(i) *permission* (may, be allowed to):

darf (kann) ich nun gehen?

may I go now?

DÜRFEN—(contd.)

er hat nicht kommen dürfen

he was not allowed to come.

darf ich Sie um ein Streichholz bitten?

may I ask for a match?

(ii) *possibility* (may):

das dürfte nicht schwer sein

that shouldn't be difficult.

The beginner who is not forewarned may be confused about one use of *lassen*, which is equivalent to *let* in the sense *have a thing done*. After this an infinitive is used where we should put a participle. This construction is common, e.g.:

Er lässt sich ein Haus bauen = *he is having a house built.*

Er hat sich ein Haus bauen lassen = *he has had a house built.*

Er wird sich ein Haus bauen lassen = *he will have a house built.*

Er hat mich warten lassen = *he has kept me waiting.*

Broadly speaking we can always translate the dictionary form which also does service for the present tense or the imperative in English by the German infinitive when it is accompanied by a *helper* or preceded by *to*. The latter is equivalent to *zu*, which does not precede the verb if it is accompanied by a helper. We omit the preposition after two verbs (*see, hear*) other than helpers listed on p. 152, and sometimes after a third (*help*). Germans leave out *zu* after *hören, sehen, and helfen*, and also do so after a few others. Of these *lernen* (learn) and *lehren* (teach) are most common:

I saw him do it

ich sah ihn es tun.

I heard him say that . . .

ich hörte ihn sagen, dass . . .

Help me (to) find it

Hilf mir doch es finden.

She taught me to dance

sie lehrte mich tanzen.

I am learning to write German

ich lerne deutsch schreiben.

The helper verbs (*können, mögen, dürfen, wollen, sollen, müssen, lassen*) together with the last named (*sehen, hören, helfen*) have a second common peculiarity. In their past compound tenses the infinitive form replaces the past participle with the *ge-* prefix, whenever they are accompanied by the infinitive of another verb, e.g.:

er hat nicht gewollt

he didn't want to.

er hat nicht hören wollen

he didn't want to listen.

The verb *werden* has two past participles, (a) *worden* when it is used as a helper in passive expressions, (b) *geworden* when used as an ordinary verb meaning *to become*:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| (a) <i>er ist gesehen worden</i> | he has been seen. |
| (b) <i>die Milch ist sauer geworden</i> | the milk has become sour. |

When the English *to* signifies *in order to* the German uses *um zu*, e.g. *er ist auf dem Bahnhof, um seine Frau abzuholen* (he is at the station to meet his wife). The same combination *um . . . zu* must be used when an adjective before the infinitive is qualified by *zu* (too) or *genug* (enough), e.g.:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| <i>er war zu schwach um aufzustehen</i> | he was too weak to get up. |
| <i>er hat Geld genug um sich zurückzuziehen</i> | he has money enough to retire. |

GERMAN SYNTAX

The rules given on p. 287 do not exhaust the eccentricities of German word-order. The behaviour of *verb prefixes* reinforces our impression of dislocation. Both in English and in French the prefix of a verb, e.g. *be-* (in *behold*, etc.) or *re-* (in *reconnaitre* = *recognize*) is inseparably married to the root. German has some ten of such inseparable verb prefixes; but it also has others which detach themselves from the root and turn up in another part of the sentence. Of the former, little needs to be said. Some of them are recognizably like English verb prefixes, others are not. None of them except *miss-* has a clear-cut meaning. This class is made up of: *be-*, *ent-*, *emp-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *miss-*, *ver-*, *wider-*, *zer-*. The only useful fact to know about them is that their past participles lack the *ge-* prefix, e.g. *er hat sich betrunken* (he got drunk), *er hat meine Karte noch nicht erhalten* (he has not yet received my card), *er hat mich verraten* (he has betrayed me).

The separable German verbs carry preposition suffixes like those of our words *undergo*, *uphold*, *overcome*, *withstand*. In one group the preposition is always detached, and comes behind the present or simple past tense of the verb of a simple sentence, or of a principal clause, but sticks to the verb root in a *subordinate* clause. This is illustrated by comparison of the simple and complex sentences in the pairs:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (a) <i>Die Dame geht heute aus</i> | The lady is going out to-day. |
| <i>Die Dame, die gerade ausgeht, ist krank</i> | The lady who just went out is ill. |

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- (b) *Der Junge schreibt den Brief ab*
The boy is copying the letter.

Der Junge, der den Brief abgeschrieben hat, ist sehr begabt
The boy who has copied the letter is very talented.

The *ge-* prefix of the past participle of a separate verb is inserted between the *root* and the *preposition-prefix*, e.g. *angebrannt* (burnt), *beigepflichtet* (agreed), *zugelassen* (admitted). After the verb *werden* expressing future time the prefix sticks to the root of the infinitive, e.g.:

ich werde ihm nicht nachlaufen
I shall not run after him.

When the preposition *zu* accompanies the infinitive it comes between the prefix and the root, e.g.:

Der Knabe hat die Absicht es abzuschreiben
The boy intends to copy it.

Sie bat mich zurückzukommen
She asked me to come back.

In the spoken language verbs which always conform to these rules are recognizable by the stress on the prefix, i.e. any one of the following: *an-*, *auf-*, *aus-*, *bei-*, *ein-* (= in), *nach-*, *vor-*, *zu-*. Unfortunately, another set of verbal prefixes belong to verbs with separable or inseparable forms which do not mean the same thing, or are inseparable when attached to one root and separable when attached to another. Thus *durchreisen*, a separable verb (with stress on the first syllable) means to *travel through without stopping*, but *durchreisen* as an inseparable verb (with the stress on the second syllable), means to *travel all over*. Of such pairs, another example is the separable *unterstehen* (seek shelter) and its inseparable co-twin *unterstehen* (dare). In *unterscheiden* (distinguish) the prefix is inseparable. In *untergehen* (sink) it is separable. These capricious prefixes are: *durch-*, *hinter-*, *über-*, *um-*, *unter-*, *voll-*, *wieder-*. The inseparable verbs are usually transitive and form compound tenses with *haben*, the separable ones intransitive, forming compound tenses with *sein* (be).

One great stumbling-block of German syntax to the English-speaking beginner is the profusion of particles arbitrarily allocated to particular situations. The single English word *before* can be a conjunction in a temporal sense, a prepositional directive in a spatial or temporal sense,

and can replace the adverb *previously*. Where one word suffices, German demands three:

Preposition: before the dawn (temporal) *vor Tagesanbruch*.
before his eyes (spatial) *vor seinen Augen*.

Conjunction: before he saw it *ehe er es sah* or *bevor er es sah*.

Adverb: you said so before *Sie haben es bereits gesagt*.

Similarly our word *after* can be either a preposition or a conjunction, e.g.:

after his birth *nach seiner Geburt*.
after he was born *nachdem er geboren war*.

On the credit side of the German account, German has one word, *während*, for which we have a separate preposition (*during*) and conjunction (*while*), e.g.:

during dinner *während des Essens*.
while he was eating *während er ass*.

For each of the English directives *inside*, *outside*, *up*, and *over*, there is a separate German preposition (*in*, *aus*, *auf*, *über*) and two adverbs the use of which demands an explanation.

The small number of essential particles in a basic vocabulary for Anglo-American use is partly due to the fact that we have largely discarded distinctions already implicit in the accompanying verb. For instance we no longer make the distinction between *rest* and *motion* (or *situation* and *direction*) explicit in archaic couplets as *here-hither* or *there-thither*. The German dictionary is supercharged with redundant particles or redundant grammatical tricks which indicate whether the verb implies motion, or if so in what (hither-thither) direction. Corresponding to each of the German prepositions mentioned last (*in*, *aus*, *auf*, *über*) there are *here-there* couplets: *herein-hinein*, *heraus-hinaus*, *herauf-hinauf*, *herüber-hinüber* analogous to *herab-hinab* (down) for which there is no precisely equivalent German preposition.* If the verb is *kommen* (which already indicates motion towards a fixed point), we use the *here-form*, *her-*. If the verb is *gehen* (which indicates motion away from a fixed point) we have to use the *there-form* *hin-*, e.g.:

Kommen Sie herab = Come down. *Gehen Sie hinab* = Get down.

* The adverbial form placed *after* the accusative noun does the work of the preposition, as in

er ging den Hügel hinab he went down the hill.
er kommt die Strasse herab he is coming down the street.

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With *steigen* or *klettern* (both of which mean *climb*) the use of the two forms depends on whether the speaker is at the top or at the bottom of the tree. If at the bottom he (or she) says: *Klettern Sie hinauf*, if at the top, *Klettern Sie herauf*. Both mean *climb up*, and the distinction reveals nothing which is not made explicit by the context.

One way in which the German language indicates location and motion has no parallel in other modern Teutonic languages nor in French and Spanish. It is a relic from a very remote past. We have seen (p. 262) that a set of nine prepositions (*an*, up, to or at, *auf*, on, *hinter*, behind, *in*, *neben*, near to, *über* over or across, *unter* below or under, *vor* before, *zwischen* between) sometimes precede a dative and sometimes an accusative case-form. If the verb implies *rest* the prescribed case-form is the dative, if it implies *motion*, the accusative, e.g.:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>er stand unter dem Fenster</i> | he stood below the window. |
| <i>er trat unter das Fenster</i> | he stepped below the window. |

The distinction is not always so easy to detect, as in

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>seine Hosen hängen an der Wand</i> | his trousers are hanging on the wall. |
| <i>er hängt das Bild an die Wand</i> | he is hanging the picture on the wall. |

Still more subtle is the difference between:

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Sie tanzte vor ihm</i> | she danced in front of him. |
| <i>Sie tanzte vor ihn</i> | she danced right up to him. |

Even when the German signs his name, the case-form has to obey the movement of the penholder, as in *er schreibt seinen Namen auf das Dokument* (he is writing his name on the document).

Germans often supplement a more or less vague preposition with a more explicit adverb which follows the noun. Such characteristically German prolixity is illustrated by:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>er sieht zum Fenster hinaus</i> | he is looking through the window. |
| <i>er geht um den See herum</i> | he is walking round the lake. |

Thus a simple direction may be supersaturated with particles which are at least fifty per cent redundant, e.g. *vom Dorfe aus gehen Sie auf den Wald zu, und von dort aus über die Brücke hinüber, nach dem kleinen See hin*. (You go up towards the forest and thence across the bridge towards the little lake.) The separable combination *nach . . . hin* within the sentence and the corresponding *nach . . . her*, both meaning *towards*, must be memorized. The preposition *nach* is equivalent to *after* in a purely temporal sense, illustrated previously, as is the inseparable adverb *nachher* (afterwards). When *nach* precedes a place-name it signifies *to*,

e.g. *nach Berlin* = to Berlin. Thus *nach Hause gehen* means *go home* in contradistinction to *zu Hause sein* (be at home).

The problem of choosing the right word also arises in German—as in most European languages other than Anglo-American—whenever we use a verb which may have a transitive or intransitive meaning. Since most Anglo-American verbs can have both, the choice is one from which an English-speaking beginner cannot escape. If the ordinary meaning of the verb is transitive, we can use its German equivalent reflexively. This trick is useful when there is no explicit object, e.g.:

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>er kühlt die Luft ab</i> | he is cooling the air. |
| <i>die Luft kühlt sich ab</i> | the air is cooling (itself). |

This construction is common to German and other Teutonic dialects, as also to French or Spanish. More usually we have a choice between two forms of the verb itself. They may be distinguished by internal vowel-changes as on p. 208, or by means of the affix *be-*. This prefix, which has lost any specific meaning in English, converts an intransitive German verb into its transitive equivalent, i.e. the obligatory form when there is a direct object, e.g.:

| INTRANSITIVE | | TRANSITIVE |
|------------------|------------|--------------------|
| <i>antworten</i> | (answer) | <i>beantworten</i> |
| <i>drohen</i> | (threaten) | <i>bedrohen</i> |
| <i>herrschen</i> | (rule) | <i>beherrschen</i> |
| <i>trauern</i> | (mourn) | <i>betrauern</i> |
| <i>urteilen</i> | (judge) | <i>beurteilen</i> |

The German vocabulary is burdened by an enormous number of couplets distinguished by one or another inseparable prefix. Besides the *be-* which gives the intransitive German verb an object in life, one prefix, *miss-*, like its English equivalent (cf. *understand*—*misunderstand*) has a clearly defined meaning illustrated by: *achten*—*missachten* (respect—despise), *gelingen*—*missgelingen* (succeed—fail), *trauen*—*misstrauen* (trust—mistrust). Other common prefixes have no single meaning. Both *ent-* and *er-* may signify incipient action like the Latin affix *-esc-* in *evanescent*. Thus we have *flammen*—*entflammen* (blaze—burst into flames) or *erröten* (turn red), *erkalten* (grow cold). In some verb couplets of this sort *er-* signifies *getting a result*. Thus we have:

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>arbeiten</i> | (work) | <i>erarbeiten</i> | (obtain through work) |
| <i>betteln</i> | (beg) | <i>erbetteln</i> | (obtain by begging) |
| <i>kämpfen</i> | (fight) | <i>erkämpfen</i> | (obtain by fighting) |
| <i>haschen</i> | (snatch) | <i>erhaschen</i> | (obtain by snatching) |

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The prefix *ver-* attached to many verbs which can stand on their own legs may have a perfective meaning, e.g.:

| | | | |
|------------------|---------|---------------------|--------------|
| <i>brennen</i> | (burn) | <i>verbrennen</i> | (burn up) |
| <i>arbeiten</i> | (work) | <i>verarbeiten</i> | (work up) |
| <i>schiessen</i> | (shoot) | <i>verschiessen</i> | (shoot away) |
| <i>trinken</i> | (drink) | <i>vertrinken</i> | (drink away) |

In another group of such pairs, the same prefix indicates that the action went awry, e.g.:

| | | | |
|------------------|---------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>biegen</i> | (bend) | <i>verbiegen</i> | (spoil by bending) |
| <i>legen</i> | (put) | <i>verlegen</i> | (misplace) |
| <i>sprechen</i> | (speak) | <i>sich versprechen</i> | (commit a slip of the tongue) |
| <i>hören</i> | (hear) | <i>sich verhören</i> | (hear what has not been said) |
| <i>schreiben</i> | (write) | <i>sich verschreiben</i> | (commit a slip of the pen) |

The older Teutonic languages had subjunctive verb forms, past and present. In English the only traces of this are (a) the use of *were* in conditional clauses, when the condition is *rejected* (i.e. hypothetical or untrue), as in *if I were richer, I could buy it*; (b) in diffident statements such as *lest it be lost*. As we might expect, the German subjunctive has been more resistant. The verb *sein* has *present* (*ich* or *er sei*, *wir* or *sie seien*) and *past* (*ich* or *er wäre*, *wir* or *sie wären*) subjunctive forms. So has *werden* in the 3rd sing. *er werde* of the present, and throughout the past, *würde-würden*. If we exclude the *intimate* forms (with *du* and *ihr*) the only distinct *present* subjunctive form of most other verbs is the 3rd person singular. It ends in *-e* instead of *-t*, e.g. *mache* for *macht* (make) or *finde* for *findet*. The weak verb has no special past subjunctive form. That of strong verbs is formed from the ordinary past by vowel change and the addition of *-e*, e.g. *gab*—*gäbe* (gave), *flog*—*flöge* (flew). The subjunctive of the present of strong verbs of the *nehmen-geben* class is formed without the modification of the stem vowel (p. 208). Its use in conditional clauses, as in English, is illustrated by:

Wenn ich etwas mehr Geld hätte, würde ich zufriedener sein
If I had a little more money I should be happier.

Wenn ich etwas mehr Geld gehabt hätte, wäre ich zufriedener gewesen
If I had had a little bit more money I should have been happier.

The German subjunctive is also used in reported speech, e.g.:

In seiner Reichtagsrede erklärte Hitler, er werde bis zum letzten Blutstropfen kämpfen; dieser Krieg entscheide über das Schicksal Deutschlands auf tausend Jahre hinaus, etc.

The subjunctive is also used in indirect questions, e.g. *ich fragte ihn, ob*

er mit der Arbeit fertig sei (I asked him if he had finished the job). It occurs in certain idiomatic expressions, e.g. the set formula for a qualified statement in which we might use *very nearly*:

Ich wäre fast ums Leben gekommen I very nearly lost my life.

Common idioms are:

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| <i>da wären wir ja!</i> | here we are! |
| <i>es koste, was es wolle</i> | cost what it may. |
| <i>es sei denn, dass er gelogen habe</i> | unless he lied about it. |

The grammar of German is difficult; and the aim of the last few pages has not been to pretend that it is otherwise. If we want to file the innumerable rules and exceptions to the rules in cupboards where we can find them, the best we can do is to label them as representative exhibits of speech deformities or evolutionary relics. Many of them are not essential to anyone who aims at a reading knowledge of the language, or to anyone who wishes to talk German or to listen to German broadcasts. For the latter there is some consolation. It is much easier to learn to read, to write, or even to speak most languages correctly than to interpret them by ear alone. This is not true of German. Germans pronounce individual words clearly, and the involved sentences of literary German rarely overflow into daily speech. No European language is more easy to recognize when spoken, if the listener has a serviceable vocabulary of common words. There is therefore a sharp contrast between the merits and defects of German and Chinese. German combines inflation of word-forms and grammatical conventions with great phonetic clarity. Chinese unites a maximum of word-economy with extreme phonetic subtlety and obscurity.

FURTHER READING

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| BRADLEY | <i>The Making of English.</i> |
| DUFF AND FREUND | <i>The Basis and Essentials of German.</i> |
| GRUNDY | <i>Brush up your German.</i> |
| TONNELAT | <i>A History of the German Language.</i> |
| WILSON | <i>The Student's Guide to Modern Languages</i> (A Comparative Study of English, French, German, and Spanish). |

The primers in simplified Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, German, and Dutch published by Hugo's Language Institute; *Teach Yourself German*, *Teach Yourself Dutch*, *Teach Yourself Norwegian*, in the Teach Yourself Books (English University Press).

CHAPTER VIII

THE LATIN LEGACY

FOUR *Romance* languages, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, are the theme of the next chapter. Readers of *The Loom of Language* will now know that all of them are descendants of a single tongue, Latin. Two thousand five hundred years ago, Latin was the vernacular of a modest city-state on the Tiber in Central Italy. From there, military conquest imposed it, first on Latium and then upon the rest of Italy. Other related *Italic* dialects, together with Etruscan, with the Celtic of Lombardy, and with the Greek current in the south of the Peninsula and in Sicily, were swamped by the language of Rome itself. The subsequent career of Latin was very different from that of Greek. Outside Greece itself, the Greek language had always been limited to coastal belts, because the Greeks were primarily traders, whose home was the sea. The Romans were consistently imperialists. Their conquests carried Latin over the North of Africa, into the Iberian Peninsula, across Gaul from South to North, to the Rhine and East to the Danube. In all these parts of the Empire, indigenous languages were displaced. Only the vernaculars of Britain and Germany escaped this fate. Britain was an island too remote, climatically too unattractive, and materially too poor to encourage settlement. Germany successfully resisted further encroachment by defeating the Romans in the swamps of the Teutoburger Wald.

In Gaul, Romanization was so rapid and so thorough that its native Celtic disappeared completely a few centuries after the Gallic War. The reason for this is largely a matter of speculation; but one thing is certain, Roman overlords did not impose their language upon their subjects by force. *Sprachpolitik*, as once practised by modern European states, was no part of their programme. Since Latin was the language of administration, knowledge of Latin meant promotion and social distinction. So we may presume that the Gaul who wanted to get on would learn it. Common people acquired the racy slang of Roman soldiers, petty officials, traders, settlers, and slaves, while sons of chiefs were nurtured in the more refined idiom of educational establishments which flourished in Marseilles, Autun, Bordeaux, and Lyons.

When parts of Gaul came under Frankish domination in the fifth

century A.D., the foreign invaders soon exchanged their Teutonic dialect for the language of subjects numerically stronger and culturally more advanced. Change of language accompanied a change of heart. The Franks embraced the Christian faith, and the official language of the Christian faith was the language of Rome. The impact of Frankish upon Gallo-Roman did not affect its structure, though it contributed many words to its present vocabulary. Several hundreds survive in modern French, e.g. *auberge* (German *Herberge*, inn), *gerbe* (German *Garbe*, sheaf), *haie* (German *Hag*, hedge), *hair* (German *hassen*, hate), *jardin* (German *Garten*, garden), *riche* (German *reich*, rich). In addition the Franks imported a few suffixes, e.g., *-ard* as in *vieillard* (old man).

The language which diffused throughout the provinces of the Empire was not the classical Latin of Tom Brown's schooldays. It was the Latin spoken by the common people. Ever since Latin had become a literary language (in the third century B.C.) there had been a sharp cleavage between popular Latin and the Latin of the erudite. In tracing the evolutionary history of Romance languages from Latin, we must therefore be clear at the outset about what we mean by Latin itself. When we discuss French, Spanish, or Italian, we are dealing with languages which Frenchmen, Spaniards, or Italians *speak*. Latin is a term used in two senses. It may signify a literary product to cater for the tastes of a social élite. It may also mean the living language imposed on a large part of the civilized world by Roman arms before the beginning of the Christian era.

In the first sense, Latin is the Latin of classical authors selected for study in schools or colleges. It was always, as it is now, a *dead* language because it was never the language of daily intercourse. It belongs to an epoch when script was not equipped with the helps which punctuation supplies. Books were not written for rapid reading by a large reading public. For both these reasons a wide gap separated the written from the spoken language of any ancient people. In ancient times what remains a gap was a precipitous chasm.

When we speak of Latin as the common parent of modern Romance languages, we mean the living language which was the common medium of intercourse in Roman Gaul, Roman Spain, and Italy during the Empire. For five centuries two languages, each called Latin, existed side by side in the Roman Empire. While the language of the ear kept on the move, the language of the eye remained static over a period as long as that which separates the Anglo-American of Faraday or Mencken from the English of Chaucer and Langland. Naturally, there

are gradations of artificiality within the *sermo urbanus*, or cultured manner, as well as gradations of flexibility within the *sermo rusticus*, the *sermo vulgaris*, the *sermo pedestris*, the *sermo usualis*, as its opposite was variously called. The Macaulays of classical prose were less exotic than the Gertrude Steins of classical verse, and the Biglow Papers of the Golden Age were more colloquial than the compositions of a Roman Burke or a Roman Carlyle.

Unhappily our materials for piecing together a satisfactory picture of Latin as a living language are meagre. A few technical treatises, such as

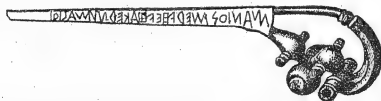


FIG. 33.—VERY EARLY (6TH CENTURY B.C.) LATIN INSCRIPTION ON A FIBULA (clasp or brooch)

(Reading from right to left):

MANIOS MED FHEFHAKED NUMASIOI

Manius made me for Numasius

N.B.—In later Latin this would read: *Manius me fecit Numasio.*

the *Mechanics* of Vitruvius, introduce us to words and idioms alien to the writings of poets and rhetoricians, as do inscriptions made by people with no literary pretensions, the protests of grammarians, then as now guardians of scarcity values, expressions which crop up in the comedies of Plautus (264-194 B.C.), occasional lapses made by highbrow authors, and features common to two or more Romance languages alive to-day.

From all these sources we can be certain that the *Vulgar Latin* which asserts itself in literature when the acceptance of Christianity promoted a new reading public at the beginning of the fourth century A.D., was the Latin which citizens of the Empire had used in everyday life before the beginning of the Christian era. By the largeness of its appeal, Christianity helped to heal the breach between the living and the written language. By doing so, it gave Latin a new lease of life. The Latin scriptures, or *Vulgate*, arranged by Jerome at the end of the fourth century A.D., made it possible for Latin to survive the barbarian invasions in an age when the Christian priesthood had become a literary craft-union.

As it spread over North Africa, Spain, and Gaul, this living Latin inevitably acquired local peculiarities due to the speech habits of

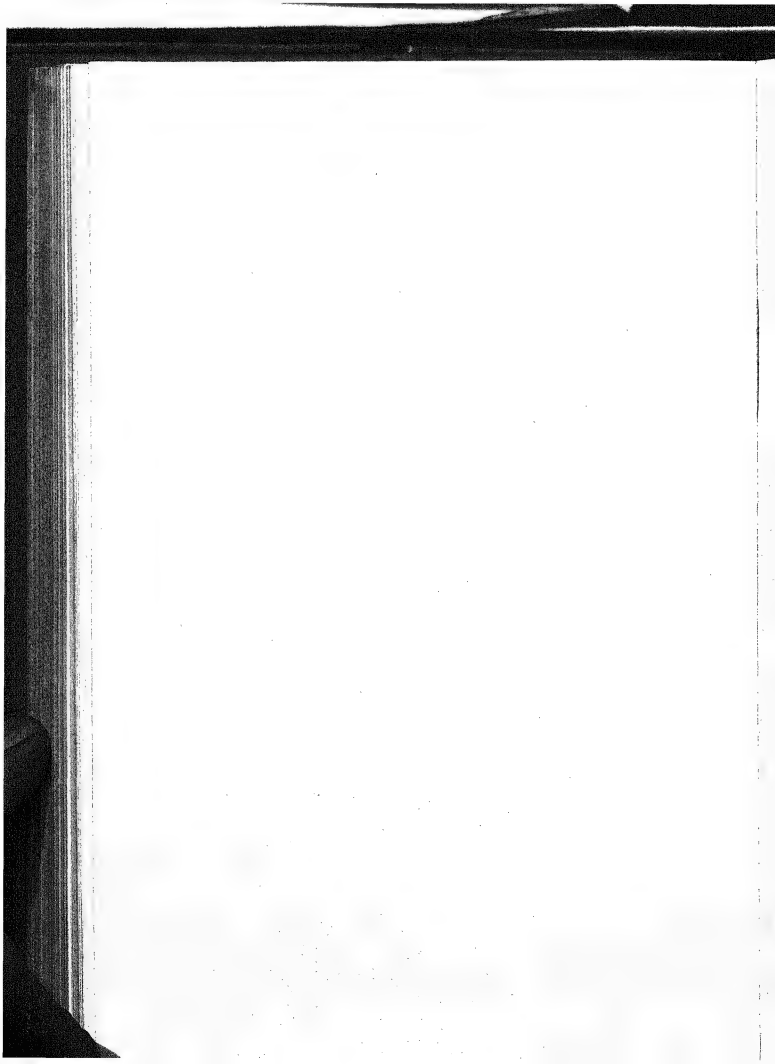
peoples on whom it was imposed, and to other circumstances. For instance, soldiers, traders, and farmers who settled in the various provinces came from an Italy where dialect differences abounded. Though the *Lingua Romana* thus developed a Gallic, a Spanish, and a North African flavour, the language of Gaul and Spain was still essentially the same when the Empire collapsed; and it must have had features which do not appear in the writing of authors who were throwing off the traditional code. Where contemporary texts fail us we have the evidence of its own offspring. If a phonetic trick or a word is common to all the Romance languages from Rumania to Portugal and from Sicily to Gaul, we are entitled to assume that it already existed in speech once current throughout the Empire. Thus many words which must have existed have left no trace in script, e.g. *ausare* (dare), *captiare* (chase), *cominitiare* (commence), *coraticum* (courage), *misculare* (mix), *nivicare* (snow). By inference we can also reconstruct the Vulgar Latin parent of the pan-Romance word for *to touch* (Italian *toccare*, Spanish *tocar*, French *toucher*).

When the curtain lifts from the anarchy, devastations, and miseries of the Dark Ages, local differences separated languages no longer mutually intelligible in the neighbouring speech communities of Spain and Portugal, Provence and northern France, Italy, and Rumania. As a language in this sense, distinct from written Latin, *French* was incubating during the centuries following the disintegration of the Western Roman Empire. The first connected French text is the famous *Oaths of Strasbourg*, publicly sworn in 842 by Louis and Charles, two grandsons of Charlemagne. To be understood by the vassals of his brother, Louis took the oath in Romance, i.e. French, while his brother pledged himself in German. To the same century belongs a poem on the Martyrdom of St. Eulalia. The linguistic unification of France took place during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the literary claims of local dialects such as Picard, Norman, Burgundian, succumbed to those of the dialect of the *Ile-de-France*, i.e. Paris and its surroundings. The oldest available specimens of *Italian*—a few lines inserted in a Latin charter—go back to the second half of the tenth century. Modern Italian, as the accepted norm for Italy as a whole, is based on the dialect of Florence, which owes its prestige to the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio and their sponsors, the master printers. The oldest traces of Spanish occur in charters and in the *Glosses* (explanatory notes of scribe or reader) of Silos, dating from the eleventh century. The first literary monument is the *Cid*, composed about 1140.



FIG. 34.—THE OLDEST ROMAN STONE INSCRIPTION—THE LAPIS NIGER FROM
THE FORUM (about 600 B.C.).

The writing is from right to left



The Romance languages preserve innumerable common traits. Their grammatical features are remarkably uniform, and they use recognizably similar words for current things and processes. So it is relatively easy for anyone who already knows one of them to learn another, or for an adult to learn more than one of them at the same time. French has travelled farthest away from Latin. What essentially distinguishes French from Italian and Spanish is the obliteration of flexions in speech. From either it is separated by radical phonetic changes which often make it impossible to identify a French word as a Latin one without knowledge of its history. As a written language, Spanish has most faithfully preserved the Latin flexions, but it is widely separated from French and Italian by phonetic peculiarities as well as by a large infusion of new words through contact with Arabic-speaking peoples during eight centuries of Moorish occupation. On the whole, Italian has changed least. It was relatively close to Latin when Dante wrote the *Divina Commedia*, and subsequent changes of spelling, pronunciation, structure and vocabulary are negligible in comparison with what happened to English between the time of Geoffrey Chaucer and that of Stuart Chase.

Latin did not die with the emergence of the neo-Latin or Romance languages. It co-existed with them throughout the Middle Ages as the medium of learning and of the Church. Its hold on Europe as an *interlingua* weakened only when Protestant-mercantilism fostered the linguistic autonomy of nation-states. Pedantic attempts of the humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to substitute the prolix pomposity of Cicero for the homely idiom of the monasteries hastened its demise. By reviving Latin, the humanists helped to kill it. The last English outstanding philosophical work published in Latin was Bacon's *Novum Organum*, the last English scientific work of importance Newton's *Principia*. As a vehicle of scholarship it survived longest in the German Universities, then as ever peculiarly insulated from popular need and sentiment. In the German States between 1681 and 1690, more books were printed in Latin than in German, and Latin was still the medium of teaching in the German Universities. In 1687, Christian Thomasius showed incredible bravado by lecturing in German at Leipzig on the wise conduct of life. This deed was branded by his colleagues as an "unexampled horror," and led to his expulsion from Leipzig. Latin has not wholly resigned its claims as a medium of international communication. It is still the language in which the Pope invokes divine disapproval of birth control or socialism.

CLASSICAL LATIN

Two conclusions are now well established by what we are able to glean about the living language of the Roman Empire from inscriptions and from writings of authors with no pretensions to literary or rhetorical skill. One is that it was *not* so highly inflected as the Latin of the *classics*. The other is that the word-order was *more regular*. To emphasize the contrast for the benefit of the reader who has not studied Latin at school, our bird's-eye view of the Romance Group will begin with a short account of Classical Latin. The next few pages are for cursory reading, and the home-student who aims at becoming more language-conscious may take the opportunity of recalling English words derived from the Latin roots used in the examples cited. Thus the second example in the ensuing paragraph (*gladiis pugnans*) suggests *gladiator*, *gladiolus* (why?), *impugn*, and *pugnacity*.

Like the English noun (p. 115 *et seq.*) before the Battle of Hastings, the noun of Classical Latin had several singular and plural case-forms. Old English (p. 266) had four: *nominative* (subject), *accusative* (direct object), *genitive* (possessive), and *dative* (indirect object). In addition to four case-forms with corresponding names, the *singular* noun of classical Latin sometimes had an *ablative* case-form distinct from the dative, and occasionally a *vocative* distinct from nominative.

In reality, what is called the ablative plural is always identical with the dative plural, and the singular ablative of many nouns is not distinct from the singular dative. So a grammarian does not necessarily signify a specific form of the noun when he speaks of the ablative case. The ablative case refers to the form of the noun used by classical authors in a variety of situations: e.g. (a) with the participle in expressions such as: *the sun having arisen, they set out for home*; (b) where we should put in front of an English noun the instrumental directive *with* (*gladiis pugnans—they fight with swords*); *from* as the origin of movement (*oppido fugit—he fled from town*); *at* signifying time (*media nocte—at midnight*), or *than* (*doctior Paulo est—he is cleverer than Paul*).

If Latin were the living language of a country in close culture-contact with the English-speaking world, it might be helpful to emphasize its regularities and to give serviceable rules for recognizing the proper case-affix for a Latin noun. Since it is not a living language, the chief reason for discussing the vagaries of the Latin case-system is that it helps us to understand some of the differences between noun-endings

of modern Romance languages. Another reason for doing so is that it clarifies the task of language-planning for world peace. For three hundred years since the days of Leibniz and Bishop Wilkins, the movement for promoting an inter-language which is easy to learn has been obstructed by the traditional delusion that Latin is peculiarly lucid and "logical."

In so far as the adjective *logical* means anything when applied to a language as a whole, it suggests that there is a reliable link between the *form* and the *function* of words. If this were really true, it would mean that Latin is an easy language to learn; and there might be a case for reinstating it as a medium of international communication. Though no one could seriously claim that Latin is as easy to learn as Italian, classical scholars rarely disclose the implications of the fact that it is not. The truth is that Italian is simpler to learn, and therefore better suited to international use, because it is the product of a process which was going on in the living language of Italy and the Empire, while further progress towards greater flexibility and great regularity was arrested in Roman literature.

In text-books of Latin for use in schools the Latin case-forms are set forth as if the genitive, dative, and ablative derivatives have a definite meaning, like the Finnish case-forms, e.g.:

| | | |
|----------------|---|-------------------|
| <i>hominis</i> | = | of a man. |
| <i>homini</i> | = | to a man. |
| <i>homine</i> | = | with or by a man. |

In reality no Latin case-form has a clear-cut meaning of this sort. The five or—if we include a defunct *locative* (see below)—six possible distinct case-forms, for which few nouns have more than four distinct affixes in each number, could not conceivably do all the work of our English directives. In fact, prepositions were constantly used in Classical Latin. Just as Englishmen once had to choose particular case-forms (p. 266) of adjective or pronoun after particular prepositions, Latin authors had to choose an appropriate case-affix for a noun when a preposition came before it. Thus the use of case was largely a matter of grammatical context, as in modern German or Old English.

Even when no preposition accompanies a noun, it is impossible to give clear-cut and economical rules for the choice of the case-forms which Latin authors used. We might be tempted to think that the genitive case-affix, which corresponds roughly to the 's or the apostrophe of our derivatives *father's* or *fathers'*, has a straightforward

meaning. Thus some grammar books called the English genitive the *possessive*, but we have seen (p. 116) how little connexion it need have to any property relationship. It is even more difficult to define the Latin genitive in all circumstances. Grammarians became aware of this long ago, and split it into a *possessive genitive* (*canis puellae*, the dog of the girl), a *partitive genitive* (*pars corporis*, a part of the body), a *qualitative genitive* (*homo magnae ingenitatis*, a man of great frankness), an *objective genitive* (*laudator temporis acti*, a booster of bygone times), etc. It is doubtful whether such distinctions help the victim of classical tuition. In Latin, as in the more highly-inflected living Indo-European languages such as German and Russian, the genitive is so elusive that Hermann Paul, a famous German linguist, defined it as the case "that expresses any relation between two nouns."

The functional obscurities of the cases of Classical Latin, in contradistinction to the well-defined meaning of the case-affixes in an agglutinating language such as Finnish, would make it a difficult language, even if the case-affixes were fixed as they are fixed in Finnish. The truth is that the connexion between form and context is as flimsy as the connexion between form and function. The irregularity of Classical Latin burdens the memory with an immense variety of forms assigned to the same case. Just as English nouns belong to different families based on their plural derivatives such as *man-men*, *ox-oxen*, *house-houses*, Latin nouns form case-derivatives in many ways. So if you know the genitive affix of a particular Latin noun, you cannot attach it to another without courting disaster. According to their endings, Latin nouns have been squeezed into five families or *declensions*, each of which has its subdivisions. The table opposite gives a specimen of the nominative and accusative singular and plural case-forms of each.

Unlike the Finnish or Hungarian noun, that of Latin has no specific trade-mark to show if it is singular or plural. In the first declension for instance, a word-form such as *rosae* is genitive and dative singular, as well as nominative plural. In the second declension *domino* is dative and ablative singular, and *domini* is genitive singular and nominative plural. The accusative, singular and plural, of a neuter noun is always identical with the nominative, while the dative plural of every Latin noun tallies with the ablative. Case-endings do not always change from one class to another. The word *dominus*, which is of the second declension, has the same ending in the nominative and accusative singular as *fructus*, which is of the fourth, and a word ending in *-er* may belong to the second (*ager*, acre) as well as to the third (*pater*, father); while one in *-es* may be of the third (*fames*, hunger) and of the fifth (*dies*, day). Even within one and the same class the genitive plural may show different endings, e.g.

| | I | | II | | III | |
|------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|
| | SING. | PLUR. | SING. | PLUR. | SING. | PLUR. |
| NOM. | <i>rosa</i> (rose) | <i>rosae</i> | <i>dominus</i> (master) | <i>domini</i> | <i>dux</i> (leader) | } <i>duces</i> |
| ACC. | <i>rosam</i> | <i>rosas</i> | <i>dominum</i> | <i>dominos</i> | <i>ducem</i> | |

| | IV | | V | |
|------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|
| | SING. | PLUR. | SING. | PLUR. |
| NOM. | <i>fructus</i> (fruit) | } <i>fructus</i> | <i>dies</i> | } <i>dies</i> |
| ACC. | <i>fructum</i> | | <i>diem</i> | |

canum (of the dogs), *dentium* (of the teeth). Words of the same class with identical endings may suffer other modifications, as shown in the following list:

| NOMINATIVE SING. | GENITIVE SING. | NOMINATIVE SING. | GENITIVE SING. |
|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>lex</i> (law) | <i>legis</i> | <i>miles</i> (soldier) | <i>militis</i> |
| <i>iudex</i> (judge) | <i>judicis</i> | <i>pulvis</i> (dust) | <i>pulveris</i> |
| <i>conjux</i> (husband) | <i>conjugis</i> | <i>tempus</i> (time) | <i>temporis</i> |
| <i>nox</i> (night) | <i>noctis</i> | <i>opus</i> (work) | <i>operis</i> |
| <i>pes</i> (foot) | <i>pedis</i> | <i>sermo</i> (speech) | <i>sermonis</i> |

There are still classical scholars who speak of Latin as an "orderly" or "logical" language. Professor E. P. Morris is much nearer to the truth when he writes (*Principles and Methods in Latin Syntax*):

"The impression of system comes, no doubt, from the way in which we learn the facts of inflexion. For the purposes of teaching, the grammars very properly emphasize as much as possible such measure of system as Latin inflexion permits, producing at the beginning of one's acquaintance with Latin the impression of a series of graded forms and meanings covering most accurately and completely the whole range of expression. But it is obvious that this is a false impression, and so far as we retain it we are building up a wrong foundation. Neither the forms nor the meanings are systematic. . . . A glance at the facts of Latin morphology as they are preserved in any full Latin grammar, or in

Brugman's *Grundriss*, or in Lindsay's *Latin Language*, where large masses of facts which defy classification are brought together, furnishes convincing evidence that irregularity and absence of system are not merely occasional, but are the *fundamental* characteristics of Latin form-building."

When Latin became a literary language in the third century B.C., its case-system was already withering away. The old *instrumental*, if it ever had a use, had merged with the ablative, when the latter was coalescing with the dative. The *locative*, which used to indicate where something was, or where it took place, had dwindled to a mere shadow. It survived only in place-names, e.g. *Romae sum* (I am in Rome), and a few fossilized expressions such as *domi* (at home), *ruri* (in the country). The vocative, which was a kind of noun-imperative, e.g. *et tu Brute* (and you, O Brutus), as when we use the expression *say, pop*, differed from the nominative only in nouns of the second declension (*Brutus* or *Dominus*, *Brute* or *Domine*). It was often ignored by classical authors.

One great difference between popular Latin and the Latin of the *literati* and rhetoricians is the extent to which prepositions were used. While the former made ample use of them, classical authors did so with discretion (i.e. their own discretion). In an illuminating passage of his *Essay on Semantics* the French linguist, Bréal, has shown that the tendency to use prepositions where literary style dictated that they should be left out, was not confined to plebeian or rustic speech. Suetonius tells us that the Emperor Augustus himself practised the popular custom in the interest of greater clarity, and in defiance of literary pedants who considered it more "graceful" and well-bred to dispense with prepositions at the risk of being obscure (the prepositions *quae detractae afferunt aliquid obscuritatis, etsi gratiam augent*). In the long run, the prepositional construction was bound to bring about the elimination of the case-marks, because there was no point in preserving special signs for relations already indicated, and indicated much more explicitly, by the preposition alone. In literary Latin, decay of the case-system was arrested for centuries during which it went on unimpeded in the living language, and ultimately led to an entirely new type of grammar.

The use of the Latin noun, like the use of the English pronoun, involves a choice of endings classified according to case and number. The use of the adjective involved the same choice, complicated, as in Old English or German, by *gender*. So every Latin noun, like every German or Old English noun, can be assigned to one of three genders,

masculine, feminine, neuter, according to the behaviour of an adjective coupled with it, or of the pronoun which replaces it. This peculiar gender-distinction which the Indo-European (pp. 113 and 114) shares with the Semitic family was not based on sex-differentiation. Except where gender distinguished actual sex, which was irrelevant to the gender-class of most animals, Latin gender referred to nothing in the real world. It was merely a matter of table manners. Nobody, not even a poet, would have been able to say why the wall (*murus*) should be masculine, the door (*porta*) feminine, and the roof (*tectum*) neuter. The singular nominative or dictionary form of many nouns carries no trade-mark of the gender-class to which they belong. *Pirus* (pear-tree) was feminine, *hortus* (garden) was masculine, and *corpus* (body) was neuter.

What labels a Latin, like an Old English, noun as masculine, feminine, or neuter is the form of the noun-substitute (pronoun) or of the adjective (including demonstratives) which went with it. Excluding participles nearly all adjectives of classical Latin can be assigned to two types. One type has three sets of case-derivatives, e.g. the nominative forms *bonus*, *bona*, *bonum* (good). The feminines had endings like those of nouns such as *porta* (door) placed in the first declension, the masculine and neuter respectively like *dominus* (master) and *bellum* (war) in the second declension. To say that a Latin noun is masculine, neuter or feminine therefore means that a Latin writer would use the masculine, neuter, or feminine forms of such adjectives with it. The flexional modifications of the second type are modelled on the nouns of the third declension. Most adjectives of this type have a common gender form used with either masculine or feminine nouns, and a separate neuter, e.g. *tristis-triste* (sad). Some of them, including present participles, e.g. *amans* (loving), have the same form for all three genders, e.g. *prudens* (prudent), *velox* (quick). The nominative and accusative, singular and plural, of the two chief adjectival types are below:

| (a) <i>bonus</i> (good) | | | | (b) <i>tristis</i> (sad) | |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| | MASC. | FEM. | NEUT. | MASC. = FEM. | NEUT. |
| NOM. SING. | <i>bonus</i> | <i>bona</i> | } <i>bonum</i> | <i>tristis</i> | } <i>triste</i> |
| ACC. SING. | <i>bonum</i> | <i>bonam</i> | | <i>tristem</i> | |
| NOM. PLUR. | <i>boni</i> | <i>bonae</i> | } <i>bona</i> | <i>tristes</i> | <i>tristia</i> |
| ACC. PLUR. | <i>bonos</i> | <i>bonas</i> | | | |

It is usually true to say that: (a) most Latin nouns of the *porta* (door) type are feminine, (b) a large majority of Latin nouns which end in *-us* are masculine, and (c) all Latin nouns that end in *-um* are neuter. So it is partly true to say that the noun itself carries the trade-mark of its gender. One consequence of the fact that a large proportion of Latin nouns are labelled in this way, and that a large class of adjectives have corresponding affixes appropriate to the same gender, is that the Latin adjective very often carries the same suffix as the noun coupled with it, e.g. *alti muri* (high walls), *portae novae* (new doors), *magnum imperium* (great empire). Thus Latin sentences sometimes recall the monotonous sing-song of the Bantu dialects (p. 210). The correspondence of the Latin suffixes is less complete than that of the Bantu prefixes, because all Latin adjectives do not have the same gender-forms, and all Latin nouns assigned to the same declension do not belong to the same gender.

All these trade-marks of the adjective have disappeared in English, and comparison (*black, blacker, blackest*) is now its most characteristic feature. In Classical Latin the comparative and superlative derivatives of the adjectives were also formed synthetically, i.e. by adding appropriate suffixes to the ordinary or *positive* root. Originally there must have been a great variety of these accretions, but in written Latin comparative uniformity had been established in favour of *-ior* (m. or f.) or *-ius* (neut.) corresponding to our *-er*, and *-issimus* (*-a, -um*) corresponding to our *-est*, e.g.: *fortis* (strong)—*fortior* (stronger)—*fortissimus* (strongest). A few of the most common Latin adjectives escaped this regularization. They had comparative and superlative forms derived from stems other than that of the positive, e.g. *bonus* (good)—*melior* (better)—*optimus* (best).

The most backward class of words in modern English is made up of the personal pronouns. In Classical Latin (p. 310) the personal pronoun was a relatively rare intruder. There was little need for the nominative forms *I, he, we*, etc., because person was sufficiently indicated by the terminal of the verb. Thus *vendo* could only mean "I sell," and *vendimus* could only mean "we sell." In modern French, English, or German we can no longer omit the personal pronoun, except when we give a command (*hurry!*) or find it convenient to be abrupt (*couldn't say*). In speech we usually omit personal pronouns of Italian and Spanish, whose verb-endings still indicate person and number clearly, e.g. *parlo a voi, signore* (I am speaking to you, Sir). When Latin authors used *ego* (I), *tu* (thou), etc., they did so for the sole purpose of emphasis or con-

trast as in Wolsey's disastrously-ordered *ego et meus rex* (I and my King). There was no special Latin pronoun of the third person. Its place was taken in Classical Latin by the demonstrative *is, ea, id*. This was later replaced by *ille, illa, illud* (that one).

The fundamental difference between the Latin and the English

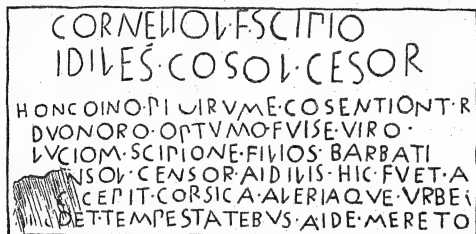


FIG. 35.—FUNERAL INSCRIPTION OF THE CONSUL L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO IN AN EARLY LATIN SCRIPT (259 B.C.)

verb-system has been pointed out in Chapter III (p. 107 *et seq.*). Like the Old English verb, the Latin verb had four kinds or classes of flexions, of which three might be described as functional and one, mood, depended on context. The first class, based on the personal suffixes, dispensed with need for the pronoun-subject, as in Gothic. These flexions had already disappeared in the plural of the Old English verb, and in the singular they were not more useful than our *-s* of the third person singular. Differences between corresponding personal forms, classified in different *tenses*, signified differences of time or aspect. In contradistinction to any of the Teutonic languages, including Gothic, classical Latin has six tenses, *present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, future, and future perfect*. The conventional meaning attached to these *time-forms* or *aspect-forms* in text-books has been explained in Chapter III (pp. 103–108) which deals with the pretensions of verb-chronology in antiquity.

In reality the terminology of the Latin verb is misleading. The imperfect form, for instance, is usually said to express an act or process as going on in the past (*monstrabat*, he was showing). It was also used to denote habitual action (*scribebat*, he used to write). The perfect form stood for two things. It indicated completion of an occurrence, as

well as the *historic* past. So Latin *scripsi* may be rendered in two ways: *I have written*, and *I wrote*. The pluperfect signified an action prior to some past point specified or implied in the statement, as in English *he had already drunk his beer when we arrived*. The future perfect indicated something anterior to some future action, as in *he will have drunk his beer when we arrive*. The following table gives the *first person* forms of the tenses of the *active voice* in two moods:

| I SING. | | |
|----------------|------------|-------------|
| | INDICATIVE | SUBJUNCTIVE |
| Present | canto | cantem |
| Future | cantabo | — |
| Imperfect | cantabam | cantarem |
| Perfect | cantavi | cantaverim |
| Pluperfect | cantaveram | cantavissem |
| Future Perfect | cantavero | — |

Some, but not all of the Latin tenses, each made up of six distinct personal forms, were duplicated for passive use, like the two tenses of the Scandinavian verb (p. 120). There were only three tenses to express meaning in a passive sense, i.e. to replace the active subject by its object. As the Scandinavian passive is recognized by the suffix *-s*, the Latin passive is recognized by the suffix *-r*, e.g. *timeo* (I fear)—*timeor* (I am feared). Classical Latin has no synthetic equivalent of the *passive* perfect, pluperfect, or future perfect. As in English, the passive form of the perfect was a roundabout expression, i.e. *turris deleta est* (the tower has been destroyed). Thus the passive voice of the Latin verb at the stage when we first meet it was a crack in the imposing flexional armature of the Latin verb-system.

Of *mood* little need be said. Grammarians distinguish three Latin moods, the indicative mood or verb-form commonly used when making an ostensibly plain statement, the imperative mood or verb-form used in command or directions, and the subjunctive mood which is variously used in non-committal statements and in subordinate parts of a sentence. It is sufficient to say that there is no clear-cut difference between the meaning of the indicative and the subjunctive mood. In modern Romance languages the distinction is of little practical importance for conversation or informal writing.

In Latin as in English there were many mansions in the verbal house,

and we can classify Latin verbs in families as we can classify English verbs in *weak*, like *love* or *shove*, and *strong* types such as the *sing* and *drink* class, *bind* and *find*, *bring* or *think* classes, according to the way they form past tense-forms or participles (*love-loved*, *sing-sang-sung*, *drink-drank-drunk*, *bind-bound*, *find-found*, *think-thought*, *bring-brought*). School-books arrange Latin verbs in four main families, the *amare*, *monēre*, *legēre*, and *audire* types, according to the practice of Priscian, a grammarian who lived in the sixth century A.D.

A considerable class of Latin verbs are excluded from the four so-called regular conjugations of the school-books as irregular verbs. These include some which have tenses formed from different roots, such as *fero*—I carry, I bring—*tuli*, I carried, I brought. This suggests that the uniformity of the regular verb-type is greater than it is. The formal similarity of so many Latin verbs placed in the same conjugation is not greater than that of the present tense-forms (*catch* and *bring*) corresponding to *caught* and *brought*. Analogy is as bad a guide to Latin conjugation as to Latin declension, particularly as regards the perfect. Of *deleo* (I destroy) the perfect is *delevi*, but of *moneo* (I warn) which appears in the same class, it is *monui*; of *audio* (I hear) it is *audivi*, but of *aperio* (I open) it is *aperui*. The *third* conjugation includes as many different beasts as a Zoo, cf. the following list of perfect-formations:—

| PRESENT | PERFECT | PRESENT | PERFECT |
|---------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>colligo</i> (I gather) | <i>collegi</i> | <i>ago</i> (I do, drive) | <i>egi</i> |
| <i>carpo</i> (I pick) | <i>carpsi</i> | <i>frango</i> (I break) | <i>fregi</i> |
| <i>pono</i> (I put) | <i>posui</i> | <i>rumpo</i> (I break) | <i>rupi</i> |
| <i>mitto</i> (I send) | <i> misi</i> | <i>curro</i> (I run) | <i>cucurri</i> |
| <i>ludo</i> (I play) | <i>lusi</i> | <i>tango</i> (I touch) | <i>tetigi</i> |

An account of the essential peculiarities of Latin would be incomplete if we left out one of the greatest of all difficulties which confront the translator. Orthodox linguists sometimes tell a story which runs as follows. Relations between Latin words were clearly indicated by flexional marks, and there was therefore no need for fixed word-order. Thus the statement *the farmer leads the goat* could be made in six different ways, for instance, *capram agricola ducit*—*agricola capram ducit*—*ducit capram agricola*, etc. Which one you chose was largely a question of emphasis. It did not vitally affect the meaning. Such freedom was possible because subject (*agricola*) and object (*capram*) were labelled as such by their affixes. Once the unstressed endings were ruined through phonetic decay, Latin developed auxiliaries and a fixed word-order.

Thus far the dominie. Nobody who has wasted a painful youth in bringing together what Latin authors had torn asunder, or in separating

what should never have been together, will deny that the word-order of literary Latin was amazingly "free." In reality, this so-called *free* word-order was the greatest impediment to quick grasp of texts, never composed, as are modern books, for rapid reading by working people. The traditional narrative, as told above, omits to mention the circumstance that the Latin of selected school texts existed on wax or papyrus. It was not the language which Romans used when they talked to one another. The crossword puzzles of Cicero and his contemporaries, like the English of Gertrude Stein or James Joyce, had little to do with the character of the language they spoke. It was the exclusive speciality of literary coteries tyrannized by cadence, mesmerized by metre, and enslaved by Greek models. Classical Latin belongs to a period more than a thousand years before the printing-press democratized reading and promoted systematic conventions of punctuation, and other devices which have healed the breach between the human eye and the human ear. We do not know the exact nature of the word-order which Cicero used when bawling out to his slave; but there can be little doubt that it was as fixed as that of colloquial Italian. The homely Latin of the Vulgate, though not an accurate record of spoken Latin, probably stands nearer to it than the writings of any classical author. Here is a passage from the parable of the prodigal son:

Et abiit, et adhaesit uni
 And he went and joined one
civium regionis illius. Et misit illum
 of the citizens of that country. And he sent him
in villam suam ut pasceret porcos. Et cupiebat
 to his farm to feed the pigs. And he longed
implere ventrem suum de siliquis quas
 to fill his belly with the husks which
porci manducabant. Et nemo illi dabat.
 the pigs ate. And nobody gave him anything.
In se autem reversus, dixit: quanti
 After having come to himself he said: How many
mercenarii in domo patris mei abundant panibus,
 servants in the house of my father have bread enough
ego autem hic fame pereo.
 while I am dying here from hunger.

LATIN AS A LIVING LANGUAGE

By the time the Western Roman Empire collapsed, case-distinction

of the noun had almost disappeared. Scholars used to discuss whether fixed word-order and the use of prepositions led to the elimination of the case-marks, or whether slurring and decay of case-marks which were *not stressed* brought in prepositions and fixed word-order. Un-



FIG. 36.—OSCAN INSCRIPTION FROM POMPEII
(Reading from right to left.)

doubtedly the first is nearer the truth than the second. Thus A. D. Sheffield explains in *Grammar and Thinking*:

"Phonetic change . . . was the proximate cause of the 'decay' of inflexions; but no mere physical cause can be viewed as acting upon speech regardless of men's expressive intention in speaking. Before the analytical means of showing sentence-relations had developed, any tendency to slur relating endings would be constantly checked by the speaker's need of making himself understood. The change, therefore, more likely proceeded as follows: Fixed word-order began to appear within the inflected languages simply as a result of growing orderliness of thought. Relating particles were at the same time added to inflected words wherever the inflexional meaning was vague. After word-order had acquired functional value, and the more precise relating-words were current, relating endings lost their importance, and would become assimilated, slurred, and dropped, from the natural tendency of speakers to trouble themselves over no more speech-material than is needed to convey their thought."

The first case-casualty was the genitive. Caesar himself had written *pauci de nostris* (a few of ours), which in modern Italian is *pochi dei nostri*. Without doubt this was the way in which common people of Vergil's time talked. Towards the end of the Empire the use of the ablative with *de* had universally displaced the old genitive without a preposition, and we come across such modern forms as *de pomis*, equivalent to the modern French *des pommes* (some apples), or *filius de*

rege, equivalent to the French *le fils du roi* (king's son). By the beginning of the third century, the noun genitive survived only in set expressions such as *lunae dies*, which is the French *lundi*, our Monday or lunar day.

The dative, or case of giving, though more resistant had a rival at an early date. The accusative had long been used with the preposition *ad* (to). Thus Plautus writes *ad carnificem dabo* (I shall give to the executioner), where Cicero would have written *carnifici dabo* if he had been discussing so familiar a Roman figure; and a temple regulation of 57 B.C., i.e. during the Golden Era of Latinity, contains *si pecunia ad id templum data erit* (if money should be given to this temple). Eventually a separate *dative* (as opposed to ablative) flexional form of the noun disappeared with the genitive, except in Dacia (Rumania), where traces of it survive to-day. So popular Latin may be said to have taken the same road as Teutonic languages such as English and Dutch, which have of and to, or *van* and *aan*, for *de* and *ad* (French *de* and *à*) of Vulgar Latin.

In the later days of the Roman Empire, phonetic decay of the terminals led to further changes. A final *-m* which was the accusative trade-mark of feminine and masculine nouns, had disappeared at an earlier date. The unstressed vowels *-u* and *-i* of the affixes gave place to *-o* and *-e*. So the distinction between accusative and ablative case-forms faded out. Thus *canem* (accus.), *cani* (dat.), and *cane* (ablat.) of *canis* (nomin.) merged in the single oblique (p. 116) case-form *cane* (dog). Since the first century A.D. the ablative had been confused with the accusative of plural nouns. In an inscription from Pompeii, *cum discentes* (with the pupils) is used for the classical *cum discentibus*.

Before the fall of the Empire the five declensions of our Latin grammar-books had dwindled to three. The fifth noun-family had joined the first (Latin *facies*, figure; Vulgar Latin *facia*; French *face*), and the fourth had joined the second (Latin *fructus*, fruit; Vulgar Latin *fructu*; Italian *frutto*), as *brother* which had joined the *oxen* class (pl. *brethren*) in *Mayflower* times has now joined the same class as *mother* (pl. *mothers*). When the Latin dialects began to diverge after the fall of Rome, Latin declension was probably reduced to the forms as shown in the table on the opposite page.

In the spoken Latin of Italy a final *s*, like a final *t* had ceased to be heard long before Cicero's time, and no efforts of the grammarian could bring it back. Hence the bracketed *-s* of *lunas* and *caballos* in our table. Partly under the influence of the school, the West preserved it. In spoken French it became silent before the end of the Middle Ages. In Spanish it survives till this day and is now the characteristic mark of the plural.

Further simplifications followed. The distinction between nominative and oblique case has disappeared in all modern Romance languages. On Italian territory the oblique form of the plural disappeared. Only the nominative survived (Latin *muri* (nom. pl.)—Italian *muri*). In France, in Spain, and in Portugal the nominative plural disappeared,

| | SINGULAR | | PLURAL | |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | NOM. | OBL. | NOM. | OBL. |
| I | <i>luna</i> (moon) | | <i>lune</i> | <i>luna(s)</i> (moons) |
| II | <i>caballu(s)</i> (horse) | <i>caballu</i> | <i>caballi</i> (horses) | <i>caballo(s)</i> |
| III | <i>cani(s)</i> (dog) | <i>canē</i> | <i>canē(s)</i> (dogs) | |

and the oblique (originally *accusative*) form with a final *s* took its place (Latin acc. pl. *muros*—French *murs*). Case distinction died last in Gaul. In the oldest French and Provençal texts some nouns still preserve the distinction between a subject and an object case as the following table shows:

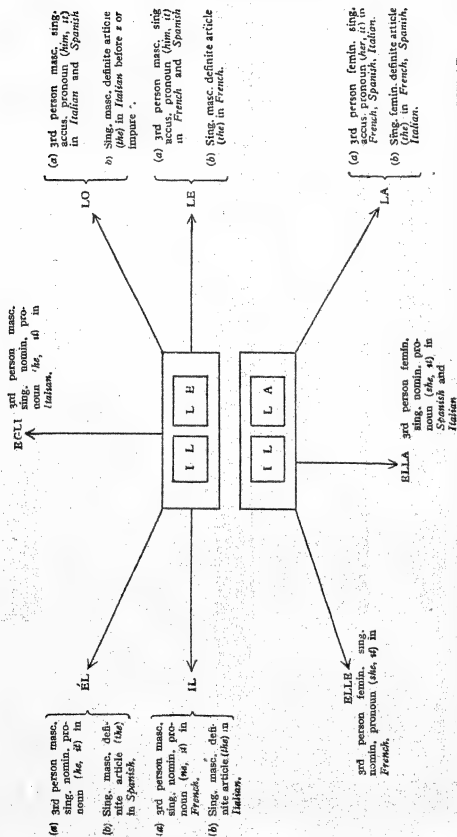
| | SINGULAR | | PLURAL | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| | NOM. | OBL. | NOM. | OBL. |
| Vulgar Latin | <i>murus</i> | <i>murū</i> | <i>murī</i> | <i>murōs</i> |
| Old French | <i>murs</i> | <i>mur</i> | <i>mur</i> | <i>murs</i> |
| Modern French | <i>mur</i> | | <i>murs</i> | |

The case-marks of the adjective shared the same fate as those of the noun. Meanwhile separate neuter forms disappeared. There were two reasons why the noun-form came nearer to that of the adjective. One is the disappearance of two families of noun-behaviour owing to the absorption of the fourth and fifth declensions (p. 317) so that the characteristic affixes corresponded to those of one or other remaining families of nouns. The other was regularization of the gender-classes.

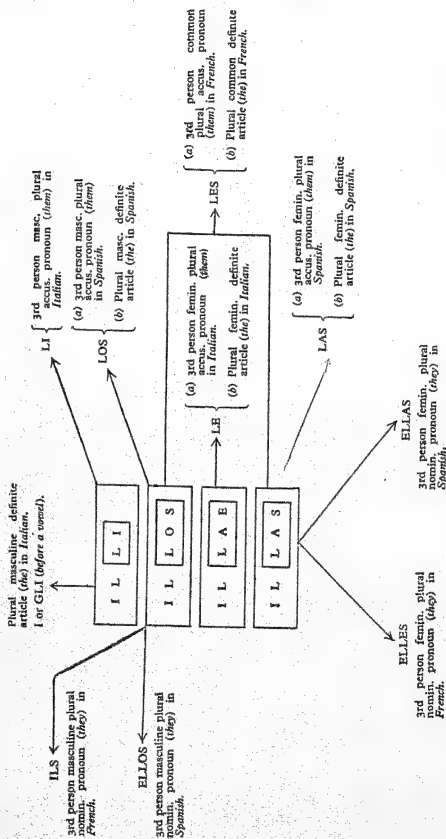
For instance, names of trees assigned to the second declension of Classical Latin were feminine, though they had the nominative singular affix *-us* of masculine adjectives. Similarly the first declension, mainly made of feminine nouns such as *regina* (queen) included masculine words such as *nauta* (sailor) and *poeta* (poet). Tree-names which were feminine like *populus* (poplar) of which the French is *peuplier* have become masculine in modern Romance languages.

The disappearance of a distinct neuter form of the adjective or, what comes to the same thing, a neuter class of nouns, had already begun in classical times. Authors near to the people would write *dorsus* (back) for *dorsum*, or *caelus* for *caelum*. In so far as all Latin nouns which have the nominative singular affix *-um* were neuter, their character was obliterated by the phonetic decay of the final consonant, *-m*, like the decay of the distinctive masculine or feminine accusative case-mark. In late Latin the drift from neuter to masculine became a headlong retreat. Hence most Latin neuter nouns which survive in modern Romance languages are now placed in the masculine gender-class; and anyone who has learned a little Latin can usually apply his knowledge of Latin genders with success, i.e. masculine and feminine nouns retain the same gender, and neuters become masculine. Thus *vinum* (wine), *imperium* (empire) and *regnum* (a kingdom) become (*le*) *vin*, (*un*) *empire*, and (*le*) *règne* in French. The exceptions to this rule are few, and some of them are explicable. In so far as the nominative or accusative plural ending of Latin neuter nouns was *-a*, it was the same as the nominative singular of the more typical feminine noun-class represented by *porta*. If the meaning of a Latin neuter was such that the plural could be used in a collective sense, or for a pair (cf. *news* or *scissors*), it could be used in a singular context. Thus the Latin neuter plural, *folia* (foliage) becomes the singular feminine *la feuille* for a leaf in modern French.

The reader has already had a hint about how knowledge of the forms of the noun in Vulgar Latin throws light on the different types of plural formation in the modern Romance languages. The greater luxuriance of the Latin adjective also helps us to understand the different types of adjective concord which have survived. Latin adjectives for the most part belong to the three-gender type *bonus*, *-a*, *-um*, or to the two-gender class *tristis-triste* (sad), *utilis-utile* (useful) or *facilis-facile* (easy). The disappearance of the neuter means that survivors of the three-gender class now have only masculine and feminine forms—Spanish *bueno-buena* (sing.), *buenos-buenas* (pl.); Italian *buono-buona*, *buoni-buone*; French *bon-bonne*, *bons-bonnes*. The survivors of the two-gender



THE JEKYL AND HYDE PERSONALITY OF THE LATIN DEMONSTRATIVE (SINGULAR)
PRONOUNS AND ARTICLES DERIVED FROM VULGAR LATIN CASE-FORMS OF ILLE, ETC.



THE JEKYLL AND HYDE PERSONALITY OF THE LATIN DEMONSTRATIVE (PLURAL)

PRONOUNS AND ARTICLES DERIVED FROM VULGAR LATIN CASE-FORMS OF ILLE, ETC

class in French, Spanish, and Italian have only one form. From this class of adjective gender-concord has disappeared, as for all English adjectives.

Unlike Greek Classical Latin did not possess what grammarians call the "definite article." Wherever we find this definite article in modern European languages, it can be traced back to a demonstrative which lost its pointing power in the course of time. Thus our English *the* is a weakened form of *that*, and the unaccented *der* in German *der Ochs*

ROMANCE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

(FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS—UNSTRESSED* FORMS)

| | FRENCH | PORTUGUESE | SPANISH | ITALIAN | LATIN |
|--------|--------|------------|----------|---------|----------------------------|
| I | je | eu | yo | io | ego |
| ME | | | ME | mi | me (acc.) mihi (dat.) |
| (THOU) | | | TU | | |
| (THEE) | | | TE | ti | te (acc.) tibi (dat.) |
| WE | } nous | nós | nosotros | noi | nos |
| US | | | nos | ci | nos (acc.) nobis (dat.) |
| (nom.) | } vous | vós | vosotros | voi | vos |
| YOU | | vós | os | vi | vos (acc.) vobis (dat.) |
| (obj.) | | | | | |

(the ox) began as the *der* we have in *der Mann* (that man). The definite article of modern languages, including English, French, and German, rarely lives up to its name. On the contrary, it often has a generalizing, i.e. indefinite function, e.g. *the cat is a domestic animal*. So if we say that Latin had not yet evolved an article, we really mean that the Latin demonstrative had not yet come down in the world. Literary

* Unstressed forms = subject, direct object, and indirect object forms. Except when the same as the *stressed* (p. 363), they are *never* used *after* a preposition. The Spanish *nosotros*, *vosotros* are out of step with their equivalents in Latin, Italian, or French. They date from the late Middle Ages and are combinations of *nos*, *vos* with *otros* (others). Both have feminine forms—*nosotras*, *vosotras*. The French also combine *nous* or *vous* with *autres* (others) when they use either in a sense excluding individuals of a second group, e.g. *nous autres Françaises* (we French women). Italians have the same trick (*noi altre*, etc.). In Spanish the combination has replaced the pronoun itself, i.e. *vosotros* = you.

Latin was embarrassingly rich in demonstratives. There were *is- ea- id*, for referring to something previously mentioned; *hic- haec- hoc*, for *this near me*; *iste- ista- istud*, for *that near you*, or *that of yours*; and *ille- illa- illud*, for *that yonder*. The first survives in our abbreviation, i.e. for *id est* (that is).

Though the literati may have striven to make a real distinction

ROMANCE PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON

(UNSTRESSED FORMS)

| | FRENCH | PORTUGUESE | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|--|--------|-------------|------------|------------|
| HE | il | êle | él | egli, esso |
| HIM | le | o | le (or lo) | lo |
| (to) HIM | lui | lhe | le | gli |
| SHE | elle | ela | ella | ella, essa |
| HER | la | a | | la |
| (to) HER | lui | lhe | | le |
| THEY { (masc.) | ils | êles | ellos | essi, loro |
| { (fem.) | elles | elas | ellas | esse, loro |
| THEM { (masc.) | les | os (or los) | los | li |
| { (fem.) | | as (or las) | las | le |
| (to) THEM | leur | lhes | les | loro |
| Reflexive (himself, herself, itself, themselves) | | SE | | SI |

between the four demonstratives, it is more than doubtful whether the fine shades of meaning which grammarians assign to them played any part in living speech. At least this is certain. When Latin spread beyond Italy and was imposed upon conquered peoples, a distinction ceased to exist. Two of them (*is* and *hic*) completely disappeared. Through use and abuse the meaning of the other pair (*ille* and *iste*) had changed considerably. People used them with less discrimination in the closing years of the Empire. They had lost their full power as pointer-words. Except in Iberian Latin *iste* disappeared. The same period also gave birth to the indefinite article (*a* or *an* in English) of which the primary function is to introduce something not yet mentioned. For this pur-

pose Classical Latin had the word *quidam*, and in popular speech or informal writing, the numeral *unus*, *una*, *unum* (e.g. *unus servus*, a slave, a certain slave) was used for it. Only the latter is used in the Vulgate, where it is burdened with as much or as little meaning as the indefinite article of modern French or English.

The fate of the pointer-words is mixed up with the history of the personal pronoun. The terminal of a Latin verb sufficiently indicated the pronoun subject, and the nominative pronouns *ego*, *tu*, *nos*, *vos*, were used to give emphasis. In Vulgar as in Classical Latin there was no specific emphatic nominative form of the pronoun in the third person analogous to *ego*, *tu*, etc. When it was necessary to indicate what the personal flexion of the verb could not indicate, i.e. which of several individuals was the subject, a demonstrative, eventually *ille*, *illa*, *illud* (i.e. *that one*) took the place of *he*, *she*, or *it*. The demonstrative was therefore a pronoun as well as a definite article at the time when divergence of the Romance dialects occurred. The result of this split personality is that Romance dialects now contain a group of words which are similar in form, but have different meanings. Thus the word equivalent to *the* in one may be the word equivalent to *her* in another, or to *them* in a third. This curious nexus of elements, which are identical in form but differ in function is illustrated in the accompanying highly schematic diagrams (pp. 329 and 330).

Like Scandinavian languages, Latin had two possessive forms of the pronoun of the third person. One died childless. Only the reflexive *suus*, *sua*, *suum* left descendants in the modern Romance dialects. Like the Swedish *sin*, *sitt*, *sina*, any of its derivative forms could mean *his*, *her*, or *its*. The gender was fixed by the noun it *qualified*, and not by the noun which it *replaced*, i.e. the feminine case-derivative would be used with *mater* or *regina*, a masculine with *pater* or *dominus*, and a neuter with *bellum* or *imperium*.

Another difference between Classical and Vulgar Latin is important in connexion with the adjective of modern Romance languages. In Classical Latin comparison was flexional. There was only one exception. The comparative of adjectives ending in *-uus* (e.g. *arduus*, arduous) was not formed in the regular way by adding the suffix *-ior*. To avoid the ugly clash of three vowels (*u-i-o-r*) the literati used the periphrastic construction *magis arduus* (more arduous) with the corresponding superlative *maxime arduus* (most arduous). Popular speech had employed this handy periphrasis elsewhere. Thus Plautus used *magis aptus* (more suitable), or *plus miser* (more miserable). In the living language

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΛΘΟΝΤΟΣΕΞΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΑΝΥΑΜΑΤΙΧΟΙΤΟΙΦΕΚΛΝΟΣ
 ΝΑΝΤΑΕΓΡΑΥΑΝΤΟΙΣΥΝΥΑΜΑΤΙΧΑΜΑΤΙΧΟΙΤΟΙΦΕΚΛΝΟΣ
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 ΑΝΙΘΑΝΟΡΝΟΣΟΘΗΕΠΟΤΑΣΙΜΤΟΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣΔΕΡΜΑΣΙ
 ΕΡΡΑΦΕΔΑΜΕΑΡΤΟΝΑΜΟΙΒΗΟΚΑΙΠΕΛΕΞΟΣΟΝΔΑΜ

[Βασίλειος ελθόντος ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνων Ψαμμάτιο
 ταῦτα ἐγράψεν τοῖς συν Ψαμμάτιοι τοῖς Θεολέοις
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἥδον δὲ Κερκίος κατὰ πέρθε υἱὸς τοῦ αἰγύπτου
 ἀνὴρ ἀλόγιστος δ' ἦγε Ποταμίου Ἀγρούτιος δὲ Ἀμασίας
 ἐγράψαν δ' αὖτε Ἀρχὸν Ἀμοιβίχου καὶ Πηλεγὸς ὁ Ἰθαίω.]

FIG. 37.—INSCRIPTION IN EARLY (ABOUT 590 B.C.) GREEK LETTERING FROM EGYPT CHIPPED ON THE STATUARY OF A ROCK TEMPLE BY IONIC MERCENARIES

It reads:—

When King Psammetik, son of Theokles, came to Elephantine the people of Psammetik wrote this. They sailed to beyond Kerkis, as far as the river allowed. Potasimpo led the foreigners, Amasis the Egyptians. This was written by Archon, son of Amobichos, and by Pelegos, son of Eudamos.

there was thus the same competition between synthesis and isolation as we now see in English (cf. *pretty-prettier, handsome-more handsome*). In later Latin the *plus* and *magis* trick became the prevailing pattern

Rumania, Spain, and Portugal adopted *magis* (Rumanian *mai*, Spanish *más*, Portuguese *mais*), while Italy and Gaul embraced *plus* (Italian *più*, French *plus*). Latin adjectives comparable to English *good*, *better*, *best*, with comparative and superlative forms derived from other roots, resisted this change, and are now islands of irregularity in an ocean of order. They appear in the table of irregular comparison (p. 337). In all Romance languages the ordinary superlative is formed by putting the definite article in front of the comparative form e.g. Spanish *más rico* (richer), *el más rico* (the richest). Spanish and Italian have adjectival forms of the same pattern as the Latin superlative with the terminal *-issimus*, but they are not equivalent to *superlatives* in the grammatical sense of the term. The terminal *-ísimo* (*-a*) of Spanish or *-issimo* (*-a*) of Italian signifies *exceedingly* as in the exclamation *bravo bravissimo!* or in the mode of address used in letters *carissima* (dearest). These synthetic superlatives re-introduced by the learned should be used sparingly. Spanish *muy* or Italian *molto* both meaning *very*, replace them adequately in most situations, e.g. Spanish *es muy rico* (he is very rich) for *es riquísimo*.

The Spanish and Italian article before the superlative drops out when the latter follows immediately after a noun. French retains the article, e.g.

| | |
|---------|------------------------|
| English | the richest man. |
| Spanish | el hombre más rico. |
| Italian | l'uomo più ricco. |
| French | l'homme le plus riche. |

The comparative particle corresponding to English *than* is *que* in French and Spanish e.g. French *plus timide qu'un lapin* (shier than a rabbit). Italian uses *di* (Latin *de*), e.g. *è più povero di me* (he is poorer than I). In Spanish and French *de* also occurs, but confined to situations in which *than* is followed by a numeral, e.g. Spanish *menos de cuatro días* (less than four days), French *plus de trois siècles* (more than three centuries).

REGULAR COMPARISON

| | FRENCH | SPANISH | LATIN | ITALIAN |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| hot | chaud | cálido | calidus | caldo |
| hotter | plus chaud | más cálido | calidior | più caldo (di) |
| (than) | (que) | (que) | (quam) | |
| hottest | le plus chaud | el más cálido | calidissimus | il più caldo |
| | (de) | (de) | | (di) |
| as hot as | aussi chaud | tan cálido | tam calidus | così caldo come |
| | que | como | quam | |

In Teutonic languages the adverb may be the same as the neuter singular (Scandinavian) or the predicative form of the adjective (German). English alone is encumbered with a special form (p. 111). Classical Latin had several types of adverbs derived from adjectives. In modern Romance languages, nearly all the irregular ones have disappeared. Notable exceptions are *bene* and *male*. In French these have become *bien-mal*, in Italian *bene-male*, and in Spanish *bien-mal*. The previous luxuriance of adverbs formed from adjective-roots has given place to a standardized pattern like the English *-ly* derivative. French adverbs are formed by adding *-ment* to the adjective, e.g. *facile-facilement*. The procedure is the same throughout the Western Romance languages. In Italian the corresponding forms are *facile-facilmente*, and in Spanish *fácil-fácilmente*.

IRREGULAR COMPARISON OF ROMANCE ADJECTIVES*

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | LATIN | ITALIAN |
|----------|--|---------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| good | bon (-ne) | bueno (-a) | bonus (-a, -um) | buono (-a) |
| better | meilleur (-e) | mejor (<i>más bueno</i>) | mellior | migliore (<i>più buono</i>) |
| best | le meilleur | el mejor | optimus | il migliore |
| bad | mauvais (-e) | malo | malus | cattivo (-a) |
| worse | plus mauvais (<i>pire</i>) | peor (<i>más malo</i>) | pejor | peggiore (<i>più cattivo</i>) |
| worst | le plus mauvais (<i>le pire</i>) | el peor | pessimus | il peggior |
| big | grand (-e) | grande | magnus | grande |
| bigger | plus grand | más grande (<i>mayor</i>) | major | più grande (<i>maggiore</i>) |
| biggest | le plus grand | el más grande | maximus | il più grande |
| small | petit (-e) | pequeño (-a) | parvus | piccolo (-a) |
| smaller | plus petit (<i>moindre</i>) | más pequeño (<i>menor</i>) | minor | più piccolo (<i>minore</i>) |
| smallest | le plus petit (<i>le moindre</i>) | el más pequeño | minimus | il più piccolo |

The germ of this new structure appears in Classical Latin. When the Roman wanted to indicate that something was done in a certain way, he sometimes used the ablative (*mente*) of *mens* (mind), and qualified it by means of an appropriate adjective, e.g. *obstinata mente* (with an obstinate mind), or *bona mente* (in good faith.) Since *mente* always

* In italics alternatives which have a more restricted use in common speech. In French only *bon* has no regular comparative.

followed close upon the heels of the adjective, it lost its former independence and became a formative element, eventually used without involving anybody's *mental* processes, e.g. *sola mente* (French *seulement*) in place of *singulariter* (alone). Finally *-mente* fused with the adjective i.e. with its feminine singular form. In Spanish it keeps a trace of its separate identity. The Spaniard usually attaches *-mente* only to the

IRREGULAR COMPARISON OF ROMANCE ADVERBS

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | LATIN | ITALIAN |
|------------|-------------------------|----------|---------------------|-----------|
| well | | bien | bene | bene |
| better | mieux | mejor | melius | meglio |
| best | le mieux | lo mejor | (<i>optime</i>) | il meglio |
| badly, ill | | mal | male | male |
| worse | plus mal (<i>pis</i>) | peor | pejus | peggio |
| worst | le plus mal | lo peor | (<i>pessimum</i>) | il peggio |
| little | peu | poco | paucum | poco |
| less | moins | menos | minus | meno |
| least | le moins | lo menos | (<i>minime</i>) | il meno |
| very, much | beaucoup | mucho | multum | molto |
| more | plus | más | plus | più |
| most | le plus | lo más | (<i>plurimum</i>) | il più |

final one when several adverbs follow one another, e.g. *habla clara, concisa y elegantemente* (he speaks clearly, concisely, and elegantly). This was also the custom in Old French, e.g. *umele et dolce mente* for *humblement et doucement* (humbly and quietly).

One striking difference between the Romance languages and their Teutonic contemporaries is the variety of tense-forms which they possess. This is not because the flexional system of the Latin verb escaped the general process of flexional decay common to other classes of words in the living language. In later Latin verb-forms of the classical authors were largely superseded by new ones which remain the basis of conjugation in the Romance languages. The passive flexion disappeared, as it is now disappearing in Scandinavian dialects. Its place was taken partly by the active, partly by a roundabout expression *consistently* made up of the past participle and the auxiliary *esse*, to be. Where classical authors had used the present tense of the latter (*traditus est*, he has been betrayed) to express completed action, later authors used it for action in progress (cf. the French, *il est trahi* = he is being betrayed), and other tenses were used to build up similar

constructions, e.g. *traditus fuit* (he was betrayed), or *traditus erit* (he will be betrayed).

Two tense-forms of Classical Latin (future and future perfect) disappeared. A third (*pluperfect*) survived only in Iberian Latin; and a fourth lost some of its former territory. To indicate completion of a process or its final result, Latin, like other Indo-European languages had a verb-form, the *perfect*, which corresponds roughly to our com-

PRESENT AND IMPERFECT TENSE-FORMS OF ROMANCE VERBS

| | FRENCH | SPANISH | LATIN | ITALIAN |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| I love, etc. | j'aime tu aimes il aime nous aimons vous aimez ils aiment | amo amas ama amamos amáis aman | amo amas amat amamus amatis amant | amo ami ama amiamo amate amano |
| I was loving, etc. | j'aimais tu aimais il aimait nous aimions vous aimiez ils aimaient | amaba amabas amaba amábamos amabais amaban | amabam amabas amabat amabamus amabatis amabant | amavo amavi amava amavamo amavate amavano |

pound past, e.g. from *scribere* (to write), *scripsi* (I have written), but Caesar writes of himself, *Caesar urbem occupatam habet*, which is roughly equivalent to *Caesar has occupied the city*, and Cicero himself writes, *scriptum habeo* (I have written), *satis habeo deliberatum* (I have deliberated enough). In late Latin the old synthetic perfect form (*cantavi* = I have sung) was gradually ousted by the periphrastic construction with *habere* (to have) or *esse* (to be), i.e. *cantavi* by *cantatum habeo*, and *reverti* (I have returned) by *reversus sum*. The synthetic form remained, but came to be confined to the function of a past definite (*cantavi* = I sang). As such it still persists in literary French, as in spoken or written Spanish and Italian (he sang: Latin *cantavit*, French *il chanta*, Spanish *cantó*, Italian *cantò*). Frenchmen never use it in conversation or informal writing.

Another tense-form which disappeared in the later stages of living Latin was the classical future. While the verb *to have* kept its independence as a helper to indicate past time, the new analytical future to

which it also contributed formed the basis of a fresh flexional tense-form (pp. 105 and 106). This new analytical *future* makes its appearance in the first century A.D. Its predecessor had two entirely different forms. Of *dico* (I say) the future was *dicam* (I shall say), and of *lavo* (I wash) it was *lavabo* (I shall wash). In the second century A.D. the classical future had lost caste, and people resorted to affective circumlocutions such as *volo lavare* (I will wash), *debetis lavare* (you

THE FUTURE TENSE OF A ROMANCE VERB

| ENGLISH | | FRENCH | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|
| love (infin.) | | aimer | |
| I have | I shall | j'ai | j'aimerai |
| thou has: | thou wilt | tu as | tu aimeras |
| he has | he will | il a | il aimera |
| we | we shall | nous avons | nous aimerons |
| you } have | you will | vous avez | vous aimerez |
| they } | they will | ils ont | ils aimeront |
| | | | |
| SPANISH | | ITALIAN | |
| amar | | amare | |
| yo he | yo amaré | io ho | io amerò |
| tú has | tú amarás | tu hai | tu amerai |
| él ha | él amará | egli ha | egli amerà |
| nosotros hemos | nosotros amaremos | noi abbiamo | noi ameremo |
| vosotros habéis | vosotros amaréis | voi avete | voi amerete |
| ellos han | ellos amarán | essi hanno | essi ameranno |

shall wash), *vado* (or *eo*) *lavare* (I am going to wash), or *lavare habeo* (I have to wash). Of these helpers, *habere* prevailed in all of the written Romance languages except in Rumania, where we hear to-day *voiui cântă*. Elsewhere *habere*, which usually followed the infinitive, got glued to it, as explained on p. 106.

In our outline of Classical Latin nothing has been said about *negation*. To give a statement a negative meaning, *ne* was used in archaic Latin, but it could also label a question* as such. In Classical Latin, it is replaced by the stronger *non*, a contraction of *ne* and *unum* (lit. *not one*). In daily speech, Latin-speaking peoples used to strengthen the particle by adding another word for something small or valueless. They said *I can't see a speck* (Latin *punctum*), *we haven't had a crumb* (Latin *micam*), *I won't drink a drop* (Latin *guttam*). In the modern Romance languages the negative particle is still the Latin *non* (Italian *non*, Spanish

* Cf. You have *not* understood this?

no, Portuguese *não*, Rumanian *nu*), to which some such emphasizing element may be added; and in French a double-barrelled negation (*ne-pas*) is obligatory. It arose in the following way. In Old French,



FIG. 38.—STONE SLAB FROM LEMNOS WITH EARLY GREEK LETTERING
The language itself, possibly Etruscan, is undeciphered. The writing is from left to right, from right to left, vertically upwards or vertically downwards.

non had just become *nen*, and later *ne*. It was often strengthened by other words. Some of them tallied with ones used in Vulgar Latin as above. One was new:

je ne vois point
je ne mange mie
je ne bois goutte
je ne marche pas

I don't see a speck.
I don't eat a crumb.
I don't drink a drop.
I don't do a step—from Latin *passus*.

The negative value of *ne* in the combinations in this list infected its bedfellows, which lost their original meaning and are now used only as negative particles. Two of them, *mie* and *goutte*, eventually disappeared. Two others, *pas* and *point*, have survived. By the sixteenth century it was the rule to use one of them in any negative statement. To-day the most common form is *ne-pas*, and *ne-point* is only for emphasis. If *ne* is accompanied by another negative such as *personne* (nobody), *rien* (nothing), or *jamais* (never), the latter replace *pas* or *point*, e.g. *il ne me visite jamais* (he never looks me up). In popular French the process has gone further. While in Old French the *pas* was more often omitted than not, you now hear French people drop the emasculated *ne* and say *j'aime pas ça* (I don't like it), or *il dort pas* (he doesn't sleep). The French particle *ne* also keeps company with *que* and *guère* in a sense which does not imply negation. When *que* replaces *pas*, it signifies *only*, e.g. *je n'ai que deux sous* (I have only a penny). When *guère* takes its place, it means *scarcely*, e.g. *je ne la connais guère* (I hardly know her). Corresponding to the French *ne . . . que* for *only* we have the Italian *non . . . che*.

If we recall the wide range of *only* in English (p. 274) this construction should not puzzle us. As an adverb *only*, or its equivalent *merely*, involves a qualified negative. It implies *no more (and no less) than, no better than or not . . . with the exception*. Thus a Frenchman says *il n'a qu'un oeil* (he has no more than one eye, he has only one eye) or *je ne bois qu'aux repas* (I don't drink except at meals, I only drink at meals). This adverbial use of *only* in Romance as in Teutonic (p. 274) languages is quite distinct from that of the adjectival *only* meaning *sole, solitary, single, alone, or unique*. For *only* as adjective we have *seul(e)* or less common, *unique* in French, *solo* or *unico* in Italian (Spanish *solo* or *único*).

School-book knowledge of Latin does not always help us to link up a Romance word with its Latin forerunner. As a living language, Latin had a large stock of words which classical authors never used. Where they would write *equus* for horse, *iter* for journey, *os* for mouth, *ignis* for fire, *comedere* for eat, a citizen of the Empire would say *caballus* (French *cheval*, Spanish *caballo*, Italian *cavallo*); *viaticum* (French *voyage*, Spanish *viaje*, Italian *viaggio*); *buca* (French *bouche*, Spanish *boca*, Italian *bocca*); *focus* (French *feu*, Spanish *fuego*, Italian *fuoco*); *manducare*, lit. *to chew* (French *manger*, Italian *mangiare*). In the school-books the Latin word for house is *domus*, which was the name for the house of the well-to-do. Beside it Latin had *casa*, which

signified the sort of house with which most Romans had to be content. *Casa* survives in Spanish and Italian, French has *maison* derived from *mansio* (mansion). Many words current in Romance languages go back to diminutive forms which abounded in Vulgar Latin, e.g. *auricula* (little ear) for the classical *auris* (French *oreille*, Italian *orecchio*, Spanish *oreja*), *geniculum* (little knee) for the classical *genu* (French *genou*, Italian *ginocchio*).

Though their common parentage has equipped the Romance dialects with an immense stock of recognizably similar words, some of the more common ones are totally different. For the act of speaking, classical Latin had two words, *loqui* and *fabulari*. The first was high-flown, the second informal. *Loqui* has disappeared, while the latter survives as *hablar* (see p. 249) in Spanish. Italy and France on the other hand borrowed a word from church language, *parabulare* (French *parler*, Italian *parlare*). It comes from the Latin word *parabula* (Greek *parabole*). By metaphor the gospel *parables*, i.e. *Christ's word*, came to mean *word* in general. Its semantic journey did not stop there. In its Spanish form (*palabra*) it degenerated from the speech of prophets to the speech of natives in the colonies, hence *palaver*. A similar cleavage is illustrated by the word for *shoulder*. In Spanish it is *hombro*, corresponding with the Latin word *humerus*. The French is *épaule*, and, like the Italian *spalla*, goes back to the Latin equivalent (*spatula*) for the shoulder-blade. Classical Latin had two words for *beautiful*. One was *pulcher*, which was ceremonial. The other, *formosus* from *forma*, might be rendered by *shapely*. The former disappeared everywhere. The latter survived in Spain (*hermoso*) and Rumania (*frumos*). The common people of Rome said *bellus* (pretty), instead of *pulcher* or *formosus*. This word lives on in French (*beau* masc., *belle* fem.), in Italian and Spanish (*bello-bella*).

THE IBERIAN DIALECTS

Roman rule extended over more than six hundred years in the Iberian peninsula. Centuries before its end the speech of the conqueror had superseded that of the vanquished. The last reference to it is in the *Annals* of Tacitus. According to him a Tarragonian peasant under torture "cried out in the language of his forefathers." By that time Spain was completely Romanized. Seneca, Quintilian, and Martial were all Spaniards.

A splinter of an earlier type of speech survives as *Basque*, which people still speak on French and Spanish soil at the western end of the

Pyrenees. Before the planes of Hitler and Mussolini rained death on them, Basque was the tongue of about half a million people. Spanish Latin has survived all invasions of historic times. At the beginning of the fifth century Germanic hordes, including the Vandals who gave their name to (v)Andalusia, overran the Peninsula. Then the West Goths ruled for over two centuries, with Toledo as their capital. After them came the Arabs and Moors from Africa. The Muslims who subdued the whole country with the exception of the Asturian mountains, did not interfere with the religion or language of the people, and intermarriage was common under a benign regime. The Spanish national hero, Rodrigo Díez de Bivar, otherwise called the *Cid*, fought both for infidels and Christians. Cruelty and intolerance came with the *reconquista* started by Catholic princes in the unsubdued North.

The Catholic conquest of lost territory slowly spread fan-wise towards the South, ending in 1492, when Ferdinand and Isabella appropriated Granada for the sacrament of inquisitorial fire. During the Moorish occupation the speech of the Peninsula was still a mixture of dialects descended from Vulgar Latin. In the East, and more closely akin to the Provençal of South France, there was *Catalan*; in the North, *Leonese*, *Aragonese*, and *Asturian*; in the centre *Castilian*; in the West, including Portugal, *Galician*. From Portugal, already a semi-independent province in the eleventh century and foremost as a maritime power under Henry the Navigator, what was originally a Galician dialect was carried to Madeira and the Azores, later to Brazil. In the neighbourhood of 50 million people now speak Portuguese. This figure includes about 40 million inhabitants of Brazil, which became a sovereign state in 1822.

In Spain itself the emergence of a common standard was early. At the suggestion of Alfonso X, the Cortes of 1253 made the usage of Toledo the pattern of correct Spanish. Like Madrid and Burgos, Toledo was in Castile. Castilian, at first the vernacular of a handful of folk in the Cantabrian mountains on the Basque border, thus became what is now the official language of about ninety million people, including 23 million Spaniards, 16 million Mexicans, 13 million Argentinians, 30 million citizens of other South or Central American states, 3 millions in the Antilles, and one million in the Philippine Islands. American Spanish has some Andalusian features, partly because emigrants to the New World came mainly from the South, and partly because Cadiz was the commercial centre of the colonies.

The vocabulary of a territory so repeatedly invaded inevitably has a

large admixture of non-Latin words. Germanic tribes left fewer traces than in French, and these few connected with war and feudal institutions. Many hundreds of Arabic words bear testimony to what Spain owes to a civilization vastly superior to its Catholic successor. The sample printed below shows how Arabic infected all levels of the Spanish vocabulary. The ubiquitous *al-* of *algebra* is the Arabic *article* glued on to its noun.

| | ARABIC | SPANISH |
|--------------|-------------|----------|
| poor, paltry | misqîn | mezquino |
| water-mill | as-sâniyat | aceña |
| mayor | al-qâdi | alcalde |
| constable | al-wazîr | alguacil |
| suburb | ar-rabad | arrabal |
| drain | al-ballâ'at | albañal |
| cistern | al-żubb | aljibe |
| coffin | at-tâbût | ataúd |
| young corn | al-qasîl | alcacel |
| jessamine | yâsamîn | jazmín |
| alcohol | al-quhl | alcohol |
| lute | al-'ûd | laúd |

None the less, the Spanish vocabulary is essentially a basic stratum of Vulgar with a superstructure of Classical Latin. The same is true of Portuguese, which has fewer Basque and more French loan-words. Otherwise the verbal stock-in-trade of the two Iberian dialects is similar. Needless to say, a few very common things have different Spanish and Portuguese, as some common things have different Scots, American, and English names, e.g.:

| | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE |
|--------|----------|---------------------|
| child | niño | criança, menino (a) |
| dog | perro | cão |
| knee | rodilla | joelho |
| window | ventana | janela |
| street | calle | rua |
| hat | sombrero | chapéu |
| knife | cuchillo | faca |

It is not a hard task for anyone who has mastered one of the two official Iberian languages, and has learned the tricks of identifying cognate though apparently dissimilar words, to read a newspaper printed in the other one. A similar statement would not hold good for

conversation. The phonetic differences between Spanish and Portuguese are sharp. The outstanding ones are summarized below:

(i) Like French, Portuguese has nasalized vowels, and even (unlike French) nasalized diphthongs. Nasalization has come about when a vowel preceded *m* or *n*. These two consonants may be silent, or may have disappeared in writing. The *til* (˘) over the nasal vowel is then the tombstone of one or other, as the French *à* weeps over a departed *a*, e.g. Spanish *lana* (wool), Portuguese *lã*; Spanish *son* (are), Portuguese *são*; Spanish *cristiano* (christian), Portuguese *cristão*; Spanish *pan* (bread), Portuguese *pão*; Spanish *buen* (good), Portuguese *bom*; Spanish *fin* (end), Portuguese *fim*.

(ii) Between vowels Portuguese suppresses the Latin *l*, e.g. Latin *caelum* (sky), Spanish *cielo*, Portuguese *céu*; Latin *salute* (health), Spanish *salud*, Portuguese *saúde*; Latin *volare* (fly), Spanish *volar*, Portuguese *voar*. The loss of *l* extends to the definite article and the corresponding unstressed pronouns of the third person, i.e. *o* and *a*, *os*, and *as*, for what were once *lo* and *la*, *los* and *las*. Thus *o porto* = the port. Through agglutination of the article with the preposition *de* or *ad*, we get *do* and *da*, *dos* and *das*, or *ao* and *aos* and *as*, which recall the French forms *du*, *des*, or *au*, *aux*.

(iii) The initial Vulgar Latin *cl*, *fl*, *pl*, which often becomes *ll* in Spanish, change to the *ch* (as in *champagne*) of Portuguese, e.g. Spanish *llave* (key), *lleno* (full), *llama* (flame), Portuguese *chave*, *cheio*, *chama* (French *clef*, *plein*, *flamme*). On this account the equivalence of one small group of words is impossible to detect without a knowledge of sound-shifts.

(iv) The initial Vulgar Latin *f* which often degenerates to a silent *h* in Spanish remains in Portuguese, e.g. Portuguese *filho* (son), Spanish *hijo*.

(v) While Portuguese stressed vowels *o* and *e* are conservative, they are replaced in Spanish by the diphthongs *ue* and *ie*, e.g. Portuguese *perna* (leg), *nove* (nine), *porta* (door), Spanish *pierna*, *nueve*, *puerta*.

(vi) Portuguese orthography shares with French the accents ´, ¨, ^, ¨. The acute accent labels as such an open and stressed vowel, the circumflex a closed and stressed one, e.g. *pó*, powder (Spanish *polvo*), *pôr*, put (Spanish *poner*).

Grammatical differences between the two dialects are trifling. Portuguese discarded *haver* (Spanish *haber*) as a helper verb at an early date. As such it persists only in set expressions. Its modern equivalent is *ter* (Spanish *tener*). Hence *tenho amado* (I have loved), *tenho chegado* (I have arrived), for the Spanish *he amado* and *he llegado*. Both languages favour diminutives. The Spanish favourite is *-ito*, the Portuguese *-inho*. In one way Portuguese still lingers behind modern Spanish, French, or Italian. The agglutination of the infinitive with *habere* to form the future and the conditional is incomplete. In an affirmative

statement the personal pronoun may slip between the infinitive and the auxiliary, e.g. *dir-me-as* (lit. tell me you have = you will tell me), *dar-vos-emos* (lit. give you we have = we shall give you).

FRENCH

The first Romance language to have a considerable literature was a dialect of the *Midi*, i.e. South of France. This *Provençal* had a flourishing cult of romantic poetry greatly influenced by Moorish culture. Its modern representatives are hayseed dialects of the same region. Closely related to it is the vernacular of the Spanish province of Catalonia, including its capital, Barcelona.

What is now French began as the dialect of the Parisian bourgeoisie. Owing to the political, cultural, and economic predominance of the capital, it spread throughout the monarchy, submerged local dialects and encroached upon Breton, which is a Celtic, and Flemish, which is a Teutonic language. It is now the daily speech of half Belgium, and of substantial minorities in Switzerland and Canada. In 1926 a compact body of 40 million European people habitually used French, 37 millions in France itself, excluding the bilingual Bretons, Alsatians, and Corsicans, 3 million Belgians and nearly a million Swiss. Outside Europe about three and a half millions in the French (or former French) dependencies and a million and a half Canadians use it daily. Canadian French has archaic and dialect peculiarities due to long linguistic isolation and the influence of early emigrants from Normandy.

French has twice enjoyed immense prestige abroad, first during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the victorious Crusaders carried it to Jerusalem, Antioch, Cyprus, Constantinople, Egypt, and Tunis, and again in the seventeenth and eighteenth. Five years before the Revolution the Royal Academy of Berlin set the following questions as theme for a prize competition: what has made the French language universal, why does it merit this prerogative, and can we presume that it will keep it? The winner was a French wit and chauvinist, named Rivarol. Rivarol's answer to the first and second was that French owed its prestige to its intrinsic merits, that is to say, to the order and construction of the sentence. ("What is not clear is not French. What is not clear is still English, Italian, Greek, or Latin.")

This is nonsense, as is the plea of some interlinguists, including the late Havelock Ellis, for revival of French as a world auxiliary. Its vogue as a medium of diplomacy was partly due to the fact that it was already a highly standardized language, but far more to a suc-

cession of extrinsic circumstances. From the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) till the collapse of Napoleon, France was usually in a position to dictate the terms of her treaties on the continent. Before the period of enlightenment which preceded the Revolution the Court of Versailles was the cultural citadel of Absolutism. The Encyclopaedists were the commercial travellers of English rationalism and the revolutionary wars emblazoned the fame of French culture in a new stratum of European society. The Empire reinforced its prestige, but provoked a nationalistic reaction throughout Europe. After the defeat of Bonaparte its influence receded in Scandinavian countries, among the Russian aristocracy in Russia, where official foreign correspondence was conducted in French till about 1840, and in Egypt under the impact of British imperialism. Though it still has ostentation-value as a female embellishment in well-to-do circles, unfamiliarity with French no longer stamps a person as an *ignoramus* among educated people. Neither Lloyd George nor Wilson could converse with the Tiger in his own tongue. That they could discuss the spoils without resource to an interpreter was because Clemenceau had lived in the United States.

ITALIAN AND RUMANIAN

The three Latin dialects discussed in the last few pages have transgressed the boundaries of sovereign states. Italian and Rumanian are essentially national, and other Latin descendants, e.g. *Romansch* in Switzerland are local splinters, on all fours with Welsh or Scots Gaelic.

Phonetically Italian has kept closer to Latin than Spanish or French, and its vocabulary has assimilated fewer loan-words. The oldest available specimens of Italian (A.D. 960 and 964) occur in Latin documents as formulae repeated by witnesses in connexion with the specification of boundaries. Written records are sparse till the thirteenth century. By then Italy again had a literature of its own. The dominant dialect was that of Florence, which owed its prestige less to the poems of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio than to a flourishing textile industry and wealthy banking houses. It has changed remarkably little since Dante's time. In 1926 there were 41 million Italians in the Peninsula, in Sicily, and in Sardinia. Less than a quarter of a million account for Italian minorities either in Switzerland or in Corsica.

Rumania corresponds roughly to the Roman province Dacia under the Emperor Trajan. From one point of view its official language is the English or Persian (p. 410) of the Latin family. Strange-looking words

of Vulgar Latin origin mingle with Bulgarian, Albanian, Hungarian, Greek, and Turkish intruders. The Slavonic loan-words predominate. Apart from its hybrid character, comparison with English or Persian breaks down. Rumanian grammar has not undergone great simplification. One odd feature mentioned on p. 280 is reminiscent of the Scandinavian clan. In the eastern Empire, Vulgar Latin favoured the post-posed article, e.g. *homo ille*, rather than the more western *ille homo*. For that reason, the article is now agglutinated to the end of many Rumanian nouns in such contractions as *omul* = *homo ille* (the man), *lupul* = *lupu ille* (the wolf), *câinele* = *cane ille* (the dog). Earliest Rumanian documents do not go back more than four hundred years and are ecclesiastical. To-day 15 million people speak the language.

FURTHER READING

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| BOURCIEZ | <i>Eléments de Linguistique Romane.</i> |
| GRANDGENT | <i>An Introduction to Vulgar Latin.</i> |

CHAPTER IX

MODERN DESCENDANTS OF LATIN

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF FRENCH, SPANISH, PORTUGUESE, AND ITALIAN GRAMMAR

ON the whole, differences between modern descendants of Latin are less than differences between the two main branches of the Teutonic family. The Teutonic dialects had drifted apart before differentiation of the Romance languages began. The Romance languages have many common features which they share with Vulgar Latin, and others which are products of parallel evolution. Because it is the most regular representative of the group, Italian offers the least difficulty to a beginner, especially to anyone who intends merely to get a reading knowledge of it. Our bird's-eye view will therefore deal mainly with Spanish and French. We shall discuss them together. The reader can assemble information appropriate to individual needs from different sections of this chapter, from tables printed elsewhere, or from relevant remarks in other chapters. With the aid of a dictionary the reader, who is learning Portuguese or intends to do so, will be able to supplement previous tables of essential words (Chapters V and VIII or elsewhere) listing only French, Spanish, and Italian items.

The standpoint of the *Loom of Language* is practical. Our definition of grammar is knowledge essential for intelligible correspondence in a language or for ability to read it, other than information contained in a good dictionary. So we shall not waste space over what is *common* to the idiom of our own language and to that of those dealt with in this chapter. What the home student cannot find in a dictionary are tricks of expression or characteristics of word-equivalence *peculiar* to them. There are illustrations of outstanding features of word-order in the Romance languages in Chapter IV, p. 153 *et seq.*, and hints about pronunciation of French, Italian, and Spanish in Chapter VI, p. 254 *et seq.* All there is need to say about comparison of the adjective is in Chapter VIII (pp. 333-337). Other grammatical peculiarities of Spanish, Portuguese, French, or Italian essential for reading or writing knowledge are included in three topics: (a) concord of noun and adjective,

including plural formation; (b) vagaries of the definite article and of the pronoun; (c) verb flexion.

Of the Romance dialects dealt with, English-speaking people find Spanish easier than French. Italian is more easy than either. This is so for several reasons: (i) the sounds of Spanish (or Italian) are much more like those we ourselves use; (ii) the spelling conventions of Spanish and Italian are much more consistent than those of French; (iii) the Latin origin of the older—and therefore many of the more familiar—French words is hard to recognize, and they are therefore difficult to identify with English words of Latin origin (p. 238); (iv) the entire apparatus of noun-adjective flexion is immensely more regular in Spanish and in Italian than in French. Thus the rules for plural formation of nouns admit less exceptions, and, what is more important, it is easier to detect the gender-class of a noun from its ending. Apart from the greater regularity of their flexions, there are other features which bring Spanish or Italian into line with Anglo-American usage. One is a peculiar *durative* construction, equivalent to our own in expressions such as *I was waiting*.

NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

The *only* flexion of the noun now left in Romance languages marks distinction between singular and plural. In comparison with that of Teutonic languages other than English, plural formation of any Romance language is remarkably *regular*. On paper the typical *plural ending of Spanish, Portuguese, and French nouns and adjectives is -s, as in English*. This is partly due to the mastery (p. 327) of the oblique, in competition with the subject, case-form. Otherwise the masculine singular form of French nouns might also end in *-s*, as do a few survivors, e.g. *fil* (son) and some proper names such as *Charles*.

Luckily for anyone who intends to learn the language, the regularity of *Italian* noun-adjective concord approaches that of Esperanto. Whether singular or plural, native Italian nouns end in a *vowel*. The subject case (see p. 327) of the Latin noun is the one which has survived in both numbers. Thus most Italian singular nouns end in *-a*, if feminine, or *-o* (cf. *muro* on p. 327) if masculine, according as they come from Latin ones of the first and second declensions. Most of the remainder are survivors of the third, and end in *-e*. In the PLURAL, *-a* changes to *-e* (Latin *-ae*) and *-o* or *-e* changes to *-i*. These rules admit *very few* exceptions. The only notable ones are:

- (a) Three common nouns have irregular plurals: *uomo-uomini* (man-men), *moglie-mogli* (wife-wives), *bue-buoi* (ox-en).
- (b) Masculine nouns of which the singular ending is an unstressed

- a take -i in the plural, e.g. *poeta-poeti* (poet-s), *tema-temi* (theme-s), *dramma-drammi* (drama-s).
- (c) Some descendants of Latin neuters have singular masculine and plural feminine forms, e.g. *l'uovo-le uova* (the egg-s). We also have to use the plural terminal -a for *braccio, labbro, ginocchio* (arm, lip, knee) as for *il dito-le dita* (the finger-s) when we refer to a pair. These have alternate masculine plural forms with the ending -i, as have *frutto* (fruit), *legno* (wood), *dito* (finger), *osso* (bone).
- (d) Monosyllables, and all nouns which end in a stressed vowel are invariant like our *sheep*, e.g. *la città-le città* (the city--the cities).
- (e) In conformity with the consistent spelling rules of Italian (p. 354) a hard G before the singular terminals -O or -A becomes GH before the plural -I or -E, e.g. *lago-laghi* (lake-s), *luogo-luoghi* (place-s). Likewise the hard C of the feminine singular becomes CH, e.g. *amica-amiche* (friend-s). Masculine nouns may retain the hard sound, e.g. *fuoco-fuochi* (fire-s), *fico-fichi* (fig-s), *stomaco-stomachi*. Many masculines with final -CO have the soft sound of C before I in the plural, e.g. *amico-amici* (friend-s), *medico-medici*, *porco-porci* (pig-s).

The regular types are illustrated by:

| | | |
|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>corona</i> | <i>anno</i> | <i>fiore</i> |
| (crown) | (year) | (flower) |
| <i>corone</i> | <i>anni</i> | <i>fiori</i> |
| (crowns) | (years) | (flowers) |

Plural formation in Spanish or Portuguese is as regular as in English. All plural Spanish nouns end with -S. There is one noteworthy irregularity. Singular nouns which end in a consonant, in y, or an accented vowel take -es, e.g.:

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>corona</i> | <i>año</i> | <i>hombre</i> | <i>flor</i> |
| (crown) | (year) | (man) | (flower) |
| <i>coronas</i> | <i>años</i> | <i>hombres</i> | <i>flores</i> |
| (crowns) | (years) | (men) | (flowers) |

The same rule applies to Portuguese nouns, e.g. *livro-livros* (book-books), *pena-penas* (pen-pens). Portuguese nouns which end in -ão change it usually to *ões* in the plural, e.g. *nação-nações* (nation-s). Nouns ending in -al, -el, -ol, -ul, form the plural in -ais, -eis, -ois, -uis, e.g. *papel-papeis* (paper-papers). Nouns ending in -m change it to -ns, e.g. *homem-homens* (man-men).

There is this difference between French on the one hand and Spanish or Portuguese on the other. The French plural -S, like so many other

flexional survivals of the written language, is often nothing more than a convention of the printed or written page. Unless the *next* word begins with a vowel—or a *mute H* (p. 258)—the plural -S is a dead letter. When it does precede a word beginning with a vowel, it sounds like *z*. Otherwise flexional distinction between singular and plural in spoken French is usually guaranteed only by the presence of the definite article *le* (masc. sing.), *la* (fem. sing.), or *les* (plur.); and the French use their definite article far more than we use our own. In fact, it has become a sort of *number-prefix*.

A small group of French nouns has not yet been brought into line with the prevailing pattern. The singular endings *-ail* or *-al* change to *-aux* in the plural, e.g. *émail-émaux*, *hôpital-hôpitaux*. Apart from these, there are a few vestiges of audible number-distinction. The French word for the eye, *l'œil*, has the irregular plural *les yeux*. The ox, *le bœuf* and the egg, *l'œuf*, lose their final *-f* in the spoken plural—*les bœufs* (pronounced *bø*), *les œufs* (pronounced *ø*). You will not be speaking the French of the text-book if you forget these irregularities and pronounce the plural of *œufs* and *bœufs* like the singular, or say *les œils* for *les yeux*, but you will be understood. You are merely doing what millions of modest Frenchmen themselves do. All that needs to be added is that nouns with the singular endings *-au*, *-eau*, *-eu* and *-ou* take *-x* instead of *-s* in the plural (e.g. *cheveux*, hair, *eaux*, waters, *genoux*, knees). This again is a paper distinction. The *x* is silent before a consonant, and pronounced as if it were *z* when the next word begins with a vowel.

To replace a French, Portuguese, Spanish, or Italian noun by the right pronoun, and to choose the right form of the adjective or the article to accompany it, we need to know the gender class to which it belongs. Any noun of a modern Romance language falls into one of two gender classes, masculine and feminine. Sometimes its meaning helps us to identify the gender class of a Romance noun. Three rules apply to the group as a whole: (a) male human beings and male domestic animals are masculine, female human beings and female domestic animals feminine; (b) names of days, months, and compass bearings are masculine; (c) most metals and trees are masculine, most fruits feminine. The reader can turn to the exhibits of Part IV to test these rules and to note exceptions.

Usually, we have to rely as best we can on the *ending*, as already illustrated by reference to Italian nouns. Two clues have turned up in what has gone before:

- (a) Descendants of Latin masculines and neuters with the nominative singular endings *-US* and *-UM* are nearly always masculine. In Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, the corresponding terminal is *-O*.

More often than not, French descendants of this class end in a consonant.

- (b) Descendants of Latin feminines with the nominative singular ending -A are also feminine and retain the same terminal in Spanish and Portuguese, as in Italian. In French it usually makes way for a mute -E. Portuguese nouns ending in -*ção* (Latin -*tione*) are feminine.

These two clues tell us how to deal with the enormous class of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese nouns which have the singular terminals -O (*masc.*) or -A (*fem.*). Among Latin nouns which did not have the characteristic masculine, neuter or feminine endings -US, -UM, -A in the nominative singular some had terminals which stamp the gender class of their descendants throughout the group. In the following list the Latin equivalent is the ablative case form.

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | FRENCH |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| MASCULINE | | | |
| -ALE <i>canale</i> | -ALE <i>canale</i> | -AL <i>canal</i> | |
| -ENTE <i>accidente</i> | -ENTE <i>accidente</i> | | -ENT <i>accident</i> |
| FEMININE | | | |
| -IONE <i>natione</i> | -IONE <i>nazione</i> | -ION <i>nación</i> | -ION <i>nation</i> |
| -ATE <i>libertate</i> | -A <i>libertà</i> | -AD <i>libertad</i> | -É <i>liberté</i> |
| -TUDINE <i>gratitudine</i> | -TUDINE <i>gratitudine</i> | -TUD <i>gratitud</i> | -TUDE <i>gratitude</i> |

Latin abstract nouns with the ablative singular terminal -*ore* were masculine. Their descendants stick to their original gender in Spanish and Italian, but have become effeminate in French:

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|---------|------------|-----------|------------|---------------|
| clamore | il clamore | el clamor | la clameur | clamour |
| colore | il colore | el color | la couleur | colour |
| dolore | il dolore | el dolor | la douleur | pain |
| pudore | il pudore | el pudor | la pudeur | modesty |
| sapore | il sapore | el sabor | la saveur | taste (savour |
| vapore | il vapore | el vapor | la vapeur | steam, vapour |

Rules of this sort are not *absolutely* reliable. Even if a noun is masculine or feminine in Latin, its descendant in a daughter dialect does not invariably fall into the same gender-class. Consequently knowledge of one Romance language is not an *infallible* guide to gender in another. This is illustrated by the following list:

| LATIN | FRENCH | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|--------------------------------|------------|----------------|-------------|
| flore (<i>flower</i>), m. | fleur, f. | flor, f. | fiore, m. |
| lepore (<i>hare</i>), m. | lièvre, m. | liebre, f. | lepre, f. |
| limite (<i>limit</i>), m. | limite, f. | límite, m. | limite, m. |
| pulvere (<i>dust</i>), m. | poudre, f. | polvo, m. | polvere, f. |
| sanguine (<i>blood</i>), m. | sang, m. | sangre, f. | sangue, m. |
| aestate (<i>summer</i>), f. | été, m. | estío, m. | estate, f. |
| dente (<i>tooth</i>), m. | dent, f. | diente, m. | dente, m. |
| fronte (<i>forehead</i>), f. | front, m. | fronte, f. | fronte, f. |
| arte (<i>art</i>), f. | art, m. | arte, m. or f. | arte, f. |

A single common exception to the rule that Italian and Spanish -O nouns are masculine is the word for *hand*, which is feminine. Thus the white hand is *la mano blanca* (Span.), *la mano bianca* (Italian). Italian nouns of the *minority* class, i.e. those which do not have the singular terminals -o or -a end in -E and are either masculine or feminine. There is an -E class in Spanish and Portuguese, and an even larger group of Spanish and Portuguese nouns which end in a *consonant*. Spanish nouns which have the singular endings -D or -Z are usually feminine.

Spaniards make a peculiar distinction between animate and inanimate objects. When the direct object is a *person* or its pronoun equivalent (demonstrative, interrogative, relative, and indefinite), it must be preceded by the preposition *a*, e.g. *veo a Don Juan* (I see Don Juan); *no he visto a nadie* (I have seen nobody); but *veo la plaza* (I see the square). The preposition *a* may also be used when the object is a familiar animal, e.g. *llama al perro*, he calls the dog. We omit it after *tener* (have) and *querer* (want), but not when *tener* means *hold* or *querer* means *love*, e.g. *tengo a mi amiga* (I am holding my friend).

| LATIN | ITALIAN | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | FRENCH | ENGLISH |
|-------|---------|---------|------------|--------|---------|
| ovo | uovo | huevo | ôvo | œuf | egg |
| vino | vino | vino | vinho | vin | wine |
| anno | anno | año | ano | an | year |
| aqua | acqua | agua | água | eau | water |
| porta | porta | puerta | porta | porte | door |
| bucca | bocca | boca | bôca | bouche | mouth |

Relatively few French nouns have an explicit gender label like the -O or -A endings of Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian. The original Latin vowel terminals which help to mark the gender of the Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian noun have disappeared or have changed past recognition. The preceding examples (p. 354) illustrate this.

The following rules are useful to the student of French, and the beginner who is not familiar with Latin or with another Romance language should learn them. French nouns are:

(a) MASCULINE if they end in:—

- (i) -AGE, -AIRE, -ÈGE, -OIRE, -EAU.
- (ii) -Ê (excluding those ending in -TÊ and -TIÊ).
- (iii) Consonants other than those mentioned below.

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| <i>Examples:</i> l'héritage, inheritance | le laboratoire, laboratory |
| le vestiaire, cloak-room | le vaisseau, vessel, ship |
| le collège, college | le congé, leave |

(b) FEMININE if they end in:

- (i) -TÊ and -TIÊ.
- (ii) -ÊE.
- (iii) -E preceded by one or more consonants (e.g. -ale, -ole, -ule; -be, -ce, -de; -fe, -ne, -pe).

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Examples:</i> la vanité, vanity | l'arrivée, arrival |
| l'amitié, friendship | la viande, meat |

In all Romance languages the behaviour of the adjective tallies closely with that of the noun, and in all of them there are two classes. What is always the larger class is made up of adjectives with four forms, i.e. separate masculine and feminine forms both singular and plural. The smaller class is genderless. Adjectives of this type have only two forms, singular and plural. The *singular* forms of Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian adjectives of the larger class have the terminals -O (masc.) or -A (fem.). The genderless Italian adjective has the singular terminal -E, as have many genderless Spanish and Portuguese adjectives. Singular forms of other genderless Spanish and Portuguese adjectives end in a consonant. The plural forms of all Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese adjectives follow the same rule: *the plural form of the adjective is like the plural form of a noun with the same singular ending.*

The following examples therefore illustrate all essential rules for use of the Italian adjective:

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>un libro giallo</i> | (a yellow book) | <i>un Duce loquace</i> | (a talkative leader) |
| <i>libri gialli</i> | (yellow books) | <i>Duci loquaci</i> | (talkative leaders) |
| <i>una nazione ricca</i> | (a rich nation) | <i>una macchina forte</i> | (a strong machine) |
| <i>nazioni ricche</i> | (rich nations) | <i>macchine forti</i> | (strong machines) |

The Spanish equivalents for *black*, *poor*, and *common* sufficiently illustrate the use of appropriate forms of the Spanish or Portuguese adjective:

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|---|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Sing. Masc.</i> | <i>negro</i> | } | <i>pobre</i> | <i>común</i> |
| <i>Sing. Femín.</i> | <i>negra</i> | | | |
| <i>Plur. Masc.</i> | <i>negros</i> | } | <i>pobres</i> | <i>comunes</i> |
| <i>Plur. Femín.</i> | <i>negras</i> | | | |

There is one noteworthy exception to the rules illustrated by these examples. Adjectives signifying *nationality* take the feminine terminals *-a* or *-as*, even if the masculine singular ends in a consonant, e.g. *inglés-inglesa*, *español-española*.

Representative exhibits of Portuguese noun-adjective concord are:

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>o navio novo</i> | the new ship | <i>a pessoa simpática</i> | the congenial person |
| <i>os navios novos</i> | the new ships | <i>as pessoas simpáticas</i> | the congenial persons |
| <i>o(a) aluno(a) inteligente</i> | | | the intelligent pupil |
| <i>os(as) alunos(as) inteligentes</i> | | | the intelligent pupils |

Genderless Portuguese adjectives ending in *-l* have contracted forms in the plural, e.g. *neutral*, *fácil*, *azul* (blue)—*neutraes*, *fáceis*, *azuis*.

The genderless class of French adjectives is relatively small. About the time of Agincourt the old genderless adjective got drawn into the orbit of the two-gender class. It assimilated the feminine ending *-E*, so that *fort* (strong), originally a common gender form, has now separate masculine (*fort*) and feminine (*forte*) singular and corresponding plural forms (*forts-fortes*). Genderless are *brave*, *large*, *juste*, *riche*, *vide* (empty), *triste* (sad), *facile* (easy), *difficile*, *rouge* (red), *tiède* (lukewarm), *terrible*, *humble*, *capable*, and others which end in *-ble*. The plural suffix of all these is *-S* (*rouges*, *faciles*, etc.). This rule applies to the separate masculine or feminine plural forms of most French adjectives which do not belong to the genderless class.

If we want to write the feminine equivalent of the masculine singular of most French adjectives, all we have to do is to add *-E*. What happens in speech is another story. The final consonant (p. 257) of most French words is silent. When the masculine singular form of

the paper adjective ends in such a silent consonant (-T, -S, -ER, -N) addition of the -E makes the latter *articulate*. Thus the pronunciation of *vert* (masc.) and *verte* (fem.), meaning green, is roughly *vair-vairt*. Sometimes the final -T or -S is double in the written form of the feminine equivalent, e.g. *net-nette* (clean, distinct), *sot-sotte* (stupid), *gros-grosse* (big), *gras-grasse* (fat). Six adjectives ending in -et do not double the final consonant (*complet-complète*, *concret-concrète*, *discret-discrète*, *inquiet-inquiète*, uneasy, *replet-replète*, stout, *secret-secrète*). Those ending in -er change to -ère, with change of vowel colour, e.g. *premier-première*, *régulier-régulière*. Vowel change also occurs if the masculine singular terminal is -N. This silent consonant symbol labels the preceding vowel as a *nasal* (p. 257). The vowel of the feminine form is not nasal. A silent -N becomes an explicit -NE or -NNE, e.g. *bon-bonne* (good), *plein-pleine* (full). Doubling of the last consonant before the final -E of the written form of the feminine also occurs if the masculine singular ends in the articulate terminals -EL or -UL, e.g. *cruel-cruelle* or *nul-nulle* (no). In the *spoken* language these adjectives belong to the genderless class.

A few irregularities among gender forms of the French adjective recall feminine forms of couplets which stand for persons (e.g. *masseur-masseuse*). Thus -eux becomes -EUSE, e.g. *glorieux-glorieuse*, *fameux-fameuse*. Similarly we have a *berger-bergère* (shepherd-shepherdess) class represented by *premier-première*. As -eux becomes -euse, -aux, and -oux become -AUSSE and -OUSE, e.g. *faux-fausse* (false), *jaloux-jalouse* (jealous). As with the couplet *veuf-veuve* (widower-widow), -f changes to -VE, e.g. *neuf-neuve* (new), *bref-brève*. Four apparent exceptions to rules given depend on the fact that there are alternative masculine singular forms. One which ends in a vowel precedes a word beginning with a consonant. The other precedes a word beginning with a vowel or *h*. These masculine couplets are *nouveau-nouvel* (new), *beau-bel* (beautiful), *vieux-vieil* (old), *mou-mol* (soft), as in *un vieil homme* (an old man), *un vieux mur* (an old wall) or *un beau garçon* (a fine boy), *un bel arbre* (a beautiful tree). The feminine derivatives correspond to the second or older number of the couplet in conformity with the rules stated, i.e. *nouvelle*, *belle*, *vieille*, *molle*, e.g. *une vieille femme*, or *une belle dame*.

The few irregular masculine plural forms of the adjective recall those of nouns with the same singular terminals. If the singular ends in -s or -x there is no change. Thus *il est heureux* = he is happy, and *ils sont heureux* = they are happy. If the masculine singular ends in -EAU or -AL, the masculine plural terminals are respectively -EAUX or -AUX, as in *beau-beaux*, *nouveau-nouveaux*, or *cardinal-cardinaux*. The corresponding feminine forms are regular, e.g. *nouvelles* or *cardinales*. The masculine plural of *tout* (all) is *tous*. The corresponding feminine forms are regular (*toute-toutes*). When *tous* stands by itself without a noun the final *s* is always articulate.

The position of the epithet adjective in Romance languages is not as rigidly fixed as in English. As a rule (which allows for many exceptions) the adjective comes after the noun. This is nearly always so if the adjective denotes colour, nationality, physical property, or if it is longer than the noun. The two ubiquitous Spanish adjectives *bueno* and *mal* usually precede, and the masculine singular forms are then shortened to *buen* and *mal*, e.g. *un buen vino* (a good wine), *un mal escritor* (a bad writer). French adjectives usually placed before the noun are:

beau-belle (beautiful), *joli-jolie* (pretty), *vilain-vilaine* (ugly), *bon-bonne* (good), *mauvais-mauvaise* (bad), *méchant-méchante* (wicked), *meilleure-milleure* (better), *grand-grande* (great, tall), *gros-grosse* (big), *petit-petite* (small), *jeune* (young), *nouveau-nouvelle* (new), *vieux-vieille* (old), *long-longue* (long), *court-court* (short).

Both in Spanish and French almost any adjective may be put before the noun for the purpose of emphasis, e.g. *une formidable explosion*, though the same effect is achieved by leaving it at its customary place and stressing it. This shunting of the adjective is much less characteristic of everyday language than of the literary medium which pays attention to such niceties as rhythm, euphony, and length of words. Sometimes a difference of position goes with a very definite difference of meaning. Where there is such a distinction the adjective following the noun has a literal, the adjective preceding it, a figurative meaning. When *gran* appears before the Spanish noun it signifies quality, e.g. *un gran hombre*, a great man; when placed after, size, *un hombre grande*, a tall man. The same is true of French. In French *un brave homme* is a decent chap, *un homme brave* is a brave man; *un livre triste* is a sad sort of book, *un triste livre* is a poor sort of book.

THE ARTICLE IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES

All forms of the Romance definite article (as also of the Romance pronoun of the third person) come from the Latin demonstrative *ILLE*, etc. (p. 329). The form of the definite article depends on the number and gender of the noun, but the choice of the right form is complicated by the initial sound of the noun itself, and by agglutination with prepositions. When it is not accompanied by a preposition, the range of choice is as follows:

| | FRENCH | PORTUGUESE | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|-------------|--------|------------|------------|----------------|
| Masc. Sing. | LE | O | EL | IL (OR LO) |
| Fem. Sing. | LA | A | LA (OF EL) | LA |
| Masc. Plur. | LES | OS | LOS | I (OR GLI-GL') |
| Fem. Plur. | | AS | LAS | LE OR L' |

Our table shows a bewildering variety of alternatives. So far as Spanish* is concerned, the only choice which calls for explanation is the occasional use of *el* before singular feminine nouns. *La* precedes all feminine singular nouns except those which begin with a stressed *A* (or *HA*), e.g. *el agua*—*las aguas* (the water-s). This also applies to the indefinite article. For the sake of euphony the masculine form *un* replaces the feminine *una*, e.g. *un aria* (a tune), *un hacha* (an axe). If a Spanish feminine noun begins with an unstressed *a* (*la ambición*), we have to use the ordinary feminine form. If a French singular noun of either gender or if an Italian singular masculine noun begins with a vowel (or *h* in French) we have to use the truncated *P*, as in the table below. Exceptions to the rule that *P* precedes words beginning with *H* are words (p. 258) of Teutonic and of Greek origin (e.g. *héros*). Choice of the Italian article is complicated by: (a) the existence of a special singular form (*lo* for masculine nouns which begin with *Z* or with *S* followed by another consonant (*SB*, *SP*, *ST*) cf. *il padre* (the father), *lo zio* (the uncle); (b) the masculine *gli* which replaces *i* before plural, nouns beginning with (a) vowels, (b) with *Z* or with *S* followed by a consonant. The next table illustrates these rules:

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | PORTUGUESE | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| (a) <i>a field</i> <i>the field</i> <i>the fields</i> | un champ le champ les champs | um campo o campo os campos | un campo el campo los campos | un campo il campo i campi |
| (b) <i>a door</i> <i>the door</i> <i>the doors</i> | une porte la porte les portes | uma porta a porta as portas | una puerta la puerta las puertas | una porta la porta le porte |
| (c) <i>a friend</i> <i>the friend</i> <i>the friends</i> | un ami l'ami les amis | um amigo o amigo os amigos | un amigo el amigo los amigos | un amico l'amico gli amici |

Unfortunately, our troubles with the vagaries of the Romance article do not end here. Both the definite articles and the demonstratives of Romance languages are addicted to romantic attachments to preposi-

* The table omits one form of the Spanish article. Spanish preserves a separate neuter article, *lo*. It has the sole function of raising a singular adjective, participle, etc., to the status of a noun, e.g. *lo Americano*, what is American; *lo útil*, what is useful; *lo dicho*, what has been said.

tions. The preposition of Vulgar Latin was unstressed, like the demonstrative (definite article) which often went with it. So the two got fused. Such agglutination did not go very far in Spanish. It is confined to the singular masculine article and the two prepositions *de* and *a*; *de + el* became *del* (of the), and *a + el* became *al* (to the, by the), e.g. *el mal humor del maestro* = the bad mood of the teacher (but *de los maestros*); *el bote al faro* = the boat at the lighthouse (but *a los faros*). In written Spanish these two are the only contractions of the kind. In French, agglutination is confined to the same prepositions, but extends to the plural form, as shown in the following table:

| | OLD FRENCH | MODERN FRENCH |
|-------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Sing. | <i>del</i> (<i>de + le</i>) | <i>du</i> |
| Plur. | <i>dels</i> (<i>de + les</i>) | <i>des</i> |
| Sing. | <i>al</i> (<i>a + le</i>) | <i>au</i> |
| Plur. | <i>als</i> (<i>a + les</i>) | <i>aux</i> |

In ancient French the masculine singular and plural article also agglutinated with the preposition *en* (Latin *in*) to *el* and *ès*. The former died out. The latter survives in the titles of University degrees such as *docteur ès lettres*, doctor of literature, *docteur ès sciences*, doctor of science.

From this point of view, French is a half-way house between Spanish and Portuguese. Portuguese is a half-way house between French and Italian. The agglutination of Portuguese prepositions to the article, which has lost the initial Latin *L*, are as follows:

| PREPOSITION (Latin equivalent in italics) | DEFINITE ARTICLE | | | |
|---|------------------|------|-------|-------|
| | O | A | OS | AS |
| <i>a</i> (= <i>ad</i>) | ao | à | aos | às |
| <i>de</i> | do | da | dos | das |
| <i>em</i> (= <i>in</i>) | no | na | nos | nas |
| <i>por</i> (= <i>per</i>) | pelo | pela | pelos | pelas |

The Portuguese prepositions *de* and *em* also agglutinate to the pointer-words of which the masculine singular forms are *êste*, *êsse*, *aquele*. This gives rise to *dêste*, *dêsse*, *daquele*, or *neste*, *nesse*, *naquele*.

and corresponding feminine singular, masculine plural, or feminine plural forms. Italian has a luxuriant over-growth of such fusions between preposition and article:

| | IL | I | LO | GLI | LA | LE | L' |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>di</i> , of | del | dei | dello | degli | della | delle | dell' |
| <i>da</i> , from, by | dal | dai | dallo | dagli | dalla | dalle | dall' |
| <i>a</i> , to | al | ai | allo | agli | alla | alle | all' |
| <i>in</i> , in | nel | nei | nello | negli | nella | nelle | nell' |
| <i>con</i> , with | col | coi | collo | cogli | colla | colle | coll' |
| <i>sui</i> , on | sul | sui | sullo | sugli | sulla | sulle | sull' |
| <i>per</i> , for | pel | pei | per lo (pello) | per gli (pegli) | per la (pella) | per le (pelle) | per l' (pell') |

In modern Romance languages, and in none more than in French, the definite article is now an almost inseparable bedfellow of the noun. Consequently it has lost any personality it once had. We have to use it in many situations where no Anglo-American article occurs. Thus it appears before collective or abstract nouns, e.g. *l'homme* or *la nature*, names of substances, e.g. *le fer* (iron), names of countries, e.g. *le Canada*, names of colours, e.g. *le bleu* (blue) and the generic plural, e.g. *j'aime les pommes* (I like apples). It was not always so. In early French, as in other Romance languages, it was not the custom to put the definite article before an abstract noun, e.g. *covitoise est racine de toz mals* for *la covitoise est la racine de tous les maux* (envy is the root of all evils). This accounts for its absence in some set expressions (see also p. 390) such as: in French, *avoir raison* (be right), *avoir tort* (be wrong), *prendre garde* (take care), *prendre congé* (take leave), *demandeur pardon* (ask forgiveness); in Spanish, *oir misa* (hear mass), *hacer fiesta* (take a holiday), *dar fin* (finish); in Italian, *far onore* (do honour), *correre pericolo* (run a risk), *prendere moglie* (take a wife). Where we use the indefinite article *a* or *an* before names of professions and trades, its equivalent is absent in Romance languages, as in German. Thus the French say *il est médecin* = he is a doctor, and the Spaniards say *es médico*.

One of the pitfalls of French is correct use of what grammar-books call the *partitive article*. Wherever English-speaking people can use *some* or *any* to signify some indefinite quantity of a whole, as in *I had some beer*, the French *must* put before the object the preposition *de* together with the definite article (i.e. *du*, *de la*, *des*). Thus the French

say: *buvez du lait* (drink milk), *j'ai acheté de la farine* (I have bought flour), *est-ce que vous avez des poires?* (have you pears?), and even abstractly, *il me témoigne de l'amitié* (he shows me friendship). This *article partitif* is a trade-mark of modern French. The habit goes back to late Latin. It occurs in the Vulgate and tallies with the idiom of the *Mayflower Bible*, e.g. *catelli edunt de micis* = the dogs eat of the crumbs (Matt. 15, 27). The partitive article may even be prefaced by a preposition, as in *je le mange avec du vinaigre* (I eat it with vinegar). The French *de* is used *alone*, i.e. *without* the definite article:

- (a) after *beaucoup* (much, many), *peu* (little, few), *pas* (no), *plus* (more), *trop* (too much, too many), e.g. *je n'ai pas de monnaie* (I have no money), *j'ai trop de temps* (I have too much time);
- (b) if the noun is preceded by an adjective, e.g. *j'ai vu de belles maisons* (I have seen some nice houses).

The second of the two rules is generally ignored in colloquial French.

The partitive article occurs also in Italian, e.g. *dammi del vino*. It is NOT compulsory. Spanish and Portuguese usually do without it, but have a peculiar plural equivalent for *some*, not comparable to that of other European languages. The indefinite article has a plural form, e.g.:

| | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| a book | <i>un libro</i> | <i>um livro</i> |
| some books | <i>unos libros</i> | <i>uns livros</i> |
| a letter | <i>una carta</i> | <i>uma carta</i> |
| some letters | <i>umas cartas</i> | <i>umas cartas</i> |

THE ROMANCE PERSONAL PRONOUN

Our tables of personal pronouns (pp. 331, 332, and 363) and possessives (p. 369) do not give equivalents for IT or ITS. The reason is that Romance nouns are either masculine or feminine. What is given as the French, Spanish, or Italian equivalent for SHE is the subject pronoun which takes the place of a female human being, a female domestic animal and any group, inanimate object, or abstraction placed in the feminine gender class. Analogous remarks apply to any other pronoun of the third person. Equivalents of *he*, *him*, *his* stand for pronouns which replace a masculine noun; equivalents for *she*, *her*, *hers* for pronouns which replace a feminine noun; and what is listed as the equivalent of *he* or *him*, *she* or *her* would correspond to our *it*, when the latter refers to anything sexless.

The pronoun of Romance, as of other European languages, has been more resistant to flexional decay than the noun, and choice of the

correct form is one of the most troublesome things for a beginner. This is so for several reasons:

ROMANCE PERSONAL PRONOUNS—STRESSED* FORMS

| | ME | (THREE) | HIM | HER | US |
|------------|-----|---------|---------------|---------------|----------|
| FRENCH | MOI | TOI | LUI | ELLE | NOUS |
| PORTUGUESE | MIM | TI | ÊLE | ELA | NÓS |
| SPANISH† | MÍ | TÍ | ÉL | ELLA | NOSOTROS |
| ITALIAN | ME | TE | LUI (ESSO) | LEI (ESSA) | NOI |

| | YOU | THEM (m.) | THEM (f.) | REFLEXIVE |
|------------|----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|
| FRENCH | VOUS | EUX | ELLES | SOI |
| PORTUGUESE | VÓS | ÊLES | ELAS | SI |
| SPANISH† | VOSOTROS | ELLOS | ELLAS | SÍ |
| ITALIAN | VOI | LORO (ESSI) (ESSE) | | SE |

* Stressed forms always used when preceded by a preposition.

† There is a stressed neuter Spanish pronoun ELLO (= it): see footnote p. 359. For feminine forms of NOSOTROS, VOSOTROS see p. 331

(i) Pronouns of the third person have separate direct object (*accusative*) and indirect object (*dative*) forms;

(ii) Pronouns of all three persons have separate *unstressed* (conjunctive) forms as subject or object of an accompanying verb and *stressed* (disjunctive) forms for use after a preposition and in certain other situations;

(iii) The rules of concord for the possessive of the third person have nothing to do with the gender of the possessor;

(iv) Pronouns may agglutinate with other words;

(v) Pronouns of the second person have different *polite* and *familiar* forms.

The personal flexions of the Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian verb are still intact. It is customary to use Portuguese, Spanish, or Italian verbs without an accompanying subject pronoun, though the latter is handy for emphasis or greater clarity, e.g.:

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | PORTUGUESE | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|------------|------------|------------|----------|---------|
| he is good | il est bon | é bom | es bueno | è buono |

We cannot omit the French subject pronoun. Indeed, it has no separate existence apart from the verb. In answer to a question, the Spaniard, Portuguese, or Italian will use *yo*, *eu*, *io*. Except in the legal *je soussigné*, the Frenchman does not use *je* in answer to a question, he uses the stressed *moi* where we usually say *me*, e.g.:

Qui l'a fait? *Moi.* Who did it? *Me (= I did).*

This rule applies to French pronouns of all persons in so far as there are distinctive stressed forms (*moi*, *toi*, *lui*, *eux*). In the same situation the Italian uses the stressed form for the *third* person (*lui*, *loro*). The Frenchman uses the stressed forms whenever the pronoun: (a) is detached from its verb, (b) stands alone, Frenchmen never use them next to the verb, e.g.:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (a) <i>Lui, mon ami!</i> | He, my friend! |
| (b) <i>Moi, je n'en sais rien.</i> | I (myself) know nothing about it. |
| (c) <i>Je ferai comme toi.</i> | I'll do as you (do). |

There are emphatic French forms of *myself*, *himself*, etc.: *moi-même*, *lui-même*, etc. The Spanish equivalent of *même* is *mismo(s)-misma(s)*. The unstressed subject form precedes it, unless it emphasizes a noun, e.g.:

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| <i>lo hago yo mismo</i> | I do it myself. |
| <i>mi mujer misma</i> | my wife herself. |

In all the Romance languages dealt with in this chapter the stressed forms are the ones we have to use after a preposition, and they take up the same place in the sentence as the corresponding noun, e.g.:

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>English</i> | <i>I came without her.</i> |
| <i>French</i> | <i>Je suis venu sans elle.</i> |
| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Tenho vindo sem ella.</i> |
| <i>Spanish</i> | <i>He venido sin ella.</i> |
| <i>Italian</i> | <i>Sono venuto senza ella.</i> |

The unstressed direct or indirect object form is overshadowed by the verb, which it immediately precedes or follows. We always have to use it when there is no preceding preposition in a statement or question. It always comes before the French verb, and nearly always does so in Spanish and Italian statements, e.g. *Je t'aime beaucoup* (French), *Te amo mucho* (Span.), *Ti amo molto* (Ital.) = I love you a lot. Portuguese is out of step with its sister dialects. In simple affirmative Portuguese sentences the object usually follows the verb and a hyphen connects them, e.g.:

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| <i>ele procura-me</i> | = | he is looking for me. |
| <i>dá-me o livro</i> | = | he gives me the book. |

In negative statements of all the four principal Romance languages, the object pronoun (whether direct or indirect) precedes the verb, e.g.:

| | |
|------------|---------------------------|
| English | <i>I don't see it.</i> |
| French | <i>Je ne le vois pas.</i> |
| Portuguese | <i>Não o vejo.</i> |
| Spanish | <i>No lo veo.</i> |
| Italian | <i>Non lo vedo.</i> |

The rules on p. 156 for placing the object in a statement do not tell us where to put it in a command (or request) on the one hand, and a question on the other. The Romance object pronoun always comes after the imperative verb, if the imperative is affirmative, but before the verb if a prohibition, e.g. French *embrasse-la* (kiss her!), *ne l'embrasse pas* (don't kiss her!). The direct object is always the accusative unstressed form; but in French, *moi* and *toi* replace *me* and *te* as the indirect object, e.g. *donnez-moi de l'eau* (give me some water).

In French and Portuguese, the hyphen indicates the intimate relation of the unstressed form to the verb imperative, as in the following examples, which illustrate agglutination of two pronoun objects (*me-o* = *mo*) in Portuguese:

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>dê-me um livro</i> | = give me a book. |
| <i>dê-mo o senhor</i> | = give it (to) me (Sir). |

It is customary to write the Spanish and Italian imperative, infinitive and participles without a gap between it and the object, e.g.:

| ENGLISH | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>show me</i> | <i>muéstrame</i> | <i>mostrami</i> |
| <i>I want to speak to him</i> | <i>quiero hablarle</i> | <i>voglio parlargli</i> |

Fusion of verb to its pronoun object goes further in Italian: (a) the infinitive (e.g. *parlare*) drops the final E as in the last example; (b) the infinitive drops -RE if it ends in -RRE (e.g. *condurre*) as in *condurlo* = to direct him; (c) there is doubling of the initial consonant of the pronoun if the imperative ends in a vowel with an accent, e.g. *dammi* = give me, *dillo* = say it. With *con* (with) the stressed Italian pronouns *me*, *te*, *se* fuse to form *meco* (with me), *teco* (with thee), *seco* (with him or with her). The three Spanish stressed pronouns *mi*, *ti*, *si*, get glued to *con* to form *conmigo*, *contigo*, *consigo*. Agglutination goes further in Portuguese. With *com* we have *comigo*, *contigo*, *consigo*, *comosco*, *convosco* (with me, with thee, etc.). Similarly the unstressed Portuguese *me*, *te*, *lhe*, glue on to the direct object of the third person to form *mo-ma-mos-mas*, *to*, etc., and *lho*, etc., e.g.:

Dá-tos = he gives them to you (thee).

The Portuguese direct object forms of the third person have alternative forms *lo-la-los-las* for use after -R, -S, or -Z. If the preceding pronoun is *nos* or *vos*, the latter drop the S:

Dá-no-lo = he gives it to us.

Dá-vos-lo = he gives it to you.

Thus the same rules for the position of two pronoun objects do not apply to French on the one hand and Spanish or Italian on the other:

- (a) The Spanish and Italian direct object pronoun follows the indirect, e.g. *no te lo daré* = I shall not give it to you = *non ti lo darò*. This rule applies to statement, question, or command (request), e.g. in Spanish *corregídmelo*, correct it for me.
- (b) If the French indirect object is a pronoun of the first or second person the same rule holds for a simple statement, e.g. *je ne te le donnerai pas* = I shall not give you it.
- (c) If the French indirect pronoun object is of the third person, it follows the direct object, e.g. *je le lui dirai* = I shall tell him it.
- (d) The French direct object precedes the indirect one in a positive command, and the indirect object has the stressed form, e.g. *corrigez-le-moi* = correct it for me.
- (e) If both Spanish pronoun objects are of the third person SE takes the place of the indirect object which retains its usual place, e.g. *se lo diré* = I shall tell him it.
- (f) Negative commands of all four languages have the same word order as statements.

Our list of unstressed French pronouns should include two peculiar forms which are troublesome. These are *en* and *y*. In colloquial French the former refers to persons and things (or propositions), whereas the latter is generally used for things (and propositions) only. Both are descendants of Latin adverbs of place, *en* from *inde* (thence), *y* from *ibi* (there). Both *en* and *y* may preserve this old locative meaning, *en* for *in*, *to*, *from*, etc., and *y* for *here*, *there*, *thither*, e.g. *en province* (in the country), *j'y serai* (I shall be there). In Vulgar Latin *inde* and *ibi* often replaced the pronoun of the third person, e.g. *si potis inde manducare*, i.e., lit. if you can eat (from) it; *adice ibi ovum*, i.e. add an egg there (= to it). The French often use the pronoun *en* where we say *some* or *any*, e.g. *en avez-vous?* (have you any?), or where we say *of it*, *about it*, *from it*, e.g. *j'en ai assez* (I have enough of it), *nous en parlerons* (we shall talk about it), *il pourrait en mourir* (he might die of it). Also note: *En voilà une surprise!* = what a surprise!

As pronouns equivalent to *IT*, *en* and *y* keep company with a special class of verbs. The French equivalents for some English verbs which do not precede a preposition always go with *de* (of or from), e.g. *se*

servir de = to use. If the inanimate object *IT* then accompanies the English verb, we translate it by *en* which always follows another pronoun object, e.g. *je m'en sers* = I use it. Another expression of this class is *avoir besoin de*, e.g. *j'en ai besoin* = I need it. In the same way *y* is the equivalent for *it* or *to it* when the preposition *à* follows the French verb. Since *penser à* means *to think (about)*, *j'y pensais* means *I was thinking about it*.

The Italian descendant of *inde* is *ne*, as in *quanto ne volete?*, how much do you want (of it)?, *me ne ricordo*, I remember it. For both functions of the French *y*, Italian has *ci* (Latin *ecce-hic*), *vi* (Latin *ibi*). These are interchangeable, e.g. *ci penserò* (I shall see to it), *vi è stato* (he has been there). Neither *inde* nor *ibi* has left descendants in Spanish or Portuguese. For French *j'y penserai* the Spaniard says *pensaré en ello*.

We have still to discuss the reflexive and possessive forms of Romance personal pronouns. Our own words *myself*, *yourself*, etc., have to do two jobs. We can use them for *emphasis*, and we can use them *reflexively*. Whenever we use them reflexively (e.g. *wash yourself*) in the first or second persons, the equivalent word of a modern Romance dialect is the corresponding unstressed direct object form. For the third person there is a single reflexive pronoun for singular or plural use. It is a current Anglo-American habit to omit the reflexive pronoun when the context shows that we are using a verb reflexively. This is never permissible in Spanish, Portuguese, French, or Italian. The identity of the reflexive and direct object pronoun is illustrated by the first two of the following. The last illustrates the use of the common singular and plural reflexive of the third person:

| | FRENCH | SPANISH |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| I wash | <i>je me lave</i> | <i>me lavo</i> |
| we wash | <i>nous nous lavons</i> | <i>nos lavamos</i> |
| they wash | <i>ils se lavent</i> | <i>se lavan</i> |

Romance languages have many pseudo-reflexive verbs, such as the French verbs *se mettre à* (Italian *mettersi*) to begin, *se promener*, to go for a walk (Spanish *pasearse*), *s'en aller* to go away (Spanish *irse*), *se souvenir*, remember (Spanish *acordarse*), or the impersonal *il s'agit de* . . . (it is a question of):

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>elle se mit à pleurer</i> she began to cry | <i>allez-vous-en</i> go away (beat it) |
| <i>no me acuerdo de eso</i> I don't remember that | <i>ella se pasea en el parque</i> she walks in the park |

The reflexive pronoun may give the verb a new meaning. In French *je doute qu'il vienne* means: I doubt whether he will come, and *je m'en doute* means: I think so.

The Latin reflexive *se* of the third person is common to Portuguese, Spanish, and French. The unstressed Italian reflexive is *si*, stressed *sè*. The Portuguese reflexive follows the verb like an ordinary Portuguese pronoun object, e.g. *levanto-me* (I get up). The Spanish *se* does two jobs. When the direct and indirect object are *both* of the third person, a Spaniard uses *se* for the indirect object (*le, les*), or for the unstressed dative form, e.g. *se lo digo* (I tell it to him = I say so to him).

Possessive pronouns and adjectives (p. 115) of modern Latin dialects are descendants of the old Latin forms *meus* (my), *tuus* (thy), *suus* (his, her, its, their) or of *illorum* (of those), and *noster, voster* (our, your). French and Italian derive the possessive of the third person plural from the Latin genitive *illorum* (French *leur*, Italian *loro*), Spanish and Portuguese from the reflexive *suus*. Like English, Spanish and French have two sets of possessives (cf. *my-mine*), contracted (*possessive adjectives*), which accompany a noun, and fuller ones (*possessive pronouns*) which stand alone. For an English-speaking student of the Romance languages the chief difficulty about possessives is mastery of the gender-forms. Our single surviving trace of possessive concord involved in the choice between *his-its-her* refers solely to the *possessor*. Neither the grammatical gender nor the sex of the *possessor* shows up in the form of the Romance possessive adjective or pronoun. In French:

| | | |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|
| <i>son père</i> | = | his or her father. |
| <i>sa mère</i> | = | his or her mother. |
| <i>ses parents</i> | = | his or her parents. |

Thus the gender form of the Romance pronoun depends on the thing or person *possessed*. The masculine singular French forms *mon, ton, son*, replace *ma, ta, sa* before a feminine noun beginning with a vowel (or *h*), e.g. *mon amie* (my girl-friend) and *mon ami* (my boy-friend). Unlike the unstressed *invariant* dative *leur*, the possessive *leur* has a plural (*leurs*), e.g. *leur maison—theurs maisons* = their house(s). The Spanish *su* does the job of *his, her, its, their, or your* in any context unless ambiguity might arise; and countless ambiguities can arise from this type of concord. If the Spaniard wishes to make it clear that *su casa* stands for *his house*, he says *su casa de él*, in contradistinction to *su casa de ella* (her house) or *su casa de ellos* (their house). Similarly the Frenchman may say *son père à lui* (his father) or *son père à elle*

(her father). The combinations *à moi*, *à lui*, etc., can replace *le mien*, *la sienne*, etc., as in *c'est à moi* (it is mine), *c'est à lui* (it is his).

Both in Italian and Portuguese the possessive adjective has the same form as the possessive pronoun. When used attributively, the possessive takes the definite article, e.g. Italian *il mio braccio* (my arm), Portuguese *o meu braço*. The definite article is omitted after *essere* or *ser*, meaning *belong to*, e.g. Italian *la casa è mia* (the house is mine), Portuguese *a casa é minha*. The Spanish possessive adjective has two forms, a shorter which prefaces the noun without the article, e.g. *mi casa*, and a more emphatic one which is put after the noun with the article, e.g. *la casa mía*. The latter also acts as pronoun, and in this capacity takes the article as in French, *ella olvidó el suyo*, i.e. *saco* (she forgot hers, i.e. bag).

ROMANCE POSSESSIVES

| | FRENCH | PORTUGUESE | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|-----------------|---|--|----------------------|--|
| (a) Adjectives: | | | | |
| MY | <i>mon(m.) ma(f.) mes(pl.)</i> | <i>meu, minha meus, minhas</i> | <i>mi(s)</i> | <i>mio, etc.</i> |
| THY | <i>ton, etc.</i> | <i>teu, tua, teus, tuas</i> | <i>tu(s)</i> | <i>tuo, etc.</i> |
| HIS, HER, ITS | <i>son, etc.</i> | <i>seu, etc. (like <i>teu</i>)</i> | <i>su(s)</i> | <i>suo, etc.</i> |
| OUR | <i>notre, nos (pl.)</i> | <i>nosso, etc.</i> | <i>nuestro, etc.</i> | <i>nostro, etc.</i> |
| YOUR | <i>votre, vos (pl.)</i> | <i>vosso, etc.</i> | <i>vuestro, etc.</i> | <i>vostro, etc.</i> |
| THEIR | <i>leur(s)</i> | <i>seu, etc.</i> | <i>su(s)</i> | <i>loro</i> |
| (b) Pronouns: | | | | |
| MINE | <i>le mien, la mienne, les miens, les miennes</i> | <i>as above preceded by the definite article</i> | <i>mío, etc.</i> | <i>as above preceded by the definite article</i> |
| THINE | <i>le tien, etc.</i> | | <i>tuyo, etc.</i> | |
| HIS, HERS, ITS | <i>le sien, etc.</i> | | <i>suyo, etc.</i> | |
| OURS | <i>le or la nôtre les nôtres.</i> | | <i>(as above)</i> | |
| YOURS | <i>le vôtre, etc.</i> | | | |
| THEIRS | <i>le, la, les leur(s)</i> | | <i>suyo(s)</i> | |

POLITE ADDRESS

One of the booby-traps of the Romance languages is choice of pronouns (and possessives) appropriate to intimate or formal address. Roman citizens addressed one another as *tu*. The *thou*-form of French,

Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian is now the one used to address husband or wife, children, close relations, and intimate friends. There is a French verb *tutoyer* (German *duzen*) which means to *speaking familiarly*, that is, to address a person as *tu* in preference to the more formal *vous* (French *vouzoyer*, German *siezen*).

In the days of the Roman Empire, *nos* (we) often replaced the emphatic *ego* (I). This led to the substitution of *vos* for *tu*. The custom began in the upper ranks of Roman society. Eventually *vos* percolated through the tiers of the social hierarchy till it reached those who had only their chains to lose. So *vous* is now the polite French for *you*. The verb which goes with it has the plural ending, while the adjective or past participle takes the gender and number of the person addressed. Thus the Frenchman says *Madame, vous êtes trop bonne* (how kind of you, Madam), but *Monsieur, vous êtes trop bon*. In spite of the Revolution of 1789, the French often use *Monsieur, Madame, and Mademoiselle* with the third person, e.g. *Madame est trop bonne*.

Spaniards and Italians have pushed deference further by substituting a less direct form for the original *vos* (Span.) or *voi* (Ital.). The Italian uses *lei* (or more formally *ella*) = she, with the third person singular, e.g. *lei è americano?* (you are American?). *Lei* is the pronominal representative for some feminine noun such as *vossignoria* (Your Lordship). The plural of *lei* is *loro*. In Italian conversation we can often omit *lei* and *loro*. Instead we can use the third person without pronoun, e.g. *ha mangiato?* (have you eaten?).

When a Spaniard addresses a single individual who is not an intimate or a child, he uses *usted* (written *V.* or *Vd.* for short) instead of *tu*. The corresponding pronoun for use when addressing more than one person is *ustedes* (*Vs.* or *Vds.*). *Usted* is a contraction of *vuestra merced* (Your Grace). Consequently the verb appears in the third person, as in Italian, e.g. *cómo se llama usted?* (what is your name?), *cómo se llaman ustedes?* (what are your names?). In very short statements or questions we can omit *usted*, e.g. *que dice?* (what do you say?).

Portuguese is more extravagant than either Spanish or Italian. The usual equivalent for our *you* when it stands for a male is *o senhor*, and for a female *a senhora*, or (in Brazil) *a senhorita*. So the Portuguese for the simple English *have you got ink?* is *tem o senhor (or a senhora) tinta?* Our catalogue of polite behaviour would be incomplete without the Balkan equivalent. The Rumanian for the polite *you* is the periphrastic *domnia voastra* (Latin *domina vostra*, Your Lordship). The polite forms of our invariant *YOU* in Italian and Spanish are in the table below.

| | SPANISH | | | | ITALIAN | | | |
|--------------------------|----------|------|----------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|
| | Singular | | Plural | | Singular | | Plural | |
| | Masc. | Fem. | Masc. | Fem. | Masc. | Fem. | Masc. | Fem. |
| Subject (YOU) | USTED | | USTEDES | | LEI | | LORO | |
| Indirect Object (TO YOU) | LE | | LES | | LE (GLIE) | | | |
| Direct Object (YOU) | LE, LO | LA | LES, LOS | LAS | LA | | LI | LE |

IMPERSONAL ROMANCE PRONOUNS

Five English words (p. 144) make up a battery of what we shall here call *impersonal pronoun-adjectives*. They are: *this*, *that*, *which*, *what*, *who(m)*. All except the last (*who* or *whom*) can stand as pointer-words alone (*demonstrative pronouns*) or before a noun (*demonstrative adjectives*). In questions the last three can also stand alone (*interrogative pronouns*) or in front of a noun (*interrogative adjectives*). All of them except *this* can introduce a subordinate clause. They are then called *relative* (or *link*) *pronouns*. To this battery of five essential words corresponds a much larger group in any Romance dialect. Choice of the right equivalent for any one of them is complicated by several circumstances, in particular:

- Romance equivalents of any one of them may have distinct forms as adjectives or as pronouns comparable to the separate adjective and pronoun forms of our possessives (e.g. *my-mine*);
- The Romance equivalent for any one of them may depend on whether it occurs in a question, whether it links two statements, or whether it is a pointer-word.

To help the home student through this maze, there are separate tables (pp. 373-375) in which the same five English impersonal pronouns turn up. Capitals or small letters respectively show whether the Romance equivalent is: (a) the pronoun form which stands alone (e.g. *read that*, or *what?*), (b) the adjective form before a noun (*read this book*, or *which book?*). Italicized capitals signify that the word given can be either.

Some are unchangeable, like *what*. Others like *this* or *that* take endings in agreement with the nouns they qualify or replace. If so, the final vowel is italicized to show that it is the masculine singular ending. We then have to choose from one of all four possible *regular* forms. The tables show which ones are irregular, and give appropriate forms in full.

Corresponding to two singular demonstratives *this* and *that* of Anglo-American, some British dialects have *this*, *that*, and *yon*. The three grades of proximity in this series correspond roughly to the Latin sets of which the masculine singular forms were *hic*, *iste*, *ille*. Two of them went into partnership (cf. *this* . . . *here*) with *ecce* (behold), which survives in the French *cet* (Latin *ecce iste*) and *celle* (*ecce illa*).

Spanish and Portuguese preserve the threefold Latin Scots distinction: *este*, *esta*, *estos*, *estas* = *this* (the nearer one), *ese*, *esa*, *esos*, *esas* = *that* (the further), *aquel*, *aquella*, *aquellos*, *aquellas* = *yon* (remote from both speaker and listener). All three sets can stand alone or with a noun like our own corresponding pointer-words. When they stand alone (as pronouns) they carry an accent, e.g. *esta* *golondrina* y *aquella* (this swallow and yonder one). All three, like the article *lo* (p. 357) have neuter forms, *esto*, *eso*, *aquello*, for comparable usage. The corresponding threefold set of Portuguese demonstratives are: *êste* (-a, -es, -as), *êsse* (-a, -es, -as), *aquê* (-a, -es, -as). Spaniards like the Germans, reverse the order for *the former* . . . *the latter* = *êste* (the nearer) . . . *aquêl* (the further). The Italian order *quello* . . . *questo* is the same as ours.

The distinction between the adjective and pronoun equivalents of *this-these* and *that-those* in French involves much more than an accent on paper. Where we use them as adjectives the French put *ce* or *cet* (masc. sing.), *cette* (fem. sing.) or *ces* (plur.) in front of the noun, and *ci* (here) or *là* (there) behind it, as in:

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>ce petit paquet-ci</i> | this little parcel | <i>ce petit paquet-là</i> | that little parcel |
| <i>cette bouteille-ci</i> | this bottle | <i>cette bouteille-là</i> | that bottle |
| <i>ces poires-ci</i> | these pears | <i>ces poires-là</i> | those pears |

In colloquial French the *là* combination has practically superseded the *ci* form, and serves in either situation.

To translate the adjective *this-these* (in contradistinction to *that-those*) we can use the simpler form from *ce*, etc., without *-ci*, e.g. *ce journal* (this newspaper), *cet ouvrier* (this workman), *cette jeune fille* (this young woman), *ces instruments*.

Where we would say *here* or *there is* (*was* or *were*), *look there goes* or *lo and behold*, French people use the invariant pointers *voici* or *voilà*. Historically they are agglutinations between the singular imperative of

voir (to see) and the locative particles *ci* (= *ici*) and *là*. So *voici* (Old French *voi ci*) once meant *see here*, and *voilà* (Old French *voi là*) *see there*. Both occur in modern French, but conversational language tends towards using *voilà* without discriminating between *here* and *there*. The following examples show how these gesture substitutes are used: *voici mon chèque* (here is my check!), *la voilà* (here or there she is!), *le voilà parti* (off he goes or went!), *voilà deux ans que* (it is now two years that).

The Italian equivalent is *ecco* (Latin *eccum*), as in *eccolo* (here he is!), *ecco un fiammifero* (here is a match!).

ROMANCE POINTER WORDS AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS
(see p. 371)

| | FRENCH | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| (a) Demonstratives. | | | |
| this | CELUI-CI (CECI) CELLE-CI (f) ce(t) ci cette ci ces ci | ESTE (-A, -OS, -AS) | QUESTO (-A, -I, -E) |
| that | CELUI-LÀ (ÇA) CELLE-LÀ (f) ce(t) là cette là ces là | ESTE (-A, -OS, -AS) AQUEL (-LA, -LOS, -LAS) | QUELLO (-A, -I, -E) |
| which | quel (-le, -s, -les) | cual (-es) | quello (-a, -i, -e) |
| (b) Link pronouns—never omitted | | | |
| THAT | | QUE | CHE |
| WHAT | CE QUE | QUE | CIÒ CHE |
| WHO, WHICH (that) (as subject) | QUI | | CHE |
| WHOM, WHICH (that) (as object) | QUE | | |
| WHOM (after a preposition) | QUI | QUIEN (-ES) | { IL or LA QUALE I or LE QUALI |
| WHICH (after a preposition) | LEQUEL (LAQUELLE, LESQUELS, LESQUELLES) | | |
| WHOSE, OF WHICH | DONT [DE QUI (persons) DUQUEL, etc., p. 376 (things)] | DE QUIEN (-ES) (GUYO, -A, -OS, -AS) | { IL or LA I or LE } QUI |

The following French examples illustrate the use of the eight pronouns corresponding to *this-these* or *that-those* (see table p. 373), when they refer to (a) *le chapeau* (the hat), (b) *les chapeaux* (the hats), (c) *la noix* (the nut), (d) *les noix* (the nuts):

| | |
|--|--|
| (a) <i>je préfère celui-ci</i> I prefer this one | <i>je préfère celui-là</i> I prefer that one |
| (b) <i>Ceux-ci sont trop chers</i> These are too dear | <i>Ceux-là sont trop chers</i> Those are too dear |
| (c) <i>Casse celle-ci</i> Break this one | <i>Casse celle-là</i> Break that one |
| (d) <i>Elle a acheté celles-ci</i> She has bought these | <i>Elle a acheté celles-là</i> She has bought those |

There are two other French pronouns, *ceci* and *cela* (commonly abbreviated to *ça*) corresponding respectively to *this* and *that*, e.g. *ne dites pas ça* = don't say that. We can never use them for *persons*. *Ce* (c') often stands for *it*, e.g. *c'est vrai* = it is true, *c'est triste* = it is sad. After the invariant *ce*, the adjective can keep the masculine singular form, e.g. *c'est bon* may mean either *il est bon* or *elle est bonne* according as *il* refers to *le vin* or *elle* to *la bière*. This is useful to know, when we are in doubt about the gender of a noun. The French for *the former* . . . the latter is *celui-là* . . . *celui-ci*.

This is a pointer-word pure and simple. *That* can also be a link-word, and as such appears twice in the table of link pronouns. It does so because we use it in two ways:

- (a) *THAT* so printed occurs after such verbs as *know, doubt, deny, hope, wish, fear, dread*. We can usually omit it, but we can never replace it by *who* or *which*. Its Romance equivalent as given in the table cannot be left out, e.g.:

| | |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| English | <i>I know that he is lying.</i> |
| French | <i>je sais qu'il ment.</i> |
| Portuguese | <i>sei que mente.</i> |
| Spanish | <i>sé que miente.</i> |
| Italian | <i>so che mente.</i> |

- (b) *that* so printed may refer to some word in the preceding clause and is then replaceable. We can put *who, whom, or which* in place of it (e.g. *the house that Jack built* = *the house which Jack built*).

To translate *that* in all circumstances we therefore need to know equivalents for *who, which, whom, and whose* when such words link two clauses. Choice is complicated: (a) by case-forms like *whom* or *whose* for use with or without an accompanying preposition, (b) by the distinc-

ROMANCE INTERROGATIVES

(see p. 371)

| | FRENCH | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (a) Adverbial. | | | |
| how? | comment | cómo | come |
| how much? how many? | combien | cuánto (-a, etc.) | quanto (a, etc.) |
| when? | quand | cuándo | quando |
| where? | où | dónde | dove |
| why? | pourquoi | por qué | perchè |
| (b) Pronouns and Adjectives. | | | |
| which? | quel (etc.) LEQUEL (etc.) | CUÁL (-ES) | QUALE (-) |
| who? whom? | QUI | QUIÉN (-ES) | CHI |
| what? (subject or object) | QUE | | |
| what? (after a preposition) | QUOI | QUÉ, QUÈ COSA | CHE, CHE COSA |

tion between persons (*who*) and animals or things (*which* or *what*), (c) by the existence of interchangeable forms analogous to our own *that-which* couplet. For self-expression we need only know one correct substitute, preferably the most common. For illustrations of the use of the table on p. 373 we shall confine ourselves to Spanish and French.

As subject or object of a subordinate clause the common Spanish equivalent for *who*, *whom* or *which* is the invariant QUE, e.g.:

el médico que me ha curado = the doctor who has cured me.

los libros que hemos leído = the books (which) we have read.

In all circumstances *que* is the correct Spanish equivalent for the link-pronoun *which* or *that*, but it cannot replace *whom* when a preposition accompanies the former of the two. The correct substitute for *whom* is then QUIEN or its plural *quienes*, e.g. *los políticos de quienes hablamos* = the politicians of whom we are talking. A special Spanish relative pronoun CUYO (-a, -os, -as) equivalent to *whose* or *of which* can refer alike to persons or things, e.g.:

el tren cuya partida = the train, whose departure. . .

las islas cuyas rocas = the islands, of which the rocks . . .

French offers a bewildering choice of possibilities for words of this class, some appropriate to persons only, some to persons and things. The following rules apply to persons or things alike:

- (a) QUI can always replace *who* or *which* as subject of a clause, e.g. *l'homme qui l'a dit* = the man who said it, *le train qui est arrivé* = the train which came in.
- (b) QUE can always replace *who(m)* or *which* as object, e.g. *le médecin que j'ai consulté* = the doctor whom I consulted, *les biscuits que j'ai mangés* = the biscuits I ate.
- (c) DONT can always replace *whose* or *of which*, e.g.:
la femme dont le mari est prisonnier = the woman whose husband is a prisoner.
- (d) LEQUEL (*laquelle, lesquels, lesquelles*) can always replace *whom* or *which* preceded by a preposition (or, what comes to the same thing, that followed by a preposition at the end of the subordinate clause). *Lequel*, etc., has agglutinative contractions with *à* and *de*, i.e. *auquel, auxquels, auxquelles* (but *à laquelle*), *duquel, desquels, desquelles* (but *de laquelle*).

la femme pour laquelle il a donné sa vie.

the woman for whom he gave his life.

The words *who, whom, whose, which*, as also *what*, can turn up in questions as interrogative pronouns. Both *which* and *what* can also accompany a noun in a question. The choice of the correct French substitute depends on whether they do or do not. The French interrogative adjective is QUEL (*quelle, quels, quelles*), e.g. *quelle route dois-je suivre?* (which road must I follow?). *Quel*, etc., has also an exclamatory use (e.g. *quel dommage!* = what a pity!). When a question involves the verb *to be* followed by a noun, *what* or *which* are really predicative (p. 156) adjectives. So we can say:

quelle est votre opinion?
quels sont leurs amis?

what is your opinion?
which are their friends?

The French pronoun substitute for *which?* is LEQUEL (etc.). Like QUI, which can stand for *who?* or *whom?*, *lequel*, etc., can follow a preposition. The French for *what?* falls out of step. As subject or object it is QUE. After a preposition the correct equivalent is the stressed form QUOI.* The use of these pronouns is illustrated by:

* Both French *qui* (who?) and *que* (what?) have alternative forms. We may ask *qui est-ce qui?* for *qui?*, or *qu'est-ce que* for *que?* Spoken French favours the longer of the two forms, e.g. *qui est-ce qui veut venir avec moi?* = *qui veut venir avec moi?* (who wants to come with me?), *qu'est-ce que vous désirez, monsieur?* = *que désirez-vous, monsieur?* (what do you want?).

| | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Lequel de ces enfants est votre fils?</i> | Which of these children is your boy? |
| <i>Duquel parles-tu?</i> | Of which are you talking? |
| <i>Qui l'a dit?</i> | Who said so? |
| <i>De qui parle-t-il?</i> | Of whom is he talking? |
| <i>Que dit-il?</i> | What does he say? |
| <i>De quoi parle-t-il?</i> | What is he talking about? |

The Spanish for *who?*, *whom?* is *quién*, for *what?*, *qué*. In conversation we usually replace *qué* by *qué cosa*. Which is *cudl* (plural *cudles*):

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>quién canta?</i> | who is singing? |
| <i>qué ha dicho?</i> | what did he say? |
| <i>cudl de las viñas?</i> | which of the vineyards? |

Cudl takes the place of *qué* (what) before *ser* (to be) when the noun follows, e.g. *cudl es su impresión?* (what is your impression?).

ROMANCE INDEFINITE POINTER-WORDS*

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | ITALIAN |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| ALL | tout (-e), tous, toutes | todo (-a, -os, -as) | tutto (-a, -i, -e) |
| AS MUCH (MANY) | autant de . . . que | tanto (-a, etc.) | tanto (-a, etc.) |
| . . . AS | | . . . como | . . . come |
| BOTH | tous (toutes) les deux | ambos (-as) | ambedue |
| CERTAIN | certain (-e) | cierto (-a) | certo (-a) |
| EACH, EVERY (adj.) | chaque* | cada* | ogni* |
| EACH ONE, EVERY ONE | chacun (-e) | cada uno (-a) | ciascuno (-a) |
| ENOUGH | assez de | bastante (-s) | ognuno (a) |
| EVERYTHING | tout | todo | ciascuno (-a) |
| LITTLE, FEW | peu de | poco (-a) | abbastanza* |
| MUCH, MANY | beaucoup de | mucho (-a) | tutto |
| NO (adj.) | aucun (-e) | ninguno (-a) | poco (-a), pochi |
| NOBODY | personne | nadie | poche |
| NOTHING | rien | nada | molto (-a) |
| OTHER | autre (-s) | otro (-a) | nessuno (-a) |
| ONE | on | se, uno | nessuno (-a) |
| ONLY (SOLE) | seul (-e) | único (-a) | niente |
| SAME | même (-s) | mismo (-a) | nulla |
| SEVERAL | plusieurs | varios (-as) | altro (-a) |
| SOME (A FEW) | quelques (see p. 361) | algunos (-as) unos (-as) (see p. 361) | si |
| SOMEBODY | quelqu'un (-e) | alguien | solo (-a) |
| SOMETHING | quelque chose | algo | unico (-a) |
| SUCH | tel (-le), tels, telles | alguna cosa | stesso (-a) |
| TOO MUCH (MANY) | trop de | tal (-es) | medesimo (-a) |
| WHOEVER | quiconque | demasiado (-a) cualquiera | parecchi, parecchie |
| | | | alcuni (-e) (see p. 361) |
| | | | qualcuno (a) qualche cosa |
| | | | tale (-i) |
| | | | troppo (-a) |
| | | | chiunque |

* Invariable.

Our list of personal and impersonal pronouns in the tables given makes no allowance for situations in which the agent is *indefinite* or *generic* (e.g. *you never can tell, one wouldn't think that . . . , they say that . . .*). In medieval Latin, and perhaps in the popular Latin of Caesar's time, the equivalent of our *indefinite* pronouns *one (they or you)*, was *homo (man)*, e.g. *homo debet considerare* (one must consider). Since *homo* was unstressed in this context, it shrunk. In French it became *on*, in contradistinction to *homme* (man). To avoid a hiatus, *on* becomes *l'on* after *et* (and), *si* (if), *ou* (or), and *où* (where). Parallel evolution has produced the indefinite German, Dutch, or Scandinavian *man*, which is derived from *Mann*, etc. The French equivalent *on* has a far greater range than the English *one*. We *must* always use it as subject of the active verb when there is no definite agent of the equivalent English passive construction. The following examples illustrate its variegated use:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>on pourrait dire</i> | one might say. |
| <i>on dit</i> | they say = it is said. |
| <i>on ferme!</i> | closing time—time, please! |
| <i>on demande une bonne</i> | wanted, a maidservant. |
| <i>on sonne</i> | somebody is ringing. |
| <i>si l'on partait</i> | what about leaving? |
| <i>on pardonne tant que l'on aime</i> | we forgive as long as we love. |

There is no equivalent idiom in Spanish or Italian. The indefinite pronoun of Spanish or Italian is the reflexive. Thus the Spaniard says *se dice* (or simply *dicen*) for *it is said* (= they say), *se cree* (or *creen*) = *it is believed* (they believe). Similarly the Italian says *si crede* (one believes), *si sa* (one knows).

THE ROMANCE VERB

During the break-up of Vulgar Latin and subsequent evolution of its descendants, simplification of the verb did not go nearly so far as that of the noun. Even to-day the tense-system of the Romance languages is more elaborate than that of the Teutonic languages has ever been. According to the character of their tense or personal endings, the verbs of Romance languages are arranged in classes called *conjugations* (p. 107).

We can group regular French verbs in three conjugations (p. 37). The first, like our weak class, includes the majority of verbs in the language, and nearly all *new* ones. It consists of those (about 4,000) like *chanter* (sing), of which the infinitive ends in *-ER*. The second fairly

REGULAR FRENCH VERB TYPES

| | CHANTER | VENDRE | FINIR | PARTIR |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Present | chant-e | vend-s | fin-is | par-s |
| | chant-es | vend-s | fin-is | par-s |
| | chant-e | vend | fin-it | part-t |
| | chant-ons | vend-ons | fin-issons | part-ons |
| | chant-ez | vend-ez | fin-issez | part-ez |
| | chant-ent | vend-ent | fin-issent | part-ent |
| Imperfect | chant-ais | vend-ais | fin-issais | part-ais |
| | chant-ais | vend-ais | fin-issais | part-ais |
| | chant-ait | vend-ait | fin-issait | part-ait |
| | chant-ions | vend-ions | fin-issions | part-ions |
| | chant-iez | vend-iez | fin-issiez | part-iez |
| | chant-aient | vend-aient | fin-issaient | part-aient |
| Past Definite | chant-ai | vend-is | fin-is | part-is |
| | chant-as | vend-is | fin-is | |
| | chant-a | vend-it | fin-it | (see <i>fin-.</i>) |
| | chant-âmes | vend-îmes | fin-îmes | |
| | chant-âtes | vend-îtes | fin-îtes | |
| | chant-trent | vend-irent | fin-irent | |
| Future | chant-erai | vend-rai | fin-irai | part-irai |
| | chant-eras | vend-ras | fin-iras | |
| | chant-era | vend-ra | fin-ira | (see <i>fin-.</i>) |
| | chant-erons | vend-rons | fin-irons | |
| | chant-erez | vend-rez | fin-irez | |
| | chant-eront | vend-ront | fin-iront | |
| Con- ditional | chant-erais | vend-raïs | fin-irais | part-irais |
| | chant-erais | vend-raïs | fin-irais | |
| | chant-erait | vend-raît | fin-irait | (see <i>fin-.</i>) |
| | chant-erions | vend-rions | fin-irions | |
| | chant-eriez | vend-riez | fin-iriez | |
| | chant-eraient | vend-raient | fin-iraient | |
| Present Sub- junctive | chant-e | vend-e | fin-isse | part-e |
| | chant-es | vend-es | fin-isses | part-es |
| | chant-e | vend-e | fin-isse | part-e |
| | chant-ions | vend-ions | fin-issions | part-ions |
| | chant-iez | vend-iez | fin-issiez | part-iez |
| | chant-ent | vend-ent | fin-issent | part-ent |
| Imperative | *chant-e | vend-s | fin-is | par-s |
| | †chant-ez | vend-ez | fin-issez | part-ez |
| Present Participle | chant-ant | vend-ant | fin-issant | part-ant |
| Past Participle | chant-é | vend-u | fin-i | part-i |

* Singular of familiar form.

† Plural of familiar form, and singular and plural of polite form

large class (about 350) embraces verbs like *finir* (finish) of which the infinitive ends in *-IR*. The third is made up of about 50 verbs like *vendre* (sell), of which the infinitive ends in *-RE*. A small group of about twenty verbs which end in *-IR* are also worth considering as a separate family. It is made up of words like *partir* (go away), and *dormir* (sleep), which are in constant use. These verbs lack the trademark of the *finir* conjugation. Verbs of the *finir* class have a suffix added to the stem throughout the plural of the present, throughout the imperfect tense and the subjunctive. This suffix, *-ISS*, comes from the Latin accretion *-ISC* or *-ESC* which originally indicated the beginning of a process. Thus the Latin verb for *to burst into flower* is *florescere*. The same suffix, which survives in *evanescent*, *putrescent*, *incandescent*, *adolescent*, lost its meaning through too frequent use in Vulgar Latin.

With the models shown in the table on p. 379 to guide him (or her) and the *parts* listed in any good dictionary, the home student of French can add to the stem of most (footnote p. 391) *irregular* verbs the ending appropriate to the context. The overwhelming majority of verbs are regular, and fall into one of the conjugations listed. To write French passably, it is therefore essential to learn a model of each conjugation as given in the table on p. 379 and to memorize the personal terminals of each tense. To lighten the task the home student may find it helpful to make tables of (a) personal terminals common to all tenses, (b) personal terminals common to the same tense of all conjugations. *Fortunately, we can get by in real life with much less* (see p. 391). For reading purposes what is most essential is to be able to recognize the tense form.

Within the three conjugations a few deviations from the rule occur: *-er* verbs which have a silent *E* or an *Ê* in the second last syllable, change *E* or *Ê* to *È* before the endings *-e*, *-es*, and *-ent*, e.g. *mener* (lead), *je mène* (I lead), *posséder* (possess), *je possède* (I possess). Most verbs ending in *-ler* or *-ter*, double *L* or *T* instead of having *Ê*, e.g. *appeler* (call), *j'appelle* (I call), *jeter* (throw), *je jette* (I throw). Verbs in *-ayer*, *-oyer*, *-uyer*, substitute *I* for *Y* before a silent *E* or a consonant, e.g. *essayer* (attempt), *j'essaie* (I attempt). If *C* before *A* or *O* has the value of a sibilant, a *cedilla* (ç) is added, e.g. *percer* (pierce), *nous perçons* (we pierce). *G* in the same situation takes a silent *E* unto itself, e.g. *manger* (eat), *nous mangeons* (we eat). If the third person singular of the verb in a question has a final vowel and precedes a pronoun beginning with a vowel, a *T* is inserted to avoid a hiatus, e.g. *aime-t-il*, *parle-t-on*, *viendra-t-elle*.

We may also arrange Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian, like French verbs, in three main conjugations, of which there are models set out in

tables on pp. 381 and 382. The largest Spanish group, corresponding to the *chanter* conjugation in French, is represented by *cantar* with the infinitive ending -AR. *Vender*, like the French (third) *vendre* conjugation, is representative of a second class with the infinitive ending -ER. A third, represented by *partir*, has the infinitive ending -IR.

REGULAR SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE VERB TYPES

| (a) SPANISH | | | | (b) PORTUGUESE | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Part Subjunctive | Present | cant-o cant-as cant-a cant-amos cant-áis cant-an | vend-o vend-es vend-e vend-emos vend-éis vend-en | part-o part-es part-e part-imos part-ís part-en | cant-o cant-as cant-a cant-amos cant-áis cant-an | vend-o vend-es vend-e vend-emos vend-éis vend-em | part-o part-es part-e part-imos part-ís part-em |
| | Imperfect | cant-aba cant-abas cant-aba cant-ábamos cant-ábais cant-aban | vend-ía vend-ías vend-ía vend-íamos vend-íais vend-ían | part-ía part-ías part-ía part-íamos part-íais part-ían | cant-ava cant-avas cant-ava cant-ávamos cant-aveis cant-avam | vend-ía vend-ías vend-ía vend-íamos vend-íeis vend-íam | part-ía part-ías part-ía part-íamos part-íeis part-íam |
| | Part Definite | cant-é cant-aste cant-ó cant-amos cant-asteis cant-arón | vend-í vend-iste vend-íó vend-imos vend-isteis vend-ieron | part-í part-iste part-íó part-imos part-isteis part-ieron | cant-ei cant-aste cant-ou cant-amos cant-astes cant-aram | vend-i vend-este vend-eu vend-emos vend-estes vend-eram | part-i part-iste part-iu part-imos part-istes part-iram |
| | Future | cant-aré cant-arás cant-ará cant-aremos cant-areis cant-arán | vend-eré vend-erás vend-erá vend-eremos vend-eréis vend-erán | part-iré part-irás part-irá part-iremos part-iréis part-irán | cant-arei cant-arás cant-ará cant-aremos cant-areis cant-arão | vend-erei vend-erás vend-erá vend-eremos vend-ereis vend-erão | part-irei part-irás part-irá part-iremos part-ireis part-irão |
| | Conditional | cant-aria cant-arias cant-aria cant-ariamos cant-arieis cant-arian | vend-ería vend-erías vend-ería vend-eríamos vend-erieis vend-erían | part-iría part-irías part-iría part-iríamos part-iríais part-irían | cant-aria cant-arias cant-aria cant-ariamos cant-arieis cant-ariam | vend-ería vend-erías vend-ería vend-eríamos vend-erieis vend-eriam | part-iría part-irías part-iría part-iríamos part-iríeis part-iriam |
| Present Subjunctive | | cant-e cant-es cant-e cant-emos cant-éis cant-en | vend-a vend-as vend-a vend-amos vend-áis vend-an | part-a part-as part-a part-amos part-áis part-an | cant-e cant-es cant-e cant-emos cant-éis cant-em | vend-a vend-as vend-a vend-amos vend-áis vend-am | part-a part-as part-a part-amos part-áis part-am |
| | * | cant-a cant-ad cant-ando cant-ado | vend-e vend-ed vend-iendo vend-ido | part-e part-id part-iendo part-ido | cant-a cant-al cant-ando cant-ado | vend-e vend-el vend-endo vend-ido | part-e part-i part-indo part-ido |

The student of Spanish, even more than the student of French, has to concentrate on the correct use of the verb. The terminals of the

* Imperative singular (familiar form). For imperative of polite address see p. 399.

† Imperative plural (familiar form).

‡ Present participle (gerund).

§ Past participle.

REGULAR ITALIAN VERB TYPES

| | CANTARE | VENDERE | FINIRE | PARTIRE |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Present | cant-o | vend-o | fin-isco | part-o |
| | cant-i | vend-i | fin-isci | part-i |
| | cant-a | vend-e | fin-isce | part-e |
| | cant-iamo | vend-iamo | fin-iamo | part-iamo |
| | cant-ate | vend-ete | fin-ite | part-ite |
| | cant-ano | vend-ono | fin-iscono | part-ono |
| Imperfect | cant-ava | vend-eva | fin-iva | part-iva |
| | cant-avi | vend-evi | fin-ivi | part-ivi |
| | cant-ava | vend-eva | fin-iva | part-iva |
| | cant-avamo | vend-evamo | fin-ivamo | part-ivamo |
| | cant-avate | vend-evate | fin-ivate | part-ivate |
| | cant-avano | vend-evano | fin-ivano | part-ivano |
| Past Definite | cant-ai | vend-ei | fin-ii | part-ii |
| | cant-asti | vend-esti | fin-isti | part-isti |
| | cant-ò | vend-è | fin-ì | part-ì |
| | cant-ammo | vend-eremo | fin-immo | part-immo |
| | cant-aste | vend-este | fin-iste | part-iste |
| | cant-arono | vend-erono | fin-irono | part-irono |
| Future | cant-erò | vend-erò | fin-irò | part-irò |
| | cant-erai | vend-erai | fin-irai | part-irai |
| | cant-erà | vend-erà | fin-irà | part-irà |
| | cant-eremo | vend-eremo | fin-iremo | part-iremo |
| | cant-erete | vend-erete | fin-irete | part-irete |
| | cant-eranno | vend-eranno | fin-iranno | part-iranno |
| Con- ditional | cant-erei | vend-erei | fin-irei | part-irei |
| | cant-eresti | vend-eresti | fin-iresti | part-iresti |
| | cant-erebbe | vend-erebbe | fin-irebbe | part-irebbe |
| | cant-eremmo | vend-eremmo | fin-iremmo | part-iremmo |
| | cant-ereste | vend-ereste | fin-ireste | part-ireste |
| | cant-erebbero | vend-erebbero | fin-irebbero | part-irebbero |
| Present Sub- junctive | cant-i | vend-a | fin-isca | part-a |
| | cant-i | vend-a | fin-isca | part-a |
| | cant-i | vend-a | fin-isca | part-a |
| | cant-iamo | vend-iamo | fin-iamo | part-iamo |
| | cant-iate | vend-iate | fin-iate | part-iate |
| | cant-ino | vend-ano | fin-iscano | part-ano |
| Imperative | cant-a | vend-i | fin-isci | part-i |
| | cant-ate | vend-ete | fin-ite | part-ite |
| | cant-ando | vend-endo | fin-endo | part-endo |
| | cant-ato | vend-uto | fin-ito | part-ito |

Spanish verb are much closer (p. 183) to those of its Latin parent than are those of the French or Italian verb; but change of stress has led to changes of the stem vowel, and irregularities so produced have been levelled less than in French. So the stem of a verb, whose French equivalent usually has the same vowel throughout, may ring the changes on *O*, *UE*, and *U* as in: *duermo* (I sleep), *dormimos* (we sleep),

TO HAVE IN THE ROMANCE FAMILY

| | FRENCH | PORTUGUESE | SPANISH | LATIN | ITALIAN |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|--|
| Present | j'ai tu as il a nous avons vous avez ils ont | hei hás há havemos haveis or heis hão | he has ha hemos habéis han | habeo habet habemus habetis habent | ho hai ha abbiamo avete hanno |
| Imperfect | j'avais tu avais il avait nous avions vous aviez ils avaient | havia havia havia haviámos haviais haviám | habia habias habia habíamos habiais habían | habebam habebas habebat habebamus habebatis habebant | avevo avevi aveva avevamo avevate avevano |
| Past Definite | j'eus tu eus il eut nous eûmes vous eûtes ils eurent | houve houveste houve bouvemos houvestes houveram | hube hubiste hubo hubimos hubisteis hubieron | habui habuisti habuit habuimus habuistis habuerunt | ebbi avesti ebbe avemmo aveste ebbero |
| Future | j'aurai tu auras il aura nous aurons vous aurez ils auront | haverai haverás haverá haveremos haveréis haverão | habré habrás habrá habremos habréis habrán | sec p. 183 | avrò avrà avrà avremo avrete avranno |
| Con- ditional | j'aurais tu aurais il aurait nous aurions vous auriez ils auraient | haveria haverias haveria haveríamos haveriais haveriam | habria habrias habria habríamos habríaís habrían | sec p. 183 | avrei avresti avrebbe avremmo avreste avrebbero |
| Present Sub- junctive | j'aie tu aies il ait nous ayons vous ayez ils aient | haja hajas haja hajamos hajais hajam | haya haya haya hayamos hayáis hayan | habeam habeas habeat habeamus habeatis habeant | abbia abbia or abbi abbia abbiamo abbiate abbiano |
| Imperative | aie ayez | há havei | hé habe | habe habete | abbi abbiate |
| Present Participle | ayan | havendo | habiendo | habens | avendo |
| Past Participle | eu | havido | habido | habitum | avuto |
| Infinitive | AVOIR | HAYER | HABER | HABERE | VERE |

durmiendo (sleeping). The modern French equivalents are *je dors*, *nous dormons*, *dormant*.

Other *internal* irregularities of the written language are purely orthographic, i.e. they are penalties of the regularity of Spanish spelling. Thus a final *-C* standing for the hard *K* sound in the stem of a Spanish verb becomes *QU*, if the verb ending begins with *E* or *I*. This change, which

conceals the relation of different parts of a verb when we meet them on the written page, adds to the difficulty of using a dictionary. It is made to preserve the rule that the Spanish *C* before *I* and *E*, like the Spanish *Z*, stands for the TH sound in *thin*. Thus both *toqué* (I touched) and *toco* (I touch) belong to the infinitive *tocar*, as listed in the dictionary. The *QU* reminds us that the hard *K* sound of the stem goes through all its derivatives. The most important of these spelling changes are the following:

- (1) The letters *C* and *G* when to be pronounced hard before *E* and *I*, are written *QU* and *GU* respectively, e.g. *pagar* (pay), *pago* (I pay), *pagué* (I paid).
- (2) To indicate that *G* before *A*, *O*, *U*, stands for the *CH* in Scots *loch*, *J* is written instead, e.g. *coger* (gather), *cojo* (I gather).
- (3) Verbs ending in *-cer* or *-cir*, preceded by a consonant change *C* to *Z* before *A* and *O*, e.g. *vencer* (vanquish), *venzo* (I vanquish).

It is not possible to give the precise Anglo-American equivalent of the various tense-forms listed in these tables without recourse to roundabout expressions, and there are alternative compound tense-forms corresponding to some of them. Before discussing use of simple tenses, we should therefore familiarize ourselves with the Romance idiom appropriate to various situations in which we ourselves use the helper verbs *be* and *have*. This is a long story.

AUXILIARY VERBS

Some Aryan languages have no possessive verb *to have*. Russian has not. It is possible to sidetrack the possessive sense of *to have* by the use of the verb *to be* with a possessive or with a preposition. Thus a Frenchman can say *c'est à moi* (Latin *mihi est*) = this is mine (I possess this). That the Latin verb *habere* is equivalent to our *have* is true in the sense that both denote possession (e.g. *habet duas villas* = he has two farm-houses). Latin authors occasionally used a past participle with *habere*, as when Cicero says *cognitum habeo* (I have recognized). In late Latin *habere* was becoming a helper to express *perfected* action as in Teutonic languages. To say that the Latin verb *esse* corresponds with our verb *to be* is also true in so far as both can:

- (a) denote *existence* as in the Cartesian catchphrase *cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am);
- (b) act as a *copula* (link) between person or thing and a characteristic of one or the other, as in *leo ferox est* = the lion is fierce;
- (c) indicate *location*, as in *Caesar in Gallia est* = Caesar is in Gaul;
- (d) state *class membership*, as in *argentum metallum est* = silver is a metal;
- (e) go with the past participle in a *passive* construction such as *ab omnibus amatus est* = he was loved by everyone;
- (f) state *pure identity*, as *Augustus imperator est* = Augustus is the emperor.

The fate of *habere* is a comparatively simple story. Its modern representatives in Italian (AVERE) and in French (AVOIR) still have a possessive significance. The French and Italians also use parts of *avere* or *avoir* as we use *have* or *had* in compound past tense-forms of all verbs other than: (a) those which are reflexive (or pseudo-reflexive), (b) most intransitive verbs (including especially those which signify motion). This is in keeping (pp. 271) with the use of the German *haben* and Swedish *hava*. We can use the Spanish HABER to build up compound past tenses of *all* verbs, but it never denotes possession. The Spanish equivalent for *have* in a possessive sense is TENER (Latin *tenere* = to hold). TENER sometimes invades the territory of the Spanish HABER as a helper. The Portuguese equivalent TER has completely taken over the function of *habere*, both in its original possessive sense and as a helper to signify perfected action. The following examples illustrate the use of modern descendants of *habere* and *tenere* as helpers:

CONJUGATION OF TENER (SPANISH), TER (PORTUGUESE), TENERE (LATIN)

| | TENER | TER | TENERE | | TENER | TER | TENERE |
|-----------------|---|---|---|-----------------------|--|---|---|
| Present { | tengo tienes tiene tenemos tenéis tienen | tenho tens tem temos tendes têm | teneo tenes tenet tenemus tenetis tenent | Future { | tendra tendrás tendrá tendremos tendrás tendrán | terei terás terá teremos tereis terão | see p. 339 |
| Imperfect { | tenía tenías tenía teníamos teníais tenían | tinha tinhas tinha tinhamos tiníeis tinham | tenebam tenebas tenebat tenebamus tenebatis tenebant | Conditional { | tendría tendrías tendría tendríamos tenríais tendrían | teria terias teria teríamos teríais teriam | see p. 339 |
| Past Definite { | ruve tuviste tuvo tuvimos tuvisteis tuvieron | tive tiveste teve tivemos tivestes tiveram | tenui tenuisti tenuit tenuimus tenuistis tenuerunt | Present Subjunctive { | tenga tengas tenga tengamos tengáis tengan | tenha tenhas tenha tenhamos tenhais tenham | teneam teneas teneat teneamus teneatis teneant |
| Imper. { | ten tened | tem tende | tene tenete | Past Part. { | teniendo tenido | tenido tido | tenendo tenitum |

English he has money

French il a de l'argent

Portuguese tem dinheiro

Spanish tiene dinero

Italian ha denaro

he has paid

il a payé

tem pagado

ha pagado

ha pagato

he had paid

il avait payé

tinha pagado

había pagado

aveva pagato

Important set expressions in which *habere* survives in Portuguese as well as in French and Spanish are:

| | FRENCH | PORTUGUESE | SPANISH |
|--------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| There is or are | il y a | há | hay (ha + y) |
| There was or were | il y avait | havia | había |
| There will be | il y aura | haverá | habrá |
| There has (or have) been | il y a eu | tem havido | ha habido |

Besides denoting possession and indicating time, our own verb *have* expresses necessity, as in *we have to eat before we can philosophize*. So also, the French for *have to* is *avoir à*, the Spanish *haber de*, or (more emphatically) *tener que*, followed by the infinitive, e.g.:

I have to go out = *j'ai à sortir* = *he de* (or *tengo que*) *salir*.

What is called the complete conjugation of *esse*, like that of our own verb *to be*, includes derivatives of several different roots. In Vulgar Latin *stare* (to stand) shared some of the territory of *esse*. Though the French *être* and the Italian *essere* are mainly offspring of *esse*, some of their parts come from *stare*. The Italian *essere*, like its Latin parent, keeps company with the past participle in passive constructions, e.g. *il fanciullo fu lavato* (the child was washed). In French also it is possible to write *il est aimé de tout le monde* (he is loved by everybody); but such passive expressions rarely turn up in daily speech. It is more usual to rely upon:

- (a) a reflexive construction, e.g. *la propriété se vendra samedi* (the property will be sold on Saturday).
- (b) an impersonal expression involving the use of *on*, e.g. *on rapporte de Moscou que* (one reports from Moscow that = it is reported from Moscow that).

The French-Italian verb *to be* has an auxiliary use comparable to that of its Teutonic equivalent. That is to say, it takes the place of *to have* in compound past tenses if the verb is *reflexive* or if it is intransitive (especially if it expresses motion):

| | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| English: | <i>I washed without soap.</i> | <i>we arrived too late.</i> |
| French: | <i>Je me suis lavé sans savon.</i> | <i>nous sommes arrivés trop tard.</i> |
| Italian: | <i>Mi sono lavato senza sapone.</i> | <i>siamo arrivati troppo tardi.</i> |

The Latin and Italian verb *stare* survives in Spanish and Portuguese as *ESTAR*. The latter is equivalent to our verb *to be* in three situations, one of which calls for more detailed treatment. Spanish examples will suffice to illustrate the other two, viz:

- (a) when our *be* signifies location, ownership, profession, e.g.:

Budapest está en Hungría.

- (b) when our *be* connects a noun with an accidental or temporary attribute, but *never* when *be* precedes a noun complement, e.g.

la señora está enferma = the lady is ill.

Italians often use *stare* as the equivalent of our verb *to be*, e.g.:

| | | |
|------------------|---|--------------|
| <i>come sta?</i> | = | how are you? |
| <i>sto bene</i> | = | I am well. |

A third use of *estar* or of its Italian equivalent *stare*, involves a unique and agreeably familiar construction, peculiar to Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian on the one hand and to Anglo-American on the other. It is a helper equivalent to *be* in expressions which imply *duration*, e.g.:

| | | |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| English: | he is waiting | we were working. |
| Portuguese: | } <i>está esperando</i> | <i>estávamos trabalhando.</i> |
| Spanish: | | <i>estábamos trabajando.</i> |
| Italian: | <i>sta aspettando</i> | <i>stavamo lavorando.</i> |

It is not correct to couple the French verb *être* with a present participle such as *mangeant* or *travaillant*. To emphasize *continuity* or *duration*, French people can use the idiomatic expression *être en train de* (to be in the process of), as in *je suis en train de manger* (I am busy eating), or if the past is involved, the *imperfect* tense form, e.g. *elle pleurait quand je suis arrivé* (she was crying when I arrived). Customarily there is no distinction between transitory (*elle danse maintenant* = she is dancing now) and habitual (*elle danse bien* = she dances well) action in French. Only the context tells us when *elle parle au canari* means *she is talking to the canary* or *she talks to the canary*.

What is sometimes called the present participle of a Spanish or Portuguese verb (e.g. *trabajando*) is not historically equivalent to the present participle of a French verb. Latin had two verb forms corresponding to the single English one ending in *-ing*. One, the *gerund*, corresponds to the use of the *-ing* form as the name of a process (*we learn by teaching*); the other, the *present participle*, was a verbal adjective (*she died smiling*). Only the latter left a descendant in French, always with the suffix *-ant* (*chantant, vendant, finissant*). This French *-ant* derivative is equivalent to the English *-ing* derivative in three of six ways in which the latter is used:

- as an ordinary adjective, e.g. *de l'eau courante* (running water);
- as a verbal adjective, i.e. an adjective with an object following it, e.g. *cet arbre dominant le paysage* (this tree dominating the scenery);
- in adverbial phrases, e.g. *l'idée m'est venue en parlant* (the idea came to me while talking).

THE SPANISH-PORTUGUESE VERBS *SER* AND *ESTAR*

| | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|
| Present | soy | sou | estoy | estou |
| | eres | és | estás | estás |
| | es | é | está | está |
| | somos | somos | estamos | estamos |
| | sois | sois | estáis | estais |
| | son | são | están | estão |
| Imperfect | era | era | estaba | estava |
| | eras | eras | estabas | estavas |
| | era | era | estaba | estava |
| | éramos | éramos | estábamos | estávamos |
| | erais | éreis | estabais | estáveis |
| | eran | eram | estaban | estavam |
| Past Definite | fui | fui | estuve | estive |
| | fuieste | foste | estuviste | estiveste |
| | fué | foi | estuvo | esteve |
| | fuiimos | fomos | estuvimos | estivemos |
| | fuiesteis | fostes | estuvisteis | estivestes |
| | fueron | foram | estuvieron | estiveram |
| Future | seré | serei | estaré | estarei |
| | serás | serás | estarás | estarás |
| | será | será | estará | estará |
| | seremos | seremos | estaremos | estaremos |
| | seréis | sereis | estaréis | estareis |
| | serán | serão | estarán | estarão |
| Con- ditional | sería | seria | estaría | estaria |
| | serías | serias | estarías | estarias |
| | sería | seria | estaría | estaria |
| | seríamos | seríamos | estaríamos | estaríamos |
| | seríais | seríeis | estaríais | estaríeis |
| | serían | seriam | estarían | estariam |
| Present Sub- junctive | sea | seja | esté | esteja |
| | seas | sejas | estés | estejas |
| | sea | seja | esté | esteja |
| | seamos | sejamos | estemos | estejamos |
| | seáis | sejais | estéis | estejais |
| | sean | sejam | estén | estejam |
| Imperative | sé | sê | está | está |
| | sed | sêde | estad | estai |
| Present Participle | siendo | sendo | estando | estando |
| Past Participle | sido | sido | estado | estado |

Here the correspondence ends. It is not correct to use the French "present participle" to translate the English *-ing* form when accompanied by the auxiliary *be*; and we cannot use it to translate our *-ing* derivative when the latter is an ordinary noun (*spelling is difficult*), or a verbal noun with an object (*spelling English words is difficult*). For the last two French usages corresponds to the alternative English infinitive construction, e.g. *to spell (English words) is difficult* = *épeler (des mots anglais) est difficile*.

The Latin gerund and the Latin present participle had a different fate in Spain and Portugal. The present participle, which ended in *-ans*, *-ens*, or *-iens* (nomin.) ceased to be a part of the Spanish verb system. Spanish words which now end in *-ante* or *-iente* are, with few exceptions, simple adjectives or nouns, e.g. *dependiente* (dependent), *estudiante* (student). The form of the Latin gerund survives in the verbal suffix *-ando* (for the regular verb of the first class), and *-iendo* (for all other regular and most irregular verbs). The form of the verb which ends thus is never a pure adjective or verbal noun (see p. 139). It leans upon another verb and remains *invariant*. We can always translate it by the English *-ing* form, though the converse is by no means true.

Accompanied by *estar*, as well as by *ir* (go), and *venir* (come) it expresses present, past, or future continuity (compare English: *he went on talking*). It may also qualify a verb, e.g. *oía sonriendo* (he listened smiling), as also the subject or object of the verb, *veo al muchacho jugando en la plaza* (I see the boy playing in the square). Though never an ordinary adjective, Spaniards do use it as a verbal adjective with an object, e.g. *he recibido la carta anunciando su partida* (I have received the letter announcing his departure).

Besides the regular verb *estar* there is another Spanish-Portuguese equivalent of *to be*. It is *SER*, a mixed verb, mainly descended from the Latin *esse*, like the French *être*, but partly derived from *sedere* (to sit). The simple copula between two nouns is always a tense form of *ser*, as is the copula which connects a noun to an attribute which is more or less *permanent* or *characteristic*, e.g. in Spanish

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| <i>mi hermano era pintor</i> | = | my brother was a painter. |
| <i>la señora es hermosa</i> | = | the lady is beautiful. |

Occasionally *ser* turns up in passive constructions, e.g. *el doctor es respetado de todos* (the doctor is respected by all), and the participle then takes the gender and number terminals (*-o*, *-a*, *-os*, *-as*) appropriate to the subject. Both participles are *invariant* in other compound Spanish-Portuguese tense-forms, i.e. (a) *HABER* or *TER* with the *past* participle (to signify perfected action), (b) *ESTAR* with the *present* participle (to signify duration or continuing action). Spaniards, like the French, avoid using passive constructions. So the choice of the right terminal rarely crops up at least in conversation.

When Italians or Frenchmen use ESSERE or ÊTRE to express perfected action (i.e. with the past participle of a reflexive verb or a verb of motion) the participle takes a gender-number terminal appropriate to the subject, e.g.:

l'homme est venu
the man came

la femme est venue
the woman came

les hommes se sont suicidés
the men committed suicide

les femmes se sont suicidées
the women committed suicide

When coupled with AVERE the Italian past participle (masc. sing. form) is invariant. The same is true of the French past participle when conjugated with AVOIR.

Grammar books often give the rules: (a) it is invariant when the object follows the verb, (b) it takes the terminal appropriate to the number and gender of the object if the latter precedes the verb, e.g. *j'ai reçu une carte* (I have received a card) and *la carte que j'ai reçue* (the card which I have received).

In many common expressions our verb to be is not equivalent to ÊTRE or ESSERE in French or Italian, nor is it equivalent to the Spanish-Portuguese pair SER and ESTAR. The French for *to be right, wrong, afraid, hot, cold, hungry, thirsty, sleepy*, is *avoir raison, avoir tort, avoir peur, avoir chaud, avoir froid, avoir faim, avoir soif, avoir sommeil*. In the Spanish equivalents *tener* takes the place of the French *avoir* and English *be*: *tener razón, no tener razón, tener miedo, tener calor, tener frío, tener hambre, tener sed, tener sueño*. When they comment on the weather, Spanish and French people use verbs equivalent to the Latin *facere* (French *faire*, Spanish *hacer*) which meant *to do* or *to make*. This usage is traceable to Vulgar Latin, e.g.:

it is cold
it is fresh
it is hot
it is windy
it is fine (weather)
it is daylight

il fait froid
il fait frais
il fait chaud
il fait du vent
il fait beau (temps)
il fait jour

hace frío
hace fresco
hace calor
hace viento
hace buen tiempo
hace luz

USE OF TENSES

Anglo-American, like the Teutonic languages, has only two simple tenses, *present* (e.g. *I have*) and *past* (e.g. *I had*). Otherwise, we indicate time or aspect by particles, adverbial expressions, or compound tenses

made up of a participle and a helper verb. Modern Romance languages have at least *four* simple tenses, the *present*, the *future*, and two which refer to the past, the *imperfect* and *perfect* (or *past definite*). It is possible, most of all in French, to lighten the heavy burden of learning such flexional wealth, by resorting to turns which may not be specially recommended by grammar books, but are in harmony with common usage. For everyday French conversation or correspondence it is usually sufficient to know the present tense form, the imperfect, infinitive, present and past participle of an ordinary verb, the present and imperfect of *être* and *avoir*, together with the present of the irregular helpers *aller* (to go)* and *venir* (to come). Of all tenses the present stands first in importance. Apart from expressing what its name implies, it serves in situations analogous to *the show opens to-morrow*, and may legitimately and effectively be used in narrative, e.g. *j'arrive à deux heures du matin, et qu'est-ce que je découvre? Elle est morte, raide morte* (I arrive at two in the morning, and what do I discover? She is dead, stone dead). For the more immediate future conversational French habitually uses *aller* + infinitive (Spanish *ir a* + infinitive), which reduces flexion to a bare minimum and tallies with English *be going to* + infinitive, e.g. French *je vais téléphoner?* Spanish *voy a telefonar*. To indicate the immediate past, as in *I have just swallowed a tooth* (i.e. *have just* + past participle) French and Spanish have their own expressions. The French one is *venir de* + infinitive, the Spanish *acabar de* + infinitive, e.g. he has just gone out = *il vient de sortir* = *acaba de salir*.

In everyday speech French people always use a compound tense form to express what is more remote, e.g. I met him yesterday = *je l'ai rencontré hier*. This construction is made up of the past participle and the present tense of *avoir* (or *être*, if the verb is reflexive or signifies motion). This roundabout way of saying *I came, I saw, I loved* looms as large in French conversation as does the present, and the English student of French will be wise to use it liberally. The beginner must also acquaint himself with the so-called *imperfect*. This tense implies customary, repetitive, or continuous past action in contrast to a completed process. Thus it is always right to use the *imperfect* when we can substitute *used to* + infinitive for the simple past of an English

* The conjugation of ALLER like that of *être*, is built up from several verbs. Two of them, one of which is derived from Latin *vadere*, the other from *ambulare*, form the present tense, e.g. *il va* (he goes), *nous allons* (we go). The third, which is the Latin *ire*, occurs in the future and the conditional, e.g. *j'irai* (I shall go).

statement, or when we could alter the English sentence to *was* or *were* + the *-ing* form of the verb, e.g.:

- (a) *Quand j'avais vingt ans je fumais quarante cigarettes par jour.*

At twenty years of age I *smoked* (=used to smoke) forty cigarettes a day.

- (b) *Elle faisait la cuisine quand je suis arrivé.*

She was cooking when I arrived.

The second of the two statements could also be given the form *Elle était en train de faire la cuisine*, etc. This is useful to know because by resorting to *être en train de* (be in the act of, be busy with) you can get round the imperfect form of the verb.

Another tense form, the *past definite* or *preterite*, has completely disappeared from conversational French, and is now the hall-mark of the literary language. It means that the event in question took place once for all at a certain time, and as such corresponds to the simple past of *spoken* and *written* English, and to the compound past of *spoken* French (e.g. *il se rapprocha* for *il s'est rapproché* = he came nearer).

In literature it is the tense of sustained narration, hence also called the *past historic*. The first impression of the beginner who reads a French narrative is that alternating use of perfect and imperfect is quite capricious. In reality this is not so. When two actions or processes are going on at one and the same time, the perfect expresses the *pivotal* one. For what is descriptive, explanatory, or incidental to the main theme, the imperfect replaces it. A passage from *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* by Anatole France illustrates this rule, which applies to all the Romance languages:

J'approchai (past historic) *du foyer mon fauteuil et ma table volante* (I pulled my easy-chair and little table up to the fireside), *et je pris* (past historic) *au feu la place qu'Hamilcar déignait* (imperfect) *me laisser* (and occupied so much of my place by the fire as Hamilcar condescended to allow me). *Hamilcar, à la tête des chenets, sur un coussin de plume, était* (imperfect) *couché en rond, le nez entre ses pattes* (Hamilcar was lying in front of the andirons, curled up on a feather-cushion, with his nose between his paws). *Un souffle égal soulevait* (imperfect) *sa fourrure épaisse et légère* (his thick, fine fur rose and fell with his regular breath). *A mon approche, il coula* (past historic) *doucement ses prunelles d'agate entre ses paupières mi-closes qu'il referma* (past historic) *presque aussitôt en songeant: "Ce n'est rien, c'est mon maître."* (At my approach his agate eyes glanced at me from between his half-opened lids, which he closed almost at once, thinking to himself: "It is nothing, it is only my master".)

- The elimination of the *past definite* from everyday speech is confined to French. In Spanish, Portuguese, and to a lesser degree, in Italian

conversation it is still going strong, and the student of Spanish who has previously learned some French will therefore feel tempted to say *he comprado un sombrero* (French *j'ai acheté un chapeau*) where the Spaniard would use the preterite (*compré un sombrero*).

THE INFINITIVE VERB

We have seen (p. 263) that the Anglo-American equivalent of the verb form called the *infinitive* of Teutonic languages is identical with the first person present, and is recognized as such whenever it immediately follows (a) the particle *to*, or (b) any one of the helper verbs *shall*, *will*, *may*, *must*, *can*, *let*, *make* (meaning *compel*), (c) the verbs *see*, *hear*, *help*, and (somewhat archaically), *dare*. The infinitive of a modern Romance language, like that of a typical Teutonic language, has its own characteristic terminal and has the same relation to our own usage. That is to say, it is the verb form which occurs after a preposition, or after one of the following auxiliaries, which do not take a preposition:

| SPANISH | FRENCH |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>querer</i> (want to) | <i>vouloir</i> |
| <i>deber</i> (shall, must) | <i>devoir</i> |
| <i>poder</i> (can, be able to) | <i>pouvoir</i> |
| <i>osar</i> (dare) | <i>oser</i> |
| <i>saber</i> (know) | <i>savoir</i> |
| <i>hacer</i> (make, cause) | <i>faire</i> |
| <i>dejar</i> (let, allow) | <i>laisser</i> |

The infinitive without a preceding preposition can also occur after other French and Spanish verbs. A second group which do not take a preposition includes verbs of seeing and hearing, French *voir* (see), *entendre* (hear), *sentir* (feel); Spanish *ver*, *oir*, *sentir*. Of the remainder the more important are: French *aimer mieux* (prefer), *compter* (count on), *désirer* (desire), *envoyer* (send), *espérer* (hope), *faillir* (to be on the point of), *paraître* (appear); Spanish *parecer* (appear), *desear* (desire, want), *temer* (fear), *esperar* (hope).

One of the helper verbs given in the two columns printed above calls for comment. The Spanish-French couplet DEBER-DEVOIR, like the Portuguese DEVER and Italian DOVERE literally mean *to owe*; but they can be used as helpers in a compulsive sense by a process of metaphorical extension parallel to the formation of our word *ought*, originally a past tense form of *owe*. The French present, *je dois*, may mean *I owe* or *I must*, the past *j'ai dû*, I had to, the future *je devrai*, I shall have to, and the conditional *je devrais*, I ought to. To use either *devoir* and *pouvoir* or their equivalents in other Romance languages correctly, we have to be on the look-out for a pitfall mentioned in

Chapter IV (p. 152). This is the peculiar Anglo-American construction *I should have* (French *j'aurais dû*), *I could have* (French *j'aurais pu*).

The French often resort to a peculiar construction for *must*. It involves the impersonal verb *falloir* (to be necessary that), e.g.:

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|----------------|
| <i>il faut sortir</i> | } | I must go out. |
| <i>il faut que je sorte</i> | | |
| <i>je dois sortir</i> | | |

When our own equivalent of a Romance infinitive comes after a preposition, the latter is always *to*. Several prepositions may stand immediately before the infinitive of a Romance language. The two chief ones are descendants of the Latin *de* (from or of) and *ad* (to). Both in French and in Spanish they survive as *de* and *à* or *a* respectively. The first has become more common, as in the following sentence, which also illustrates the rule that the pronoun object precedes the infinitive: *je suis bien heureux de te voir* (I am very happy to see you). Correct choice of the appropriate preposition depends arbitrarily on the *preceding* main verb, noun, or adjective, and we find it with them in a good dictionary. Where we can replace *to* by *in order to*, Romance equivalents are *pour* (French), *para* (Span.), *per* (Ital.), e.g. I am coming to repair it = *je viens pour le réparer* = *vengo para repararlo* = *vengo per ripararlo*.

Italian has a distinctive preposition *da* derived from the fusion of two Latin ones (*de* + *ad*). In different contexts it can mean *from*, *at* or *for*. When the infinitive has a *passive* meaning we can usually translate to by *DA*, e.g.:-

Egli ha un cavallo da vendere.
he has a horse to sell (= to be sold).

Questa è una regola da imparare a memoria.
this is a rule to learn by heart (= to be learned by heart).

In all Romance, as in Teutonic, languages the infinitive form of the verb (see Chapter IV, p. 139) is the one which replaces our *-ing* form when the latter is a verb-noun, e.g. *voir*, *c'est croire* (seeing is believing). The Portuguese infinitive has peculiar agglutinative possessive forms equivalent, e.g. to *your seeing* (VERes), *our doing* (FAZERmos), *their asking* (PREGUNTAREm), with the endings *-es* (your), *-mos* (our), *-em* (their). The following example illustrates this construction:

passai sem me verem = I passed without their seeing me.

MOOD

Up till now nearly all our illustrations of Romance verb behaviour

have appeared in what grammarians call the *indicative* mood. Two other moods, the *subjunctive* and the *conditional*, require special treatment. The latter is still very alive, both in spoken and written French, Spanish, or Italian. The former leads a precarious and uncertain existence in the spoken, that is, the living language, yet is usually given so much space in introductions to French (or German) that the beginner is scared out of his wits. A few facts may help him to regain his confidence. The first is that the subjunctive, except when it replaces the imperative as it does in Spanish or Italian (p. 399), is practically devoid of semantic significance, and for this reason alone no misunderstanding will arise if the beginner should ignore its existence. French grammars, for instance, are in the habit of telling us that the indicative states a fact whereas the subjunctive expresses what is merely surmised, feared, demanded, etc., and then illustrate this assertion by e.g. *je doute qu'il vienne* (indicative *vient*) = I doubt that he will come. Now this is palpable nonsense. The doubt is not signalled by the subjunctive form *viene*. It is expressed by *je doute*, and the subjunctive of the dependent clause is as much a pleonasm as is the plural flexion of the verb in *ils se grattent* (they are scratching themselves). There is another source of comfort. Of the two subjunctives in French, the present and the past, the latter has disappeared from the spoken language; the former survives, but is very restricted in its movements. If you should say, for instance, *je ne crois pas qu'il est malade* for . . . *soit malade*, as prescribed by grammar you are merely following what is common usage. You should also not feel unduly intimidated when you wish to express yourself in written French, because it is possible to travel a long distance without calling in the subjunctive, provided you take the following advice: Since the subjunctive is a characteristic of dependent or subordinate clauses, say what you have to say in simple straightforward statements, and use alternatives for expressions which are usually followed by this troublesome mood. The Spanish subjunctive has a wider range than the French one, in speech as well as in print; besides there are four different forms for the two in French (a present, two past, and a future subjunctive). The reader who wishes to acquaint himself with all the ways, by-ways and blind alleys of this mood will have to go outside *The Loom* for information. Here it must suffice to say that in all Romance languages grammar prescribes the subjunctive (a) after expressions denoting doubt, assumption, fear, order, desire, e.g. French *douter*, *craindre*, *ordonner*, *désirer*, Spanish *dudar*, *temer*, *mandar*, *desear*, Italian *dubitare*, *temere*, *mandare*, *desiderare*, (b) after

the equivalents of English *it is necessary that* (French *il faut que*, Spanish *es menester que*, Italian *bisogna che*), (c) after certain conjunctions of which the most important are:

| FRENCH | SPANISH | ITALIAN | ENGLISH |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| pour que | para que | perchè | in order that |
| afin que | a fin de que | affinchè | |
| quoique | aunque | sebbene | although |
| bien que | bien que | benchè | |
| sans que | sin que | senza che | without |
| pourvu que | con tal que | purchè | provided that |
| à moins que | a menos que | a meno che | unless |
| au cas que | en caso que | in caso che | in case that |

All you have to do to get the *conditional* of a regular French verb is to add the personal endings of the *imperfect* to the infinitive. To understand its form and *one* of its functions we must go back to Vulgar Latin. Perhaps the reader of *The Loom* has already heard once too often about how Roman citizens of the later Empire could express future time by coupling the infinitive with the present tense of *habere*, e.g. *credo quod venire habet* (I believe that he will come); but there is a good enough reason for mentioning it again. For *I believed he would come*, Romans would use past tense-forms of *habere* with the infinitive, i.e. *credebam quod venire habebat*, or *credebam quod venire habuit*. Just as the future tense of Romance languages (other than Rumanian) is based on agglutination of the verb infinitive with the present of *habere*, the conditional results from gluing the verb infinitive to *imperfect* (Spanish, Portuguese, French) or *past historic* (Italian) tense-forms of the same helper verb. This tells us the original function of the conditional mood, i.e. that we have to use it when we speak about a past event which had not yet happened at the time involved in the preceding statement. Its original past-future function survives in all constructions analogous to those cited above. The following examples show the ordinary future and the past-future (i.e. conditional):

| | | |
|----------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| English: | he says he will come. | he said he would come. |
| French: | il dit qu'il viendra. | il disait qu'il viendrait. |
| Spanish: | dice que vendrá. | decía que vendría. |
| Italian: | dice che verrà. | diceva che verrebbe. |

The conditional has taken on another function, and derives its name from it. We have to use it in the main clause of French conditional statements when fulfilment is unrealizable, or at least remote, e.g.

(a) *if he came I should go*; (b) *if he had come I should have gone*. Here, as in future-past expressions, illustrated above, the French conditional is equivalent to our construction involving *should* or *would* with the infinitive of the main verb. For our simple past tense-form of an ordinary verb of the *if*-clause, as in (a), or of the helper as in (b), the French equivalent is the ordinary imperfect (or pluperfect). The following examples illustrate French conditional statements:

- (a) French: *Si j'avais de l'argent je l'achèterais.*
 English: If I had money I should buy it.
- (b) French: *S'il avait eu de l'argent elle l'aurait acheté.*
 English: If he had had money she would have bought it.

Spanish usage is more tricky. Where we use the *would-should* construction, it is always safe to use the *conditional* in the main clause, and Spaniards will not misunderstand a foreigner who uses the ordinary (indicative) present or past in the *if*-clause. They themselves resort to the subjunctive form, as we use *were* for *was*, *is*, *are*:

Spanish: *le darian el premio si fuese más aplicado.*
 English: they would give him the prize if he *were* more industrious.

Spanish: *Si tuviera dinero lo compraría.*
 English: If I had money I should buy it.

Spanish: *Si hubiera tenido dinero lo habría comprado.*
 English: If I had had money I should have bought it.

The main thing for the beginner to know about the Romance subjunctive is how to leave it alone till he (or she) has mastered all the grammar essential to clear statement. The conditional turns up in many situations which more or less imply condition, e.g. suggestions, and in general where we use *should-would* with the infinitive in a simple statement. For instance, it is a useful form for polite request. In headline idiom the French conditional may indicate uncertainty or even rumour, as illustrated by the last of the ensuing examples:

Je ne le ferais pas ainsi. I shouldn't do it like that.
Voudriez-vous bien m'aider un peu? Would you kindly help me a bit?
Que j'aimerais te voir! How I should love to see you!
Darian rencontrerait Hitler. Will Darian meet Hitler?

It is important for anyone who is taking up French to know several common expressions which involve the conditional form of certain helpers, e.g. *vouloir* (to want) and *devoir* (to owe) in the sense *would like to*, and *ought to*, e.g.:

Je voudrais bien te visiter. I should much like to visit you.
il ne devrait point le faire. He shouldn't do it.

The Latin verb had special forms—the so-called *imperative mood*—to express an *order* or *request*. Such special imperative forms of the verb are rare in modern European languages. What is called the French imperative has two forms, one identical with the first person singular of the present indicative, the other with the second person plural, e.g. *attrape-attrapez* (catch!). Both occur in everyday speech. The first is used in familiar intercourse when addressing one person, the second in the same situation when speaking to more than one. The latter is also the imperative of polite address, singular and plural, e.g. *prenez garde, madame* (take care!). If the verb is reflexive, the reflexive pronoun behaves like any other objective pronoun (p. 366), i.e. it comes *after* the verb in an affirmative command, e.g. *ouvriers de tous les pays, unissez-vous* (workers of the world, unite!), and *before* the verb in a prohibition, e.g. *ne vous en allez pas* (don't go away!). Another way of making a request or recommendation is by employing the infinitive. This is also the Italian and German method, e.g. don't lean out of the window = French *ne pas se pencher en dehors*, Italian *non sporgersi*, German *nicht hinauslehnen*. The auxiliaries *avoir*, *être*, *savoir*, and *vouloir* have imperative forms corresponding to the subjunctive (*aie-ayez, sois-soyez, sache-sachez, veuillez-veuillez*).

Interrogative expressions may take the place of an imperative. For *venez!* (come!), we may say *voulez-vous venir?* (will you come?), *ne voulez-vous pas venir?* (won't you come?), *vous viendrez, n'est-ce-pas?* (you will come, won't you?), etc.

In Spanish, as in French, the form of a command or a polite request depends upon personal relations between speaker and listener. When speaking to a child, an intimate relation, or a friend, the Spaniard uses an imperative form which is identical with the third person singular of the present indicative, e.g. *tómalo* (take it!). If he addresses more than one he uses a form constructed by substituting *d* for the final *r* of the infinitive, e.g. *corred, niños* (run, boys!). This imperative is not very important, because the beginner will seldom have a chance to use it. The form which we habitually employ is the third person singular of the present subjunctive followed by *usted*, when addressing one person, or the third plural followed by *ustedes* when talking to more than one, e.g. *dispense usted* or *dispensen ustedes* (excuse me).

To make requests or invitations (e.g. *let us be friends again*) the French use the first person plural of the ordinary present tense without the pronoun, as in the *Marseillaise*: *allons, enfants de la patrie* (let us go forth, children of the fatherland). The Spanish equivalent is the sub-

junctive first person plural, e.g. *demos un paseo* (let us take a walk). If the request involves someone to whom it is not directly addressed, the *third* person of the subjunctive is used in both languages, e.g. in French, *qu'il attende* (let him wait!), in Spanish *que no entre nadie* (let nobody come in!).

NEGATION AND INTERROGATION

The predominant negative particle of Latin was *non*, which survives as such in Italian. The Spanish equivalent is *no*, Portuguese *não*. The Spanish *no* always precedes the verb and can be separated from it only by a pronoun object or reflexive. In its original form the Latin *non* (like our English *no*) survives in French as an answer to a question or as an interjection. In Spanish, double negation is common. The particle *no* accompanies the verb even when the sentence contains other words which have an explicitly negative meaning, e.g. *ninguno* (no), *nadie* (nobody), *nada* (nothing), *jamás* or *nunca* (never). Thus a Spaniard says *no importa nada* (it doesn't signify nothing = it doesn't matter). Similarly, Italians use *non* with the verb of a sentence which contains *nessuno*, *niente*, *nulla*. Such constructions are analogous to the obligatory double-barrelled negation of French (*ne . . . pas*, *ne . . . jamais*, *ne . . . rien*, etc.) explained in Chapter VIII (p. 340). Double negations (e.g. *I don't want no more nonsense*) were not tabu in Mayflower English. The following are illustrative:

English: I do not see anybody.

English: what does he say? . . .

Nothing.

French: *je ne vois personne*.

French: *que dit-il? rien*.

Spanish: *no veo a nadie*.

Spanish: *qué dice? nada*.

Italian: *non vedo nessuno*.

Italian: *che dice? niente*.

The French words which go with the verb preceded by *ne* are; *aucun* (no, none), *nul* (none), *personne* (nobody), *rien* (nothing), *plus* (no more), *jamais* (never), e.g. *il n'avait rien à dire* (he had nothing to say), *aucun des délégués n'est présent* (none of the delegates is present). When they stand alone in answer to a question, *aucun*, *rien*, *jamais*, *personne* are negative, e.g. who is here? *Personne!*, what did he say? *Rien!* In reply to a question demanding a straight *yes* or *no*, Romans repeated the verb of the question. To *fecistine?* (did you do it?), the reply was *sic feci* (so did I), or *non feci* (I did not). In Spanish, *si* derived from *sic* is the affirmative particle (*yes*). French has two, *si* and *oui* (Old French *oïl*, from Latin *hoc ille*). *Si*, or stronger, *si, si*, denies a negative statement or suggestion, e.g. *tu ne m'aimes plus?* *Si, si!* (You don't love me any more? Yes, yes, I do).

Neither Teutonic nor Romance languages have a single clear-cut and

obligatory method of interrogation. Each offers several ways of putting a question. A Latin question to which the answer was *yea*, *yea* or *nay*, *nay*, was marked as such by one of several particles (*ne*, *num*, *nonne*) equivalent to *eh?* None of these has survived. In spoken French or Spanish a question can be distinguished from an assertion by a device which is both primitive and well-nigh universal, i.e. by change of tone without change of word-order, e.g. French *tu ne viens pas?* (you are not coming?). As in Teutonic languages, verb-subject inversion also labels a question, e.g. French *l'as-tu vu?* (have you seen him?), Spanish *tiene el tren un sleeper?* (has the train got a sleeper?). Such inversion is not invariably interrogative. The Spanish verb often comes before its subject in constructions analogous to *came the dawn*, e.g. *dijo la madre a su hija* (said the mother to her daughter).

French interrogation has several peculiarities not shared by Spanish: (a) If the subject is a personal pronoun, it is joined to the verb by a hyphen, e.g. *n'en désirez-vous pas?* (don't you want any?). If the third person of the verb ends in a vowel, a *t* is inserted between verb and pronoun, e.g. *chante-t-elle?* (does she sing?). (b) If the subject is a noun, it remains at the beginning of the sentence, while the interrogative character of the sentence is indicated by the addition of a pleonastic pronoun, e.g. French *ta sœur, est-elle mariée?* (Is your sister married?), an arrangement not unknown to Spanish. French has yet a third way of expressing a question. It is by the use of *est-ce que* (is it that), an inversion of *c'est que*. The method began to emerge in the sixteenth century, and is still gaining ground at the expense of simple inversion, e.g. *est-ce que nous sommes loin de Londres?* (Are we far from London?). The beginner should use this interrogative form freely because, apart from its popularity, it has the advantage of making inversion unnecessary.

The reader who is learning French may one day meet the common people of France in the flesh. So it is useful to know beforehand that popular speech is amazingly rich in complicated interrogative turns, e.g. *où c'est-il qu'il est?* for *où est-il?* (where is he?), *qu'est que c'est que vous voulez?* for *que voulez-vous?* Fortunately, this goes hand in hand with a tendency of popular French to avoid or to straighten out the irregular verb and regularize it on the pattern of the first conjugation. In this and many other ways, common French people speak what their descendants may write.

ROMANCE AFFIXES

No account of the grammar of a language is complete without reference to affixes other than those of the sort usually called flexions. People who speak Romance languages resort little to noun couplets such as *water power* or compounds such as *rubberneck* or *gumboots*. The French *chou-fleur* (cauliflower) is a representative of a small class

which is not gaining much ground. The same is less true of verb-noun couplets represented by the French compounds *porte-monnaie* (purse), *gagne-pain* (livelihood) or the Spanish *mondadientes* (toothpick) and *rascacielos* (sky-scraper). Where Anglo-American puts two words together without any intervening link, Romance languages generally require a preposition. To indicate the purpose for which something is meant French uses the particle *à*, Spanish *para*, and Italian *da*. Thus a *tea-cup* is *une tasse à thé* in French, *hair-oil* is *aceite para el pelo* in Spanish, and a *typewriter* is *una macchina da scrivere* in Italian. The insertion of prepositions which we can omit (e.g. trade cycle = cycle of trade) makes headlines bulge. Thus the French for *workers' fashion plates* is *planches de gravures de modes pour ouvrières*. Like noun coupling prefixation is not fashionable. Frenchmen or Spaniards do not lightly make up adjectives like *pre-digested*. Thus the vocabulary of French is highly conservative. The same is true of Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian if we use Anglo-American as a yardstick; but French is far less flexible than its sister languages, because it has no machinery for deriving words of a class relatively common in the latter.

Many languages have special suffixes to indicate dimensions of, disapproval of, or esteem for the thing or person of the word to which they stick. Almost any German noun which stands for a thing or animal becomes diminutive (and hence endearing or contemptuous) by addition of *-chen*, or less commonly *-lein*, e.g. *Haus-Häuschen*, *Mann-Männchen*. The prevalence of this trick explains why diminutives are not listed in German dictionaries. In English such couplets as *duck-duckling*, *goose-gosling*, or *river-rivulet*, *book-booklet*, are rare, as are French ones, e.g. *maison-maisonette*, *jardin-jardinet*; and we have to learn them individually. More like German than English or French, Spanish and Italian abound with words of which the suffixes signify *size*, *appreciation*, *tenderness*, *contempt*, according to context; and we are free to make up new ones.

Masculine forms of some Spanish diminutive terminals are *-ito*, *-ico*, *-itico*, *-cito*, *-illo*. We recognize the feminine equivalent of the last one in *guerrilla* from *guerra* (war). Italian diminutive suffixes are the *-ino* of *bambino*, the *-etto* of *libretto*, also *-ello*, *-cello*, and *-cino*. Thus we get *floricita* (little flower) from the Spanish *flor*, and *fioretto* (cf. *floret*) from the Italian *fiore*. From the Spanish names *Carlos* and *Juan* we get *Carlitos*, *Juanito* (Charlie and Johnnie). Such terminals can attach themselves to adjectives or adverbs. Hence the Spanish couplets *ahorahorita* (now—right now), *adiós-adiosito* (good-bye—bye-bye), or Italian

povero-poverino (poor—poor dear), *poco-pochino* (little—wee). There is scarcely any limit to usage of this sort.

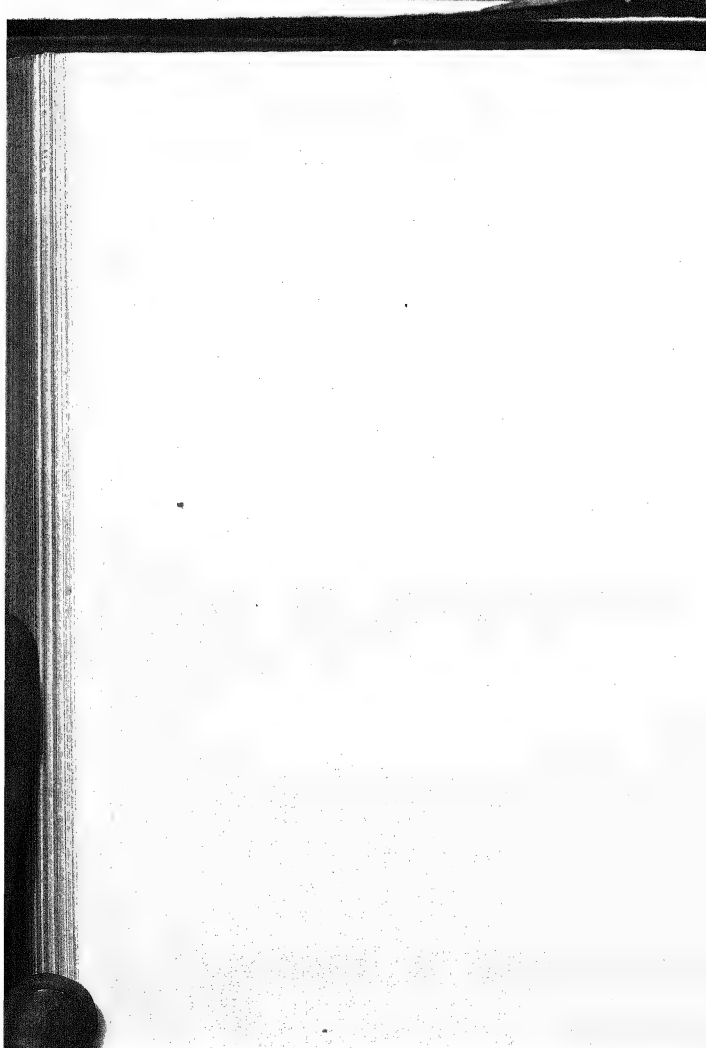
In Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian alike, the chief augmentative suffix comes from the Latin *-one*. Hence in Spanish *hombre-hombrón* (man—big man), in Italian *libro-librone* (book—tome). The Latin depreciatory suffix *-aceus* (or *-uceus*) becomes *-acho* (or *-ucho*) in Spanish, *-accio* in Italian. Thus we have the Spanish couplet *vino-vinacho* (wine—poor wine), or the Italian *tempo-tempaccio* (weather—bad weather). These affixes are fair game for the beginner. *Alfred-accio* is good Italian for *naughty Alfred*. One prefix deserves special mention. It is the Italian *s-*, a shortened form of the Latin *dis-*, e.g. *sbandare* (disband), *sbarbato* (beardless), *sbarcare* (disembark), *sfare* (undo), *sminuire* (diminish).

FURTHER READING

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| CHARLES DUFF | <i>The Basis and Essentials of French.</i> |
| | <i>The Basis and Essentials of Italian.</i> |
| | <i>The Basis and Essentials of Spanish.</i> |
| DE BAEZA | <i>Brush Up Your Spanish.</i> |
| HARTOG | <i>Brush Up Your French.</i> |
| TASSINARI | <i>Brush Up Your Italian.</i> |

Also French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish in Hugo's Simplified System, and *Teach Yourself Spanish*, *Teach Yourself French*, *Teach Yourself Italian* in the Teach Yourself Books (English University Press).

PART III



CHAPTER X

THE DISEASES OF LANGUAGE

IN the remaining chapters of the *Loom* we are going to look at language as a man-made instrument which men and women may sharpen and redesign for human ends. Before we can take an intelligent interest in the technique of language-planning for a society which has removed the causes of war, it is helpful to recognize the defects and merits inherent in languages which people now use or have used in the past. The aim of this chapter is to give relevant information about some languages which have been mentioned in passing elsewhere, and about others which have been left out in the cold.

In their relation to the progress of human knowledge we may divide languages into two groups. In one we may put those which have a written record of human achievement extending back over hundreds, if not thousands, of years. To the other belong those with no rich or time-honoured secular literature which could be described as indigenous. The first includes representatives of the Hamitic, Semitic and Aryan families, Chinese and Japanese. The latter is made up of the Bantu languages, the Amerindian dialects, and members of the Malayo-Polynesian group. Though many of them are by now equipped with scripts through the efforts of Buddhist, Moslem, and Christian missionaries, such literature as they possess is largely sacred and derivative. Till quite recently the same remark could have been made with more or less justice about Finno-Ugrian, Turkish, Mongolian, Caucasian, and Basque. After the Revolution of 1917 the educational policy of the Soviet Union made script a vehicle for secular knowledge among Mongols, Mordvinians, Turco-Tartars, Caucasians, and other non-Aryan speech communities.

The 2,000 million people on this globe speak approximately 1,500 different languages. Only about thirty of them are each spoken by more than 10 millions. The daily speech of nearly half of the world's population belongs to the Indo-European family, within which its Anglo-American representative takes first rank. Anglo-American is now the *mother-language* of over 200 millions, not to mention those who habitually use it as a means of cultural collaboration or rely on it for world communication. If we add to the figure for Anglo-Ameri-

can 120 million people who speak cognate languages (German, Dutch and Flemish, Scandinavian), we get the enormous total of about 320 millions for the Teutonic group. Next come the Aryan tongues of India, spoken by some 230 millions, and the Romance languages, spoken by a total of 200 millions. Then follows the Slavonic-speaking people, of whom there are some 190 millions.

The preceding figure for German does not include Yiddish. Yiddish was originally a west German dialect taken to Poland and Baltic countries by Jewish refugees from persecutions of the late Middle Ages. Its phonetic pattern preserves many characteristics of Middle High German. Its vocabulary is still predominantly German with a considerable admixture of Hebrew words, of Polish words, and of words of languages spoken in countries to which emigrants have taken it. Yiddish can boast of a rich international literature, printed in Hebrew characters.

With the exception of the splinter-speech communities which use Basque, Turkish, and Caucasian dialects, all European languages belong to two great families, the Aryan or Indo-European, and the Finno-Ugrian (p. 197). European representatives of the latter are confined to Hungary, Esthonia, Finland, and Lapland. Major contributions to modern science are due to the efforts of men and women who speak languages belonging to the Romance and Teutonic languages, including Anglo-American, which is the hybrid offspring of both. These have been dealt with in Part II. The most ancient literature of the Indo-European family belongs to the Indo-Iranian group, which includes Sanskrit and Old Persian. Of languages spoken in modern Europe, the *Baltic* group which includes Lettish and Lithuanian stands nearest to primitive Aryan, and the *Slavonic*, headed by Russian, stands nearest to the Baltic group. Classical Greek with its parochial descendant, modern Greek, occupies an isolated position as a language clearly related to other Indo-European languages without being more clearly related to any particular group than to another. At the extreme Western geographical limits of the present distribution of the family, we find remains of the once widespread Celtic group with peculiar structural characteristics which separate it from all others. Albanian and Armenian are also Indo-European languages, but because both have assimilated many loan-words from Semitic, Caucasian, or Turkish neighbours, linguists did not generally recognize their relation to other members of the family till the latter half of the nineteenth century.

THE INDIC GROUP

Widely separated branches of the Indo-European family have a long

literary past, and we are therefore in a position to recognize similar processes independently at work in the evolution of different groups. The early literature of the Eastern, like that of the Western members of the Indo-European family, introduces us to a complexity of grammatical usage in sharp contrast to that of its modern evolutionary forms. In the Western branch, simplification started first and went furthest in English. In the Eastern branch, simplification of Persian began earlier and has gone almost as far.

The most ancient stage of Indic is known as *Vedic* or *Vedic Sanskrit*, the language of the Vedas, a collection of hymns, litanies, prayers, incantations, in short, the Bible of the Brahmanic cult. The oldest part is the *Rig Veda*, based on oral tradition transmitted for several centuries before the introduction of writing. Possibly it is as old as 1000 B.C.—several hundred years before the art of writing reached India. By that time the Old Indic of the original Vedaistic incantations had made way for a language which became the standard among the priestly caste as well as the medium of high-class secular literature. Perhaps to preserve its purity from contamination with lowbrow idiom, priestly grammarians drew up a code of correct usage. Sanskrit means *arranged, ordered, or correct*.

In this state of arrested development it continued to exist side by side with living dialects, as Latin, the occupational medium of the church and universities, coexisted for centuries with its new evolutionary forms, the Romance languages. In the drama of the classical period of Indian literature, petrified Sanskrit is used, together with a newer *Prakrit*, separated from it by a social barrier. Men of elevated rank, such as kings and priests, speak Sanskrit. The lowly, including women, speak *Prakrit*. Some of the *Prakrit* or Middle Indic dialects became literary languages, that is, stagnant, while popular speech moved further. One form of *Prakrit*, *Pāli*, was carried by missionaries to Ceylon, where it became the sacred language of the Buddhist cult.

The chief representatives of Indic in its present-day form are *Bengali* (53 millions), *Western Hindi* (72), *Bihari* (34), *Eastern Hindi* (23), *Marathi* (21), *Panjabi* (16), *Gujarati* (11), *Rajasthani* (13). The language of the Gypsies, who hail from the north-west of India and invaded Western Europe first in the fifteenth century, is also of Indic origin. Closely related to Old Indic is *Old Iranian*. Its earliest stage is represented by two forms, *Zend* or *Avestan*, that is, the sacred language of the Zoroastrian faith, and *Old Persian*, of which the best-known specimen is a rock-inscription of Darius I (522-486 B.C.) at Behistun. The next evolutionary phase of Persian is called *Pehlevi* (i.e. *Parthian*).

Modern Persian begins with the tenth century. It has changed but little during the last thousand years.

More than two thousand years ago the Vedic texts had already burdened the Brahmanic priesthood with competing versions. They had to harmonize them, to explain archaic forms and to clarify dim meanings. The Vedic hymns were inviolable. For centuries priests had chanted them with punctilious attention to the time-honoured fashion. They believed, and had an interest in making others believe, that correct observance decided whether the gods would dispatch bliss or otherwise. So training in priestcraft, as to-day, included careful schooling of the ear for sound, for rhythm, and for speech-melody. For this reason ritual requirements eventually gave rise to one of the major cultural contributions of Hindu civilization. The Hindu priests were pioneers of the rudiments of a science of phonetics. Subsequently this preoccupation of the priest-grammarian with the sacred texts extended to secular literature. It culminated in the Sanskrit grammar of Panini (*ca.* 300 B.C.). Panini took a step that went far beyond the trivial exploits of Attic Greece, and had a decisive influence upon the course of nineteenth-century investigation when it became known to European scholars. He, and presumably his forerunners, were the first to take words to pieces, and to distinguish roots from their affixes. Hence grammar is called *vayakarana* in Sanskrit, that is, "separation," "analysis."

Owing to this precocious preoccupation with grammar we have a very clear picture of what Sanskrit was like. With its eight cases and dual number, the flexional apparatus of the Sanskrit noun was even more elaborate than that of Latin or Greek, and the Sanskrit adjective with its three gender forms reflects the luxuriance of its partner. As we retrace our steps to the earliest source of our information about the beginnings of Aryan speech we therefore approach a stage which recalls the state of affairs in Finnish with its fifteen sets of singular and plural postpositions defining the relation of a noun to other words in the same context. It may well be that we should arrive at such a goal if we could go back further; but the fact is that the use of Sanskrit case-forms was not clear-cut and the case-affixes were not, like those of Finnish, the same for every noun. This is shown by the following examples of Sanskrit genitive case-forms: .

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR

devds (god)
agnis (fire)

GENITIVE SINGULAR

devdsya
agnés

| NOMINATIVE SINGULAR | GENITIVE SINGULAR |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| vāri (water) | vāriṇas |
| çatrus (enemy) | çātros |
| jās (progeny) | jās |
| svāsā (sister) | svāsū |

Many pages of this book could be filled if we set out all the flexions of a single Sanskrit or a single Greek verb with respect to *time*, *person*, *voice*, and *mood*. The following example illustrates only the personal flexions of one tense (*present*) and of both voices (*active* and *passive*). The mood is *indicative*, i.e. the form used in simple statements:

| | | ACTIVE | | PASSIVE | |
|-------|----|----------|------------|----------|-----------|
| | | SANSKRIT | GREEK | SANSKRIT | GREEK |
| Sing. | 1. | dādhāmi | dídōmi | dadhē | dídomai |
| | 2. | dādhāsi | dídōs | dhatśe | dídōsai |
| | 3. | dādhāti | dídōsi(n) | dhatté | dídōtai |
| Dual | 1. | dadhvās | dídōton | dādhvahe | dídōstōn |
| | 2. | dhatthās | dídōton | dadhāthe | dídōstōn |
| | 3. | dhattās | dídōton | dadhāte | dídōstōn |
| Plur. | 1. | dadhmás | dídōmen | dādhmahe | dídōmetha |
| | 3. | dhatthá | dídote | dhāddhve | dídōsthe |
| | 3. | dādhati | dídōāsi(n) | dādhate | dídōntai |

The Anglo-American equivalents would be *I, you, we*, or *they give* and *he gives* (active), and *I am, you, we, they are, he is given* (passive), making altogether three forms of the verb *give* and three of *to be*, or six in all to represent the meaning of eighteen Sanskrit words. For eight different forms of a modern English verb we can make above thirty-six corresponding forms of the Sanskrit or Greek verb. The complete Sanskrit verb finite, that is the verb without its infinitives, participles, and verbal adjectives plus their flexions, has 743 different forms, as against the 268 of Greek. From a complete Greek verb we get the enormous number of 507 forms, from a Latin one 143, and from a Gothic verb 94. The English verb usually has four, or at most five forms (e.g. *give, gives, gave, giving, given*). If we add seven forms of *to be*, four of *to have*, together with *shall* or *will* and *should* or *would*,

for construction of compound tenses, we can express with 20 words everything for which Sanskrit burdens the memory with nearly forty times as many different vocables.

MODERN LANGUAGES OF THE EAST

During the past two thousand years there has been a universal drift among Aryan languages towards reduction and regularization of flexion. This tendency towards economy of effort is as striking on the Eastern front as on the Western, and in no language more than in modern Persian and Hindustani. After the Islamic conquest, Persian suffered a heavy infiltration of Arabic words. Consequently its present vocabulary is as Semitic as it is indigenous. Even Semitic grammatical forms crept in, but these affect only Arabic words. There can be little doubt that the decay of Persian flexions was accelerated by the Moslem conquest. In fact, Persian and Anglo-American provide an impressive example of parallel evolution from similar beginnings. Both have abandoned the distinction of grammatical gender. If the sex of an animate being is to be explicit, Persian prefixes equivalents to our words *man* or *woman* for human beings, and *male* or *female* for non-human beings.

Like Anglo-American, Persian has discarded the case-system. In both languages words which correspond to French or German, Latin or Greek adjectives are invariant, as in Chinese. The comparison of the Persian adjective is quite regular. To form the comparative we have to add *-tar*, to form the superlative, *-tarin*, e.g. *boxorg* (big), *boxorgtar* (bigger), *boxorgtarin* (the biggest). Persian has no distinct adverbial form. The battery of Persian personal pronouns is even smaller than ours, because the single *u* (literary) or *an* (colloq.) stands for *he*, *she*, *it* alike. The Persian verb has a present and two simple past tense-forms (past and imperfect), with full personal endings which ordinarily do the work of the pronoun subject, as in Spanish and Italian. There is one conjugation, and the personal endings are with one exception the same for all three tenses. Apart from the third person singular they are like the corresponding parts of the verb *to be* (*budan*). The present tense of *budan* is:

| | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------|
| <i>am,</i> | I am. | <i>im,</i> | we are. |
| <i>i,</i> | thou art. | <i>id,</i> | you are. |
| <i>ast,</i> | he, she, or it is. | <i>and,</i> | they are. |

The present and imperfect tense-forms have the prefix *mi-* attached to

the present stem and past stem respectively. Thus the present tense of the verb *kharidan* (to buy) is:

mikharam

mikhari

mikharad

mikharim

mikharid

mikharand

The corresponding past tenses are: *kharidam*, *kharidi*, etc. (I bought, you bought, etc.), and *mikharidam*, *mikharidi*, etc. (I was buying, you were buying, etc.). For perfected action, future time, and the passive voice, constructions involving helper verbs do service: *budan* for the first, *khashtan* (to wish) for the second, and *shodan* (to become) for the third.

Though the modern Indic languages of Aryan origin have not covered the same distance as Persian, they have travelled in the same direction. Sir George Grierson, who was in charge of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, writes of the Hindi dialects:

Some of these dialects are as analytical as English, others are as synthetic as German. Some have the simplest grammar, with every word-relationship indicated, not by declension or conjugation, but by the use of help-words; while others have grammars more complicated than that of Latin, with verbs that change their forms not only in agreement with the subject, but even with the object.

According to the prevalence of isolating and flexional features, we can divide modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars (17 standard languages with 345 dialects, spoken by some 230 millions) into two classes, one covering the centre of the North Indian plain, called Midland, the other, called the Outer, surrounding it in three-quarters of a circle. The former is represented by *Western Hindi*, *Panjabi*, *Rajasthani*, and *Gujarati*, the latter by vernaculars such as *Lahnda*, *Sindhi*, *Marathi*, *Bihari*, *Bengali*. Grierson says:

"The languages of the Outer sub-branch have gone a stage further in linguistic evolution. They were once, in their Sanskrit form, synthetic; then they passed through an analytical stage—some are passing out of that stage only now, and are, like Sindhi and Kashmiri, so to speak caught in the act—and have again become synthetic by the incorporation of the auxiliary words, used in the analytical stage, with the main words to which they are attached. . . . The grammar of each of the Inner languages can be written on a few leaves, while, in order to acquire an acquaintance with one of the Outer languages, page after page of more or less complicated declensions and conjugations must be mastered."

Bengali is spoken in the delta of the Ganges, and north and east to

it, by a population equivalent to that of France. The gap between the written and the spoken word forces the foreigner to learn two different languages. This complete separation of the spoken from the written medium is the work of the Pundits of Calcutta who recently borrowed an enormous number of Sanskrit words with a spelling fashionable two thousand years ago. The Bengali verb has eight synthetic tenses. There are but three irregular, but only slightly irregular, verbs (*give, come, go*). Bengali developed a synthetic though as yet very rudimentary declension of the noun, e.g. *ghar* (house), genitive *gharer*, agent case *ghare*. It has gender-distinction, but Bengali gender is a paragon of orderly behaviour in comparison with that of Sanskrit. All male animals are masculine, all female feminine. All inanimate things are neuter. Only masculine and feminine nouns take the plural ending.

Hindustani is a dialect of Western Hindi. It is the daily speech of a population slightly larger than that of England; but it is better known as a *lingua franca*, current over all India. According to the *Linguistic Survey*, it developed as such in the bazaar attached to the Delhi Court. From there, officials of the Mogul Empire carried it everywhere. One form of Hindustani is *Urdu*. Its script is Persian, and it has a strong admixture of Persian and Arabic words. Owing to expansion over a wide area and hence contact with peoples of diverse speech communities Hindustani grammar has shed many irregularities and superfluities. With few exceptions the verb follows one and the same pattern. The present and past forms of a single helper (*hona*, to be) combine with two participles to do most of the daily work of a tense system. Like the Romance languages Hindustani has scrapped the neuter gender; and the case system has completely disappeared. Particles* placed after the noun (*postpositions*) do the job of our prepositions, e.g.:

mard ke of man
mard ko to man

mardon ke of men
mardon ko to men

THE BALTIC AND SLAVONIC GROUPS

Among modern Indo-European languages, those of the Baltic and Slavonic groups have almost entirely escaped this tendency towards easing the flexional burden. They still preserve a welter of flexional forms. The Baltic group survives in a region north-east of Germany. It

* In spite of this regularity of the Hindustani word, some Indian and European compilers of Hindustani grammar-books still stick to the Sanskrit or Latin pattern and arrange nouns with their post-positions in seven cases. East and West meet in the scholarly tradition of making difficult what is easy.

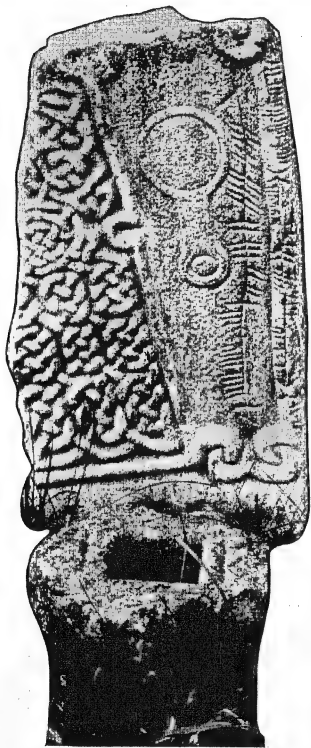


FIG. 39.—STONE WITH CELTIC INSCRIPTION IN OGAM SIGNS
FROM ABOYNE NEAR ABERDEEN IN SCOTLAND



*[Reproduced from a stamp kindly lent
by Stanley Gibbons, Ltd.]*

FIG. 40.—POSTAGE STAMP OF KEMAL ATATÜRK TEACHING (P. 436)
THE TURKS TO USE THE ROMAN ALPHABET

Some people say that we cannot change people's language habits
by Act of Parliament. This picture shows that it can be done.



*Reproduced from a stamp kindly lent
by Stanley Gibbons, Ltd.]*

FIG. 41.—MONGOLS LEARNING THE LATIN ABC

has two living representatives. *Lithuanian* is the daily speech of some two and a half million people, *Lettish* that of about one and a half million in the neighbouring community, Latvia. Of the two surviving members of the Baltic group, Lithuanian is the more archaic. The accompanying table which gives the singular forms of the Lithuanian word for *son* side by side with the oldest Teutonic (Gothic) equivalents, shows that Lithuanian actually outstrips the latter, as it also outstrips Latin, in the variety of its case-derivatives.

| | LITHUANIAN | GOthic |
|------------|------------|--------|
| Nom. Sing. | sunus | sunus |
| Acc. „ | sunu | sunu |
| Gen. „ | sunaus | sunaus |
| Dat. „ | sunui | sunau |
| Instr. „ | sunumi | .. |
| Loc. „ | sunuje | .. |
| Voc. „ | sunau | sunau |

East and south of the Baltic and Teutonic regions we now find the huge group of Slavonic languages, spoken by some 190 million people. Philologists classify them as follows:

A. EAST SLAVONIC:

1. Great Russian (100 millions)
2. Little Russian (30 millions)
3. White Russian (12 millions)

B. WEST SLAVONIC:

1. Slovak and Czech (12 millions)
2. Polish (23 millions)

C. SOUTH SLAVONIC:

1. Bulgarian (5 millions)
2. Serbo-Croatian and Slovene (12 millions)

At the beginning of our era the Slavs still inhabited the region between the Vistula, the Carpathian Mountains, and the Dnieper. During the fifth and sixth centuries, they swarmed over huge tracts of Central and Western Europe. At one time they were in possession of parts of Austria, Saxony, and the North German plains to the Elbe. During the Middle Ages, Slavonic surrendered all this territory to Germany; but *Polabian*, a Slavonic dialect, persisted in the lower regions of the Elbe up to the eighteenth century, and even to-day Germany harbours a minute Slavonic language-island, the *Sorbian* of Upper Saxony. While Slavonic has had to retreat from the West, it

is still gaining ground on the Asiatic continent as the vehicle of a new civilization. Russian is now pushing as far North as the White Sea and as far East as the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

The earliest recorded form of Slavonic is Old Bulgarian, into which two Greek missionaries, Kyrillos and Methodos, both from Salonika, translated the Gospels in the middle of the ninth century. This Bible language, also called *Church Slavonic*, became the official language of the Greek Orthodox Church. It still is. Since the art of writing was then the exclusive privilege of the priest-scribe class, Church Slavonic also became the secular medium of literature. The Russians did not begin to emancipate themselves from the literary tyranny of the Church, and to create a written language of their own, till the end of the eighteenth century. Its basis was the speech current in the region of Moscow. As a hangover from their church-ridden past, citizens of the U.S.S.R. still stick to "Kyrilliza," a modified form of the Greek alphabet (Fig. 12) once current in Byzantium. The Poles and the Slovaks—but not the Serbs or Bulgarians—are free from this cultural handicap. When their forefathers embraced the Roman form of Christianity, an internationally current alphabet was part of the bargain.

Like the Semitic family, the Slavonic group shows comparatively little internal differentiation. Slavonic languages form a clearly recognizable unit, including national languages which differ no more than Swedish and Danish or Spanish and Italian. It is easier for a Pole to understand a Russian than for a German to understand a Swede, or for a Parisian to understand a Spaniard or an Italian. For a long time Slavonic-speaking peoples remained cut off from Mediterranean influence. What reached them was confined to a thin and muddy trickle that percolated through the Greek Orthodox Church. The comparatively late appearance of loan-words in the Slavonic lexicon faithfully reflects this retardation of culture-contact with more progressive communities. Since the Soviet Union embarked upon rapid industrialization there has been a great change. Assimilation of international technical terms has become a fashion. To this extent linguistic isolation is breaking down. Meanwhile in Russia, as elsewhere, Slavonic languages constitute a fossil group from the grammatical standpoint. They preserve archaic traits matched only by those of the Baltic group. Noun-flexion, always a reliable index of linguistic progress, is not the least of these. Slavonic languages carry on a case system as complicated as that of Latin and Greek, Bulgarian alone has freed itself from this incubus.

It would be congenial to announce that the *Loom of Language* can simplify the task of learning a language spoken by more than a twentieth of the world's inhabitants, and used as the vernacular of a union of states which has undertaken the first large-scale experiment in economic planning. Unfortunately we are not able to do so. It is a commonplace that Russian collectivism originated in a country which was in a backward phase of technical and political evolution. It is also, and conspicuously, true that it originated in a country which was in a backward phase of linguistic evolution. Because other Aryan languages such as Danish, Dutch, or Persian have discarded so much of the grammatical luggage which their ancestors had to carry, it is possible to simplify the task of transmitting a working knowledge of them by summarizing the relatively few essential rules with which the beginner must supplement a basic vocabulary. There is no royal road to fluency in a language which shares the grammatical intricacies of Sanskrit, Lithuanian, or Russian. It is therefore impossible to give the reader who wishes to learn Russian any good advice except to take the precaution of being born and brought up in Russia. Some reader may doubt whether this is a fair statement of the case. Let us look at the evidence:

- (1) Like that of Lithuanian, the Russian noun is burdened with locative and instrumental case-forms which some other Aryan languages had already discarded a thousand years B.C.
- (2) Russian shares with German and Icelandic the three genders, masculine, feminine, neuter. Like German, Icelandic, and Lithuanian, it possesses *two* adjectival declensions, one for use when the adjective is attributive, the other when it is predicative (*dom nov*, "the house is new"—*noviy dom*, "the new house"). The irregularities of adjectival behaviour make those of Latin fade into insignificance.
- (3) The numbers 2, 3, 4 with fully developed case and gender flexions form a declensional class of their own. From 5 to 30 numbers are declined like certain feminine nouns. From 50 to 80 both parts of the number are declined. From 5 upwards the things counted must be put into the genitive plural. The numbers 2-10 carry a subsidiary set of forms called collectives for use where we would say, e.g., *we were five of us*, or *she has six sons*.
- (4) The essential Russian vocabulary, like that of German, is inflated by a wasteful luxuriance of verb-forms. Thus there are couplets distinguished by presence or absence of an infix which denotes repetition, or by one of several prefixes which signify completion. For instance, *dyelat* and *dyelivat* signify *to do once* and *to do repeatedly*, *ya pisal* means *I was writing*, and *ya napisal*

means *I have written*. If you say *write to him* (at once) you have to use the perfective form *napishi yemu*. If you say *write better* (in future), you use its imperfective co-twin, *pishi luchshe*.

Britain has relinquished the incubus of gender without discarding the bishops' bench, and Americans who have no use for case-concord still condone lynching. So it goes without saying that shortcomings of the Russian language reflect no discredit on the Soviet system, still less on the citizens of the U.S.S.R. themselves. What they do signify is the existence of a powerful social obstacle to cultural relations between the Soviet Union and other countries. The archaic character of the Russian language is a formidable impediment to those who may wish to get first-hand knowledge of Russian affairs through foreign travel. Because such difficulties beset a foreigner, it is disappointing to record lack of revolutionary fervour in the attitude of Soviet leaders to the claims of language-planning. While the Kremlin curbed the power of the Greek Orthodox Church, it made no attempt to bring itself into line with Europe, America, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand by liquidating the cultural handicap of the Kyrillic alphabet. That there is no insurmountable obstacle to such a break with the past is shown by the example of Turkey, which has replaced Arabic by Latin script. The task of reform was simplified by the pre-existence of illiteracy in Russia, as in Turkey.

Russia has always been, and still remains, a Tower of Babel. Within the boundaries of the Soviet Union we find representatives of the Indo-European, the Finno-Ugrian, the Turco-Tartar, the Mongolian, and the Caucasian families of speech—all in all some hundred languages and dialects, most of which are mutually unintelligible. The situation is deplorable enough if we confine ourselves to the three Russian languages: *Great Russian*, spoken in the north-east, with Moscow as the centre; *Little Russian*, or Ukrainian; and *White Russian*, current in the north-west along the confines of the Baltic group. These languages are separated by such small differences that they are mutually intelligible. Formerly the written language common to all of them was Great Russian. But to-day the White Russians as well as the Little Russians have written languages of their own.

THE CELTIC TWILIGHT

The unequal decay of flexion in the Indo-European family does not directly reflect the progress of civilization. We can see this by contrasting Russian or Lithuanian with the Celtic languages. Celtic speech is now confined to the western fringe of Europe. It was once possible to

hear it over a territory as vast as the Holy Roman Empire. At the time of Alexander the Great, Celtic-speaking tribes inhabited Britain, most of France and Spain, North Italy, South Germany, and the valley of the Danube down to the Black Sea. Hordes from Gaul crossed to Asia Minor, and established themselves in the district still called *Galatia*. Within a short time, Celtic dialects were displaced everywhere except in Gaul. By the middle of the first century, Gaul itself surrendered. The Gauls were Romanized, and Latin wiped out Celtic. Five hundred years later, the Celtic-speaking remnant had reached vanishing point.

Documentary remains of its former existence are place names, a handful of meagre inscriptions from France and Lombardy, and individual words which lie embedded in French and other languages. During the four hundred years of Roman rule, the Celtic dialects of Britain escaped the fate of their Continental kin. They were still intact when Emperor Constantine withdrew his legions. After this brief respite, they succumbed to successive waves of Teutonic invaders. Wherever the German hordes settled, Celtic had to make way for the language of the conqueror. It has persisted only in Wales, in West Scotland, and in Ireland.

As it now exists, the Celtic group can be divided into two branches, the *Goidelic* (Gaelic) and *Brythonic* (British). The former includes Irish or *Erse*, said to be spoken by some 400,000 people; *Scots-Gaelic* of the "poor whites" in the Western Highlands, and *Manx*, an almost extinct dialect of the Isle of Man. The oldest Irish documents are the so-called *Ogam* runic inscriptions (p. 76), which may go as far back as the fifth century A.D. To the Brythonic dialects belong *Welsh* and *Breton*, each spoken by a million people, and *Cornish*, which disappeared at the death of Dolly Pentreath in the year 1777. Welsh is still a living language. A high proportion (about 30 per cent) of people who live in Wales are bilingual. Breton is not a splinter of the ancient language of Gaul. It is an island Celtic brought over to Latinized Brittany by Welsh and Cornish refugees in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Remarkable structural similarities unite the Gaelic and Brythonic dialects. Clear-cut differences distinguish them. Of the latter, one is specially characteristic. Where Old Irish inscriptions exhibit an initial *qu*, represented by a hard *c* in Erse (*qu-* in Scots Gaelic), Welsh has *p*. For this reason the two branches are sometimes called Q and P Celtic. A few examples are given below:

| WELSH | | ERSE |
|---------------|----------|----------------|
| <i>pa?</i> | (what?) | <i>ca</i> |
| <i>pen</i> | (head) | <i>ceann</i> |
| <i>pedwar</i> | (four) | <i>cathair</i> |
| <i>par</i> | (couple) | <i>coraid</i> |

Apart from Basque, the Celtic group remained a playing-field for fantastic speculations longer than any other European language. Even when most of the European languages were brought together, with Sanskrit and Iranian, in happy family reunion, Celtic stayed out in the cold.* The large number of roots common to Celtic and other Aryan languages now leaves little doubt about the affinities of Celtic, especially to Latin and to other Italic tongues. Were it otherwise, there would be little to betray the Celtic group as a subdivision of the Aryan family.

The Celtic languages lack any trace of many flexions which are common to other members of the Aryan family. In so far as the Celtic verb exhibits flexion with respect to person, the present endings have not passed beyond the stage at which we can recognize them as pronouns fused to the verb-root. The same is true of some frontier dialects in India, where the Old Indic personal endings of the verb have disappeared completely and analogous endings have emerged by fusion of the fixed verb stem with existing pronouns. From this point of view, the grammar of Celtic is more like that of Finno-Ugrian languages than that of Sanskrit, Armenian, or Swedish.

Two features, which have been illustrated already, emphasize this essentially agglutinative character of Celtic grammar:

- (a) among Celtic languages we find a parallel use of a *contracted* or *agglutinative* form of the verb used *without* an independent pronoun (p. 100), and an *unchangeable* verb-root used together with a pronoun placed *after* it;
- (b) in all Celtic languages prepositions fuse with personal pronouns so that directives have personal terminals analogous to those of verbs.

The parallelism between the conjugation of the preposition and the verb is common to the P and Q representatives of the group, and the characteristics of each throw light on the origin of the other. For instance, we have no difficulty in recognizing the origin of the personal flexions of the Gaelic preposition *le* (with) when we compare them with

* A Scotsman, Andrew Murray, wrote in 1801 two remarkable volumes called a *History of European Languages* emphasizing *inter alia* the relation between Gaelic and Sanskrit.

the corresponding usage of the invariant verb *tha* when arranged in parallel columns:

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| <i>tha mi</i> , I am. | <i>leam</i> , with me (= <i>le + mi</i>). |
| <i>tha thu</i> , thou art. | <i>leat</i> , with thee (= <i>le + thu</i>). |
| <i>tha sinn</i> , we are. | <i>leim</i> , with us (= <i>le + sinn</i>). |
| <i>tha sibh</i> , you are. | <i>leibh</i> , with you (= <i>le + sibh</i>). |
| <i>tha iad</i> , they are. | <i>leotha</i> , with them (= <i>le + iad</i>). |

We can invert this process of interpretation by using the personal conjugation of the preposition as a clue to the personal flexion of Welsh verbs in the two following examples, which illustrate two types of conjugation corresponding to the two different forms (*fi* and *mi*) of the Welsh pronouns of the first person:

(i)

| | | | |
|---|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>danaf</i> , (= <i>dan + fi</i>) | under me. | <i>wyf</i> , I am | (= <i>wys + fi</i>). |
| <i>danat</i> , (= <i>dan + ti</i>) | under thee. | <i>wyt</i> , thou art | (= <i>wys + ti</i>). |
| <i>danoch</i> , (= <i>dan + chwî</i>) | under you. | <i>ych</i> , you are | (= <i>wys + chwî</i>). |
| <i>danynt</i> , (= <i>dan + hwynt</i>) | under them. | <i>ynt</i> , they are | (= <i>wys + hwynt</i>). |

(ii)

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>im</i> , (= <i>i + mi</i>) | to me. | <i>bwm</i> , I was | (= <i>bu + mi</i>). |
| <i>it</i> , (= <i>i + ti</i>) | to thee. | <i>buost</i> , thou wert | (= <i>bu + ti</i>). |
| <i>iwch</i> , (= <i>i + chwî</i>) | to you. | <i>buoch</i> , you were | (= <i>bu + chwî</i>). |
| <i>iddynt</i> , (= <i>i + hwynt</i>) | to them. | <i>buont</i> , they were | (= <i>bu + hwynt</i>). |

The Celtic languages have many substitutes for the very heterogeneous system of roots which we call the verb *to be*. The Irish *as* or *is*, the Welsh *oes* (cf. our own *am* or *is*, German *ist*, Sanskrit *asmi*), the Gaelic *bu*, Welsh *bod* (cf. our *be*, German *bin*, Persian *budan*, Old Saxon *bium*, Sanskrit *bhavamî*), are common Aryan roots. To these we must add other peculiarly Celtic roots, such as the Gaelic *tha* and Welsh *mae*. The several forms of the verb *to be* are very important in Celtic usage. Like Basic English, Celtic is remarkably thrifty in its use of verbs. Where we should say *I feel*, the Celt would say *there is a feeling in me*. Here is an Irish example of this characteristic Celtic idiom: *creud adhibhar na moicheirghe sin ort?* In our language this reads: *why did you rise so early?* Literally it means *what cause of this early rising by you?* A Scots highlander can use expressions containing the equivalent to *is* to do the work of almost any other verb. In his idiom:

It will surprise you to hear this = There is a surprise for your ears.

The Celtic languages have several merits which might commend themselves to the designer of an international auxiliary. One great virtue

they share is that they are not highly inflected. There is little trace left of gender or number concord of the adjective and noun. Case-distinction of the latter is vestigial. So such flexions as exist are not difficult to learn. A second virtue is a thrifty use of verbs. These conspicuous merits are insignificant when we place on the debit side a characteristic which isolates Celtic dialects from all other members of the Aryan group, and places them among the most difficult of all the Aryan languages for a foreigner to learn.

The flexional derivatives of other Aryan languages depend on *endings*. So they easily accommodate themselves to the convenience of alphabetical order in a standard dictionary. The special difficulty of the Celtic languages is that the initial consonant of a word may change in different contexts. For instance, the Welsh word for "kinsman" may be *car*, *gar*, *char*, or *nghar*, e.g. *car agos* "a near kinsman," *ei gar* "his kinsman," *ei char* "her kinsman," *fy nghar* "my kinsman." In short, the beginning and end of a word may change to meet the dictates of Celtic grammar. So the use of the dictionary is an exploit which the foreigner undertakes with imminent sense of danger, and little confidence of success. A quotation from a book by a Breton nationalist will scarcely give the reader an unduly harsh statement of the difficulty: "As for reading, to look up a word in the dictionary, it is enough to know the few consonants which are interchangeable—K, P, T with C'H, F, Z, or with G, B, D; G, D, B, with K, P, T, or with C'H, V, Z; M with V, and GW with W."

THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

Nine hundred years ago, the Moslem world was the seat of the most progressive culture then existing. China could point to a rich secular tradition of literature coeval with the sacred texts of Aryan India. The Aryan languages did not as yet enjoy the undisputed prestige of Anglo-American, French, and German in our own age. If we go back to more remote antiquity, Aryan, Semitic, and Chinese yield place to the languages of Egypt* and Mesopotamia, where the permanent record of human striving began.

* Ancient Egyptian was one of the Hamitic languages. They derive their name from Ham, the biblical brother of Shem. Besides *Ancient Egyptian*, they include *Cushitic* (of which Somali and Galla are the chief representatives), together with the *Berber* dialects of North-West Africa. Though the Semitic and Hamitic group diverge widely, their kinship is generally recognized. They share more root-words than can be explained by borrowing; and they have some common grammatical peculiarities.

Nearly three thousand years ago, when Aryan-speaking tribes were letterless savages, Semitic trading peoples hit on the device embodied in our own alphabet. Fully a thousand years before the true relationship between the principal European languages and Indo-Iranian was recognized, Jewish scholars, who applied the methods of their Muslim teachers, had already perceived the unity of the Semitic dialects then known. The Rabbi's interest in language problems was half-superstitious, half-practical, like that of the Brahmanic priest or the student of the Koran. His aim was to perpetuate the correct form, spelling, and pronunciation of the Sacred Texts; but there was a difference between the Brahmin and the Jew. Because he often lived in centres of Muslim learning such as Damascus, Seville, and Cordova, and also because he had mastered more than one tongue, the Rabbi could easily transgress the confines of his own language. Inescapably he was impressed by similarities between Aramaic, Hebrew, and Arabic, and compelled to assume their kinship. Though he used the discovery to bolster his belief that Hebrew was the parent of Arabic, and incidentally of all other languages, he planted the seed of *comparative grammar*.

The linguistic preoccupations of the medieval Jews, and of their teachers the Arabs, were continued by European scholars of the sixteenth century. Protestant scholarship intensified interest in Hebrew, which took its place with the Latin of the Vulgate and New Testament Greek; and Ethiopian joined the scholarly repertory of known Semitic dialects. Babylonian-Assyrian (Accadian) was not deciphered and identified till the nineteenth century. The family as a whole derives its name from *Shem*, the son of Noah in the Hebrew myth. It is now commonly divided in the following way: *East Semitic*, Babylonian-Assyrian (Accadian); *West Semitic*, (1) Aramaic, (2) The Canaanite dialects (Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabitic); *South Semitic*, (1) Arabic, (2) Ethiopian.

The Semitic languages form a unit far more closely knit than the Aryan family, and have changed comparatively little during their recorded history. As a literary language, modern Arabic stands closer to the Arabic of the Koran than does French to the Latin of Gaul in the time of Mohammed. This suggests one of the reasons why the Semitic tongues have repeatedly superseded one another. Three Semitic languages have successfully competed for first place, and have become current far beyond their original homes. They are: Babylonian-Assyrian, Aramaic, and Arabic. The oldest representative of which we possess documents, and the first to assume international importance, was

Accadian. Accadian was the speech of people who inhabited the plains of Arabia before they invaded the fertile lands of the Euphrates and Tigris. There they came into contact with the Sumerians, and adopted a superior culture, together with a system of syllabic writing, known as *cuneiform*. A wealth of cuneiform inscriptions and libraries of records engraved on cylinders and bricks of burnt clay have preserved the Babylonian-Assyrian language. The oldest assessable document goes back to the time of the great conqueror, Sargon I (ca. 2400).

For centuries Accadian was a medium of commercial and diplomatic correspondence throughout the Near and Middle East. We find evidence of its wide currency in letters which Palestinian princes addressed to Amenophis IV in the fifteenth century B.C. They were unearthed at Tel-el-Amarna, in Egypt. By the time of Alexander the Great, Accadian had ceased to exist as a living language. The medium that took its place was *Aramaic*. The Arameans were a trading people. After relinquishing desert life, they came to occupy the so-called Syrian saddle to the North-West of Mesopotamia. Thanks to this strategic position, they were then able to command the commerce that went along the land routes between the Mediterranean and the Middle East. From about the eighth century B.C. onwards, they began to filter into the Babylonian and Assyrian empires. With them went their language and script, and in time Aramaic displaced not only Accadian, but also Hebrew and Phœnician. It even penetrated Arabic-speaking regions, and became one of the official languages of the Persian Empire.

Even after the advent of Christianity, Aramaic was an important cultural medium. The famous Nestorian Stone, discovered in 1625 in Sin-ngan-fu, shows that missionaries carried the Nestorian heresy with later Aramaic (Syriac) gospel texts as far as China. It was erected in A.D. 781, and reports in parallel Chinese and Syriac inscriptions the successes and failures of the Nestorian mission. All that survives to-day of this once mighty lingua franca is the speech of three small communities near Damascus.

Aramaic, not Hebrew, was the mother-tongue of Palestine during the period with which the gospel narrative deals. When the Evangelists quote the words of Christ, the language is Aramaic, not Hebrew. By that time the local Canaanite dialect in which the earlier parts of the Old Testament were written was already a dead language. The decline of Hebrew set in with the destruction of Jerusalem and the Captivity which began in the sixth century B.C. It was soon superseded by Aramaic, which became the literary as well as the spoken medium of

the Jews after the Maccabean period. Hebrew survived only as a language of scholarship and ritual, like Latin in medieval Christendom. It never quite ceased to be written or spoken. Its uninterrupted, though slender, continuity with the past has encouraged Zionists to increase the difficulties of existence for Jews by trying to revive it as a living tongue.

Another Canaanite dialect, Phoenician, is closely related to Hebrew. At a very early period the Phoenicians had succeeded in monopolizing the Mediterranean trade, mainly at the expense of Crete and Egypt. Phoenician settlements were to be found in Rhodes, Sicily, Marseilles, and countless places along the North African coast. In the fourth century B.C. Phoenician ships were trading with South Britain, and had even skirted the shores of West Africa. As the result of this vigorous commercial expansion, the Phoenician language, and with it the Phoenician alphabet which became the mother of most of the world's alphabets, was distributed throughout the Mediterranean basin. Only in Carthage, the richest Phoenician colony, did it become firmly established as a medium of speech. Several centuries after it had ceded place to Aramaic in the more ancient Phoenician communities of Tyre and Sidon, it maintained itself in the African colony. There it persisted till the fourth or fifth century A.D. According to St. Augustine, who came from North Africa, Carthaginian Phoenician, sometimes called *Punic*, differed little from Hebrew. Phoenician is preserved in many but insignificant inscriptions from the home-country and from its colonies, and in ten lines which the Roman playwright, Plautus, inserted in his *Poenulus*.

During the four centuries after Mohammed, the spectacular spread of Islam pushed aside nearly all other Semitic languages in favour of Arabic. The Koran had to be read and chanted in the language of the prophet himself. Unlike Christianity, Muslims never proselytized for their faith by translation. The various Arabic dialects now spoken from Morocco to the Middle East differ greatly, but a common literary language still holds together widely separated speech communities. The Muslim conquests diffused Arabic over Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, the north of Africa, and even parts of Europe. Its impact left Persian with a vocabulary diluted by addition of Semitic, almost equal in number to indigenous words. Even European languages retain many to testify to commercial, industrial, and scientific achievements of Muslim civilization. Familiar examples are: *tariff*, *traffic*, *magazine*, *admiral*, *muslim*, *alcohol*, *Aldebaran*, *nadir*, *zero*, *cipher*, *algebra*, *sugar*.

Between the beginning of the ninth and the end of the fifteenth century A.D., Europe assimilated the technique of Muslim civilization, as Japan assimilated the technique of Western civilization during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Scholars of Northern Europe had to acquire a knowledge of Arabic as well as of Latin at a time when Moorish Spain was the flower of European culture, a thriving centre of world trade, and the sole custodian of all the mechanics, medicine, astronomy, and mathematics in the ancient world. While Arabic scholars of the chief centres of Muslim culture, such as Damascus, Cairo, Cordova, and Palermo refused to deviate from the classical Arabic of pre-Islamic poetry and the Koran, the speech of the common people evolved further and split into the several vernaculars of Syria, Tripoli, Iraq, Algeria, Tunis, Egypt, and Morocco. Their common characteristics are a reduction of vowels, the decay of the flexional system, and heavy admixture of non-Arabic words. To-day Arabic is spoken by about forty million people.

About the fourth century A.D., Ethiopia responded to the efforts of Coptic missionaries, and embraced the Christian faith. Thereafter Abyssinian Semitic, known as *Ge'ez* or *Ethiopic*, became a medium of literary activity. It died out as a spoken language in the fourteenth century, but like Sanskrit, Latin, and classical Arabic, continued to function as a medium of religious practice, and as such is still the liturgical language of the Abyssinian Church. Its living descendants are *Amharic*, *Tigrina* of Northern Abyssinia and *Tigré* of Italian Eritrea. *Maltese*, which is of Arabic origin, is the language of a Christian community. It is transcribed in the Latin alphabet.

The reader of *The Loom of Language* will now be familiar with two outstanding peculiarities of the Semitic group. One is called *triliteralism* (p. 70). The other is the prevalence of *internal vowel change*. When relieved of affixes and internal vowels the majority of root words have a core of *three consonants*. Within this fixed framework great variety is possible by ringing the changes on different vowel combinations. With only five simple vowels it is possible to make twenty-five different vocables of the pattern *b-g-n*, in the English triliteral grouping; *begin-began-begun*. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that a Semitic language exhausts most of the conceivable possibilities of internal vowel change consistent with an inflexible triple-consonant frame.

A distinct arrangement of three particular consonants has its characteristic element of meaning. Thus in Arabic, *qatala* means "he killed," *qatila* means "he was killed," *qatil* means "murderer," and *qil* means

"enemy." The range of root-inflection in the Semitic family vastly exceeds what we find in any Aryan language. Within the Aryan group internal vowel change always plays second fiddle to external flexion. Even in German, where it looms large, the variety of derivatives distinguished by affixes is much greater than the variety of derivatives distinguished by modification of a stem vowel. Among the Semitic dialects modification of the vowel pattern is orderly and all-pervading.

The Semitic noun has possessive affixes like those of Finno-Ugrian languages (p. 198). In other ways the grammar of Semitic dialects recalls features more characteristic of the Aryan tribe. The verb has two tense-forms, imperfect and perfect, denoting *aspect* (p. 103). The noun has subject and object forms, singular and plural. The older Semitic dialects had dual forms. The Arabic dual disappeared in the seventh century A.D. Pronouns of the second and third person, like adjectives, have endings appropriate to two noun-classes, respectively called masculine and feminine, with as much and as little justice as the so-called masculine and feminine nouns of French or Spanish. Gender-distinction has also infected the verb. Thus the third person of the Arabic verb has the suffixes *a* (masculine) and *at* (feminine). The absence of explicit vowel symbols in the old Semitic script adds to the difficulties which this load of grammatical ballast imposes on anyone who wishes to learn Arabic or Hebrew.

CHINESE

Two characteristics make a language more easy to learn than it would otherwise be. One is grammatical regularity. The other is word-economy. Nearly all the languages previously discussed in this chapter are over-charged with irregularities or with devices which unnecessarily multiply the number of word forms essential for acceptable communication. The difficulty of learning Chinese and related languages is of a different sort.

Chinese vernaculars make up one of three branches of the great *Indo-Chinese* family. The other two are represented by the *Tibeto-Burmese* group and the *Tai* languages, including *Siamese* and *Annamese*. The several members of the family are geographically contiguous and have two outstanding similarities. One is that they are *tone* languages. Otherwise identical words uttered in different tones may have great diversity of meaning. In fact, tone differences do the same job as the vowel differences in such a series as *pat, pet, pit, pot, put*. Their second peculiarity is not equally characteristic of the

Tibeto-Burmese group which has agglutinative features. With this qualification, it is broadly true to say that all the root words—i.e. all words excluding compounds made by juxtaposition of vocables with an independent existence like that of *ale* and *house* in *alehouse*—are *monosyllabic*. For what we can convey by internal or external flexion Chinese languages rely wholly on position, on auxiliary particles and on compounds.

For the common ancestry of all the members of the family one clue is lacking. In their present form they have no clear-cut community of vocabulary; and we have no means of being certain about whether

| Compound Character | First Component | Second Component |
|---|---|--|
| 明 ^{ming²} bright | 日 ^{ri²} sun | 月 ^{ywe⁴} moon |
| 好 ^{hao³} good | 女 ^{nyü³} daughter | 子 ^{dzê³} son |
| 行 ^{shying²} walk | 彳 ^{chê²} left step | 亍 ^{chu²} right step |
| 林 ^{lin²} woods | 木 ^{mu⁴} wood | 木 ^{mu⁴} wood |

FIG. 42.—COMPOUND CHINESE CHARACTERS WITH TWO MEANING COMPONENTS
(Adapted from Firth's *The Tongues of Men*)

they ever had a recognisably common stock of word material. The literature of China goes back several thousand years, but it does not give us the information we need. Chinese writing is a logographic script (p. 57). It tells us very little about sounds corresponding to the written symbols when writing first came into use. When the Chinese of to-day read out a passage from one of their classical authors, they pronounce the words as they would pronounce the words of a newspaper or an advertisement.

Some 400 million people of China, Manchuria, and part of Mongolia now speak the vernaculars which go by the name of Chinese. They include: (a) the *Mandarin* dialects, of which the *North Chinese* of about 250 million people is the most important; (b) the *Kiangsi* dialects; (c) the *Central-Coastal* group (Shanghai, Ningpo, Hangkow); (d) the

South Chinese dialects (Foochow, Amoy-Swatow, Cantonese-Hakka). The dialects north of the Yang-tse-kiang are remarkably homogeneous if we take into consideration their geographical range; but it is misleading to speak of the vernaculars of all China as dialects of a single language. The Southerner who knows only his own vernacular cannot converse with the Northerner. China has no common medium of speech in the sense that Britain, France, or Germany have one; but is

| Compound Character | 'Meaning' Component | 'Sound' Component |
|---|-------------------------------|---|
| 跑 phao ³ to run | 足 dzu ² foot | 包 bao ¹ wrap |
| 洪 hung ² flood | 水 shwei ³ water | 共 gung ⁴ common |
| 炸 dza ² to fry | 火 hwé ³ fire | 乍 dza ⁴ sudden |
| 訪 fang ³ to call & ask | 言 yen ² words | 方 fang ¹ direction or square |

FIG. 43.—COMPOUND CHINESE CHARACTERS WITH MEANING AND PHONETIC COMPONENT
(Adapted from Firth's *The Tongues of Men*)

now in the process of evolving a common language based on the northern dialects, more especially Pekingese.*

There are very few exceptions to the rule that *all* Chinese words are monosyllabic. Such as they are, some are repetitive or onomatopoeic, e.g. KO-KO (*brother*) or HA-HA (*laughter*), and others would probably prove to be compounds, if we were able to delve back into the past. Our own language has moved far in the same direction. In the course of a thousand years there has been wholesale denudation of final vowels and assimilation of terminal syllables. The result has been a large increase of our stock-in-trade of monosyllabic words. *Though it is far from true to say that all our words are now of this class, it is by no means hard to spin out a long strip of them. In fact, you have one in front of your eyes as you read this. If you try to do the same, you will find out that the ones you choose are the words you use, or at least*

* The examples given in what follows represent Pekingese.

the words that most of us use, most of the time. The ones we have most on our lips are just these small words. By the time you get as far as the next full stop you will have met more than six score of them with no break; and it would be quite a soft job to go on a long time in the same strain as the old rhyme Jack and Jill.

This is not the only way in which Anglo-American approaches Chinese. The reader of *The Loom of Language* no longer needs to be told that English has discarded most of the flexions with which it was equipped a thousand years ago or how much we now rely on the use of unchangeable words. True the process did not complete itself; but there are now few ways in which we have to modify word-forms. Our stock of essential words includes a small and sterile class with internal changes such as those of *sing-sang* or *foot-feet*. Otherwise the terminal -s of the plural noun, the endings -s, -ed and -ing of the verb together with the optional affixes -er and -est which we tack on to adjectives circumscribe the flexions which usage demands. It is a short step to Chinese vernaculars of which all words are invariant. With very few exceptions the Chinese word is an unalterable block of material. It tolerates neither flexions, nor derivatives affixes such as the -er in *baker*. In general, its form tells us nothing to suggest that it denotes an act, a state, a quality, a thing, or a person.

One and the same word may thus slip from one grammatical niche to another; and what we call the *parts of speech* have little to do with how Chinese words behave. The word SHANG may mean the *above one*, i.e. *ruler*, and then corresponds to an Aryan noun. In SHANG PIEN (*above side*) it does the job of an Aryan adjective. In SHANG MA (*to above a horse*, i.e. *to mount one*) it is a verb-equivalent. In MA SHANG (*horse above*, i.e. *on the horse*) it does service as post-posed directive corresponding to one of our prepositions. Here again we are on familiar ground. We *down* a man, take the *down* train and walk *down* the road. We *house* our goods, sell a *house* and do as little *house* work as possible. This is not to say that all Chinese names for things may also denote actions. The word NŪ (*woman*) is never equivalent to an Aryan verb, though JĒN (*man*) may mean *performing the act of a man*, a one-sided way of expressing the act of coitus. Anglo-American provides a parallel. We *man* a boat but we do not *woman* a cookery class. We buy *salt* and *salt* our soup, *bottle* wine and drink from the *bottle*, but we do not as yet *mustard* our bacon or *cupboard* our pants.

Whether a particular Chinese sound signifies thing, attribute, direc-

tion, or action depends in part on context, in part on word-order, as illustrated above by MA SHANG and SHANG MA. In everyday speech there is an incipient tendency to mark such distinction by affixation as we distinguish the noun *singer* from the verb *sing* or by pronunciation, as we distinguish between the noun *présent* and the verb *présent* (i.e. make a present). For example, the toneless TZU (pronounced *dze*), a literary word for child, attaches itself to other words, forming couplets which stand for *things*, e.g. PEN-TZU (*exercise book*). So TZU is now the signpost of a concrete object in the spoken language, as *-ly* (originally meaning *like*) is now a signpost of an English qualifier (adjective or adverb). In the fourth tone (p. 433) PEI means *the back*, and in the first tone it means *to carry on one's back*. Difference of tone also distinguishes CH'ANG (*long*) from CHANG (*to get long*, i.e. to grow). A strong aspiration after the initial CH further distinguishes the first from the second number of the couplet.

There is no trace of gender in Chinese vernaculars. Thus a single pronoun of the third person does service (T'A in Pekingese) for male or female, thing or person alike. By recourse to separate particles such as our words *few*, *many*, *several*, plurality becomes explicit for emphasis or when confusion might arise. To express totality Chinese resorts to the age-old and widespread trick of duplication. Thus JÊN-JÊN means *all men* and T'IEN-T'IEN means *everyday*. One plural particle MÊN (*class*) attaches itself to names for persons, e.g. HSIEN SHÊNG MÊN (*teachers*) or to personal pronouns. Thus we have:

| | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| WO | <i>I, me</i> | WO-MÊN | <i>we, us</i> |
| NI | <i>thou, thee</i> | NI-MÊN | <i>you</i> |
| T'A | <i>he, she, it, him, her</i> | T'A-MÊN | <i>they, them</i> |

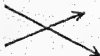
Like the noun, the Chinese pronoun has no case forms. Before the indirect object the particle KEI which means *give* does the work of *to* in English or of the *dative* terminal in German. Thus WO CHIE KEI LAO-JE LA means *I lend give gentleman finished*, i.e. *I have lent it to the gentleman*. In literary Chinese juxtaposition does the work of the genitive terminal, e.g. MIN LI (*people power*) means the *power of the people*, as *money power* means *power of money* and *mother love* means *love of a mother*. Colloquial Chinese inserts a particle TI between MIN (*people*) and LI (*power*), as we can preposit *of* in the preceding. The postposited particle TI may also attach itself to a

pronoun. So WO-TI means *mine, of me*. If Karlgren is right TI began its career as a pointer word, but it no longer exists as an independent word. It is now comparable to a flexional affix such as the *-s* in *people's*.

Needless to say, Chinese has no special marks for person, tense, mood, or voice. As in colloquial Italian and Spanish, it is the usual thing to leave out the personal pronoun when the situation supplies it. In polite or submissive speech a depreciative expression takes the place of the ego (WO in Pekingese), and a laudatory one ("honorific") does service for *you*. Since there is no flexion the same syllable LAI may mean *go, went, going*, etc. In the absence of another word to stress that a process or state is over and done with, or that the issue is closed, the perfective particle LA can follow the verb. LA is a toneless and contracted form of LIAO meaning *complete* or *finished*. Future time can be made explicit: (a) with an adverbial particle equivalent to *soon, henceforth, later on*, etc.; (b) by the helper YAO which has an independent existence equivalent to *wish* or *want*, the original meaning of our own helper *will*. Thus we may say; T'A LAI *he comes; he is coming*; T'A LAI LA *he has come, he came*; T'A YAO LAI *he will come*. The particle PA (*stop*) is the signal of a peremptory command, e.g. CH'Ü PA (*clear out*); but it is more polite to use YAO exactly as we use *will* and the French use *vouloir* in *will you tell me or veuillez me dire*.

It goes without saying that a language with complete absence of flexion and a large number of ambiguous words must have rules of word-order no less rigid than those of English. What is surprising is that so many of the syntactical conventions of Chinese agree with our own. In a straightforward statement, the order in both languages is subject—verb—object. This is illustrated by the following:

I do not fear him.



He does not fear me.

WO PU P'A T'A.



T'A PU P'A WO.

These sentences show that position alone stamps WO as what we call the subject of the first and the object of the second. The object is placed for emphasis at the head of the sentence only where misunderstanding is impossible. In such a statement as the following, the subject is still immediately in front of the verb:

CHE-KO HUA WO PU HSIN = *this language I not believe*
(i.e. I don't believe that)

The position of the adjective equivalent is the same in Chinese as in Anglo-American. The attributive adjective comes first as in HAO JĒN (*a good man*). The predicative adjective comes after the noun but without a copula equivalent to *be*. Thus JĒN HAO means *the man is good*.

At other points Anglo-American and Chinese rules of syntax diverge to greater or less degree. Conditional statements and interrogation are two of them. Chinese uses *if* sparingly. It gets along by mere juxtaposition as in conversational English:

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|----------|-------------|-------------------|
| T'A-MEN | MAN-MAN-TI | SHUO | WO | CHIU | MING-PAI |
| <i>they</i> | <i>slowly</i> | <i>speak</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>then</i> | <i>understand</i> |

(i.e. if they spoke slowly I should understand)

There is no inversion of word order in a question of the *yes-no* type. A Chinese question may be a plain statement with an interrogative particle equivalent to *eh?* at the end of it, e.g. T'A LAI MO (*he comes eh*, i.e. *is he coming?*). Instead of adding MO (*eh?*) to T'A LAI (*he is coming*) it is possible to add a *negation* reminiscent of the nursery jingle *she loves me, she loves me not*. Thus T'A LAI PU LAI (*he come, not come*) means the same as T'A LAI MO. One feature of Chinese has no parallel in European languages. What corresponds to a transitive verb must always trail an object behind it. In effect the Chinese say *he does not want to read books* or *he does not want to write characters* where we should simply say *he does not want to read* or *he does not want to write*. Omission of an object confers a passive meaning, e.g. CHE-KO JĒN TA-SSU LA (*this man kill finished*) means *this man has been killed*.

Everything said so far underlines the likeness of the Chinese to our own way of saying something, and there would be nothing left to write about, if the sound-pattern of Chinese were comparable to an English purged of polysyllables. With no rules of grammar but a few common-sense directions about the arrangement of words, with no multiplicity of words disguised for different grammatical categories, as we disguise *bible* in *biblical* or as German duplicates its transitive and intransitive verbs, a Chinese dialect would be the easiest language to learn. In fact, it is not.

The range of elementary sounds, i.e. simple vowels and consonants, in no language exceeds about forty. So it stands to reason that the number of pronounceable syllables cannot be equal to the number of

stars. In Chinese, the possible maximum is reduced by two characteristics of the spoken language. One is that the Chinese syllable never tolerated initial consonant clusters other than TS, DS, and CH, i.e. no Chinese words have the same form as our *spree*, *clay*, *plea*. The second is that the monosyllable ends either in a vowel or in one of a small range of consonants. Even in ancient times the terminal consonants were not more than six in number (*p, t, k, m, n, ng*); and in the northern dialect to-day, only the last two (*n, ng*) occur. That is to say, nearly all words are monosyllables of the *open* type like our words *by*, *me*, *so*. Within the framework of these limitations, the number of pronounceable syllables which can be made up is very small compared with the size of our vocabulary. Indeed, it is a tiny fraction of what the vocabulary of a monosyllabic language would be if it admitted closed syllables, like *stamps* or *clubs*, with double or treble consonants at each end.

The reader will not be slow to draw one inference. At an early date Chinese was encumbered with a large number of homophones, i.e. words with the same sound and different meanings. When further reduction of final sounds took place, the number multiplied. At one time the language of North China distinguished between *KA* (song), *KAP* (frog), *KAT* (cut), and *KAK* (each). Now the four different words have merged in the single open monosyllable *KO*. This loss of word-substance, together with limitations set upon the character of the syllable, means that less than five hundred monosyllables are now available for all the things and ideas the Chinese may wish to express by single or compound words. Professor Karlgren describes what this entails as follows:





"A small dictionary, including only the very commonest words of the language, gives about 4,200 simple words, which gives an average of *ten* different words for each syllable. But it is not to be expected that the words should be evenly distributed among the syllables; the number of homophones in a series is therefore sometimes smaller, sometimes larger. Of the common 4,200 words there are only two that are pronounced *jun*, but 69 that have the pronunciation *i*, 59 *shi*, 29 *ku*, and so forth."

Homophones exist in modern European languages though we often overlook their presence because of spelling differences (*to-too-two*), of gender, as in the German words *der Kiefer* (the jaw) and *die Kiefer* (the fir), or of both, as in the French words *le porc* (the pork) and *le pore* (the pore). They are particularly frequent in English. Even if we limit ourselves to those homophones which are made up of an initial consonant and a vowel, like a typical Chinese word, we find such familiar

examples as *bay* (colour), *bay* (tree), *bay* (sea), *bay* (bark)*; *sea*, *see*, *See* or *so*, *sew*, *sow*, or the following pairs:

| | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>be</i> , | <i>bee</i> | <i>doe</i> , | <i>dough</i> | <i>roe</i> , | <i>row</i> |
| <i>boy</i> , | <i>buoy</i> | <i>hie</i> , | <i>high</i> | <i>toe</i> , | <i>tow</i> |
| <i>bow</i> , | <i>bough</i> | <i>may</i> , | <i>neigh</i> | <i>we</i> , | <i>wee</i> |
| <i>die</i> , | <i>dye</i> | <i>no</i> , | <i>know</i> | <i>way</i> , | <i>weigh</i> |

This enumeration does not include words which are also homophones because of the silent English (as opposed to American and Scots) *r*, e.g. *maw*, *more*; *saw*, *soar*. In spite of their great number, English homophones cause no embarrassment in speech because the intended meaning is indicated by the sentence in which they occur, and by the situation in which speaker and hearer find themselves. For this reason, no naval decorator has painted the *boys* when asked to paint the *buoys*. No difficulty arises in real life because *flag* signifies a piece of bunting, as well as a harmless English water-flower, or because *spirit* stands for an intoxicant and part of a medium's stock-in-trade.

Though homophones are more abundant in English than in any other European languages, English homophones are few compared with the total number of words in common use. Indeed, we may well ask how it is possible to communicate with only little over four hundred monosyllables, most of which stand for scores of unrelated things. The answer is that Chinese possesses several peculiar safeguards against confusion of sound and meaning. To begin with, most of Chinese homophones are not true homophones of the English *by-buy* type. On this page *LI* (*pear*), *LI* (*plum*), and *LI* (*chestnut*) look exactly the same. In speech they are not. Difference of *tone* keeps them apart. Tone differences which go with a difference of meaning exist in other languages, as when we pronounce *yes* or *yeah* in a matter of fact, interrogative, ironical, or surprised manner; but such differences are casual. The tone differences of Chinese are not casual intrusions. Its proper tone is an essential part of the word. The number of tones varies in different Chinese languages. Cantonese is said to have nine. Pekingese has now only four. It is impossible to convey the differences on paper; but we can get a hint from the language of music. The first is the high level tone ; the second the high rising ; the third the low rising ; the fourth the high falling .

* (i) From French *baie*; (ii) from Old French *baie*, Latin *bacca* (berry); (iii) from French *baie*, Latin *baia*; (iv) from Old French *bayer*, Modern French *aboyer*.

In the first tone FU means *husband*, in the second *fortune*, in the third *government office*, and in the fourth *rich*.

Nobody knows how this elaborate system arose. It would be naïve to believe that the Chinese ever became aware of the dangerous turn their language was taking, and deliberately started to differentiate homophones by tone. It is more likely that some tones represent the pronunciation of old monosyllables, while other tones are survivals of words which were once disyllabic and as such had an intonation different from that of monosyllabic words. Though the existence of distinct tones greatly reduces the number of genuine homophones, many words spoken in one tone cover a bewildering variety of different notions. For instance, *I* in the first tone means *one, dress, rely on, cure*; in the second *barbarian, soap, doubt, move*; in the third *chair, ant, tail*; and in the fourth *sense, wing, city, translate, discuss*. Evidently therefore Chinese must possess other devices beside tone to make effective speech possible. The most important is the juxtaposition of synonyms or near-synonyms. An example will make this clear. Our words *expire* and *die* would both be liable to misunderstanding if listed as such in a vocabulary. *Die* may mean: (a) *cease to live*, (b) *a metallic mould or stamp*, (c) *a small toy of cubical shape*. *Expire* may mean: (a) *breathe outwards*, (b) *cease to live*. We can make the first meaning of *die* explicit in our word list, if we write *die-expire*. The second meaning of *expire* comes to life in the same way, when we write *expire-die*. This is what the Chinese do when they combine K'AN (*see or investigate*) with CHIEN (*see or build*) to make K'AN-CHIEN which means *see alone*. We might clarify the second meaning of *die* as given above by writing *die-mould* or *die-stamp* in which the second element is a generic term. This is what the Chinese do when they make up FU-CH'IN from FU which in one tone means *father, oppose, split, or belly* and CH'IN (*a kinsman*). The trick of sorting out homophones by making such couplets pervades Chinese speech and asserts itself when the labourer speaks *Pidgin*, e.g. *look-see* for *see*.

If we rank *alehouse* and *housemaid* as disyllabic words, colloquial Chinese is rich in disyllables. It is a monosyllable language in the sense that it contains scarcely any trace of syllables which have no independent mobility, e.g. the syllables *-dom* in *wisdom* or *-es* in *houses*. In nearly all such compounds as those illustrated above, one part like the syllable *man* in *postman* may carry a weaker stress, but like *man* still has a verbal life of its own. Daily speech accommodates a few syllables which have as little autonomy as the *-ship* in *friendship*. We have

already met TZU (p. 429). Then there is a suffix based on ÊRH, a still extant word for *boy*. Originally it gave the word with which it went a diminutive meaning, and had the same function as the *-ling* in *duckling* or *gosling*. As such it became fused in such contractions

| Parent Chinese Character | KATA-KANA | Sound | Parent Chinese Character | KATA-KANA | Sound | Parent Chinese Character | KATA-KANA | Sound |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------|--------------------------|-----------|--------|--------------------------|-----------|-------|
| 阿 | ア | a | 千 | チ | chi | 牟 | ム | mu |
| 伊 | イ | i | 門津 | ツ | tsu | 女 | メ | me |
| 宇 | ウ | u | 天 | テ | te | 毛 | モ | mo |
| 江 | エ | e | 土 | ト | to | 也 | ヤ | ya |
| 於 | オ | o | 奈 | ナ | na | 勇油 | ユ | yu |
| 加 | カ | ka | 仁二 | ニ | ni | 與 | ヨ | yo |
| 幾 | キ | ki | 奴 | ヌ | nu | 良 | ラ | ra |
| 久 | ク | ku | 子 | 子 | ne | 利 | リ | ri |
| 个計 | ケ | ke | 乃 | ノ | no | 流 | ル | ru |
| 己 | コ | ko | 八 | ハ | fa(ha) | 礼 | レ | re |
| 草散左 | サ | sa | 比 | ヒ | fi(hi) | 呂 | ロ | ro |
| 之 | シ | shi | 不 | フ | fu | 日 | リ | wa |
| 須 | ス | su | 皿邊 | ヘ | fe, he | 慧 | エ | we |
| 世 | セ | se | 保 | ホ | fo(ho) | 伊 | 井 | wi |
| 曾 | ソ | so | 末 | マ | ma | 乎 | チ | wo |
| 多 | タ | ta | 三美 | ミミ | mi | 一 | 一 | — |

FIG. 44.—PARENT CHINESE CHARACTERS OF THE KATAKANA
(OLDER) JAPANESE SYLLABARY

as LÜ'RH (little ass) from LÜ (ass), or FERH (light breeze) from FENG (wind). Nowadays it has lost its former diminutive force, and is added to words to indicate that they are thing-words, e.g. CHU'RH (owner).

Another trick which helps to reduce misunderstandings is the use of *numeratives*, words which usually follow a numeral, pointer word,

or interrogative as *head* follows the numeral in *three head of cattle*. Different classes of words have different classifiers of this sort. We have already met one KO (*piece*) which keeps company with JĒN (*man*) as in SAN-KO JĒN (*three piece men*, i.e. three men). KO is the numerative of the largest class. Others are K'OU (*mouth*) for things with a round opening such as a pot or a well, PA (*handle*) for knives spoons and the like, FENG (*seal*) for letters and parcels, KUA (*hanging*) for a *necklace, beard*, and other suspended objects. Classificatory particles of this sort are widely current in the speech of preliterate communities the world over, and are highly characteristic of such (p. 311). Seemingly the numerative of Chinese is not a new device for dealing with the homophones but a very ancient characteristic of human communication kept alive by a new need.

If we disregard tone differences the number of distinct root words in spoken Chinese is little more than 400, or slightly over 1,200 if we make allowance for them. These have to do the work of a much larger number of things, actions, and concepts. The written language (p. 57) is not embarrassed by the plethora of homophones. Each symbol has a particular meaning, and several symbols may therefore stand for the same sound. Thus ten symbols of Chinese script stand for the various meanings of LI in the second tone. Unhappily this advantage has its own penalty. To become proficient in reading and writing the Chinese pupil has to learn a minimum of about 3,000 to 4,000 characters. This entails several years of exacting work which might otherwise lay the foundations of more useful knowledge. So much thankless toil tempts us to wonder why the Chinese do not discard their archaic script in favour of our own more handy and more thrifty alphabet. Turkey has already given the world an inspiring object lesson. Under the benevolent despotism of Atatürk it has exchanged the involved and unsuitable Arabic for Latin letters. The result is that Turkish boys and girls now master the elements of reading and writing in six months instead of two or three years.

Admittedly Turkish's problem is a simpler one. Turkish is an agglutinative language, adapted as such to regular conventions of spelling; but the Romanization of Chinese script would lead to hopeless confusion, if it followed the customary practice of transcription in maps and Western newspapers. A satisfactory alphabetic orthography has to bring the tones to life; and there are several feasible ways of doing so. We might distinguish the four Pekingese tones by diacritic marks as in the French series: *e, é, ê, ê*. In accordance with the system

of Sir Thomas Wade we can put a number in the top right-hand corner, as in many primers for European students. A new and much better transcription is the *National Language Romanisation* (Gwoyeu Romatzyh) designed by a Chinese scholar for Chinese use. In the *Gwoyeu Romatzyh* the syllable has a basic core which corresponds to its pronunciation in the first tone, and carries a terminal element to distinguish the second, third, and fourth tones respectively. Where Wade gives TA¹, TA², TA³, TA⁴ the *Gwoyeu Romatzyh* puts DA, DAR, DAA, DAH. Compounds are treated as single units like *play-house* and *housewife*. Absence of numeral superscripts or diacritic marks lightens the job of the stenographer and keeps down the size of the keyboard. Below is a sentence (*I add yet another horizontal stroke*) in Wade's system and in the *National Romanisation*:

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| WOO | TZAY | JIASHANQ | YIGEH | HERNGL |
| WO ³ | TSAI ⁴ | CHIA ¹ -SHANG ⁴ | I ² -Kĕ ³ | HĒNG ² -ĒRH ⁰ |
| I | again | add-upon | one-piece | horizontal + diminutive affix |

The *National Language Romanisation* has made a promising start. Dictionaries, periodicals, and textbooks have been printed in it, and associations exist to advertise its far-reaching benefits. In the absence of other obstacles, its adoption in its present or an amended form would bring the art of reading within the reach of every Chinese boy and girl. Foreigners could learn Chinese without having to master the intricacies of a wholly alien script. Elimination of illiteracy would go hand in hand with diminishing prestige of scholars who have now a vested interest in the survival of worthless traditions.

The present form of writing shuts the door to the internationally current terminology of modern science and technology. Sometimes the Chinese assimilate foreign words in print by using the device mentioned in Chapter II (p. 68). To a large extent they rely on *Ersatz* products for new technical terms which they paraphrase in their own words. Thus a *vitamin* is *what protects the people's life* and *aniline*, less informatively, is *foreign red*. *Electricity* is the *lightning air* and *gas* is *air of coal*. In short, China is assimilating twentieth-century science through the medium of a seventeenth-century technique of discourse.

A social obstacle to reform remains while the Roman alphabet continues to be a symbol of foreign exploitation and Western arrogance; but the advantages of phonetic writing do not necessarily entail the use of our own letters. A phonetic script based on 39 Chinese characters has been under discussion since 1913. In 1918 it won a place on the

school syllabus. Missionaries alert to the advantages of the *Chu-Yin-Tau-Mu*, as it is called, have used it in adult education. They claim that Chinese men and women who had never been able to read or write their own names mastered the use of it after 3-6 weeks of tuition. One common objection to reform of Chinese writing is the plea that it would cut off China from her literary past. The truth is that contact with the classics through the medium of script has been the prerogative of a very small class for whom a classical education has been the master key to a successful career in the service of the government. The Chinese masses who toil for a handful of rice cannot lose what they have never possessed.

Another objection is less easy to refute. As yet, China has no common spoken language which everybody everywhere understands. The only language common to North and South is the written language, in which literate people of Peking or Canton, Foochow and Shanghai can read the same notices at the railway stations or the same advertisements by the roadside. The fact that they can do so depends upon the fact that the written language is not based directly on the diverse sounds they utter when they read them aloud. Happily the northern speech is gaining ground, and a common Chinese is taking shape, as a common English took shape in the fourteenth century, and as the dialect of Paris became the language of France.

The disabilities arising from the existence of the homophones extends beyond the boundaries of the Indo-Chinese group. Throughout its history Japan has continually borrowed Chinese words. At one time this chiefly affected discussion of religious, artistic, and philosophic topics. Of late years the range of the Chinese loan-words has broadened, because the Japanese sometimes build up technical terms from Chinese as we build them from Greek roots. Thus *electricity* is *DEN-KI* (*light spirit*). The Japanese vocabulary is now supercharged with monosyllabic sounds which mean many different things. When the *Kana* or syllabic writing (p. 67) was new, Japanese writers would use it exclusively without recourse to Chinese characters as such. Gradually the habit of introducing the ideogram gained ground owing to the influence of Chinese models. The result is that modern Japanese is a mixture of two syllabic scripts and a formidable battery of Chinese characters. The syllable signs represent the sound-values of the affixes and particles, the ideograms are used for the core of an inflected word. Thus the Japanese pupil has to learn the two syllabaries (*Hiragana* and *Katakana*) together with about 1,500 Chinese characters. Educated

Japanese acutely realize their handicap, but the ambiguities which would arise from an enormous number of imported homophones are an almost insurmountable obstacle to the plea for exclusive use of one

| Parent Chinese Character | HIRAGANA | Sound | Parent Chinese Character | HIRAGANA | Sound | Parent Chinese Character | HIRAGANA | Sound |
|--------------------------|----------|-------|--------------------------|----------|--------|--------------------------|----------|-------|
| 安 | あ | a | 知 | ち | chi | 武 | む | mu |
| 以 | い | i | 川 | つ | tsu | 女 | め | me |
| 宇 | う | u | 天 | て | te | 毛 | も | mo |
| 衣 | い | e | と | と | to | 也 | や | ya |
| 於 | お | o | 奈 | な | na | 由 | ゆ | yu |
| 加 | か | ka | 仁 | に | ni | 与 | よ | yo |
| 幾 | き | ki | 奴 | ぬ | nu | 良 | ら | ra |
| 久 | く | ku | 祿 | ね | ne | 利 | り | ri |
| 討 | け | ke | 乃 | の | no | 留 | る | ru |
| 己 | こ | ko | 波 | は | fa(ha) | 礼 | れ | re |
| 左 | さ | sa | 匹 | ひ | fi(hi) | 呂 | ろ | ro |
| 之 | し | shi | 不 | ふ | fu | 和 | わ | wa |
| 寸 | す | su | 四 | へ | fe(he) | 為 | る | wi |
| 世 | せ | se | 保 | ほ | fo(ho) | 妻 | を | we |
| 曾 | そ | so | 末 | ま | ma | 遠 | を | wo |
| 岑 | た | ta | 美 | み | mi | | | — |

FIG. 45.—PARENT CHINESE CHARACTERS OF THE HIRAGANA (LATER) JAPANESE SYLLABARY

or other of the syllabaries. Consequently there is a movement to introduce the Roman alphabet. It is somewhat more economical than the syllabaries, and it would have two more substantial advantages. One is the possibility of distinguishing between homophones as we do when we *write*, *wright*, *right*, and *rite*. The other is that it is impossible to represent the compound consonants of Latin or Greek roots in international technical terms with Kana signs.

Westernization has brought about a new influx of foreign words,

| | M | N | S | Z | P | B | T | D | K | G | Y | R | H | W | |
|----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | アイ | マ | ナ | サ | ザ | バ | パ | タ | ダ | カ | ガ | ヤ | ラ | ハ | ワ |
| I | イ | ミ | ニ | シ | ジ | ビ | ピ | チ | ヂ | キ | ギ | ユ | ル | ヒ | フ |
| U | ウ | ム | ヌ | ス | ズ | ブ | プ | ツ | ヅ | ク | グ | エ | レ | ヘ | ウ |
| E | エ | ノ | ネ | セ | ゼ | ヘ | ペ | テ | デ | ケ | ゲ | ヨ | ロ | ホ | エ |
| O | オ | モ | ノ | ソ | ゾ | ホ | ボ | ト | ド | コ | ゴ | ヨ | ロ | ホ | ヲ |
| UN | ン | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

FIG. 46.— JAPANESE *Katakana* SYLLABARY

Some of the corresponding sounds are not exactly as indicated in the table, i.e. TI = *chi*, TU = *tsu* and HU = *phu*. Note that the voiced and voiceless pairs *s-z*, *p-b*, *t-d*, *k-g* are distinguished only by diacritic marks in the top right-hand corner.

mainly from English sources, and Japanese has freely assimilated international technical terms in preference to compounds of Chinese monosyllables. In doing so it distorts them in conformity with its own phonetic pattern (Fig. 14 and p. 215). What is *foreign red* in China is *anirin*, and *spirit of coal* is *gasu*. Typical of such distortions are *peji* (page), *basu* (bus), *pondo* (pound), *doresu* (dress), *gurando* (sports ground), *kurimu* (cream), *taipuraitu* (typewriter).

Till recent times European scholars did not doubt that the monosyllabic uniformity of Chinese reflected human speech at its lowest level. There is now some evidence for the view that Chinese may not always have been an isolating language of monosyllables. Modern scholars believe that Chinese once had disyllabic words which became shortened through phonetic decay and fusion, as the Old English *lufu* has been reduced to *love*, and the Latin *bestia* (beast) to French *bête*. According to the researches of Professor Karlgren, the personal

pronoun had still distinct forms in the nominative and accusative in the latter part of the Chou Dynasty (1122 B.C.-A.D. 249).

Unfortunately the ideographic nature of Chinese script prevents us from getting any information about the phonetic pattern of the language through its ancient literature. Knowledge of the structure and pronunciation of ancient Chinese is largely based on the sister-language *Tibetan*, with literary documents dating from the seventh century A.D. These documents were transcribed in an alphabetic script of Hindu origin. From what they disclose, and from evidence based on rhymes, corroborated by comparison of various modern Chinese dialects, scholars now conclude that the language of China has a disyllabic, inflected past. If their reasoning is correct, Chinese and English may be said to have travelled along the same road at different epochs of human history or pre-history.

This prompts us to ask whether the future evolution of Anglo-American may lead to greater similarities between the two languages, and if so, with what consequences. We have seen that Chinese has one gross defect. It has an immense number of homophones, and it is not sympathetic to the manufacture of new vocables by the use of affixes, or to importation of technical terms of alien origin. Fortunately, there is no likelihood that English would reproduce these defects, if it came still closer to Chinese by dropping its last vestiges of useless flexions. English has two safeguards against impoverishment of meaning by depletion of its vocable resources. One is that it is constantly coining new technical terms by combination of borrowed affixes with native or alien roots. The other is that its inherent phonetic peculiarities permit an immense variety of monosyllables. So its stock of separate pronounceable elements would still be relatively enormous, even if all of them were monosyllables.

CONTACT VERNACULARS

In various parts of the world intercourse between Europeans and indigenous peoples has given birth to *contact vernaculars*. The best known are *Beach-lu-Mar* of the western Pacific, *Pidgin English* of the Chinese ports, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, etc., and the French *patois* of Mauritius, Madagascar, and the West Coast of Africa. The formative process has been the same for each of them. Partly from contempt, partly from an ill-founded belief that he is making things easier for the native, the white man addresses the latter in the truncated idiom of mothers—or lovers. Some people drop into such

tricks of expression when talking to a foreigner who is not at home in their own language. Thus a Frenchman will say to an American tourist *moi, beaucoup aimer les Américains*, i.e. *j'aime bien les Américains*. On their side, natives of subject communities react to the white man by re-echoing the phraseology in which they receive their orders. Everywhere the new speech-product consists of more or less deformed European words strung together with a minimum of grammar.

In Pidgin English, grammatical reduction does not amount to much, because English has met Chinese half-way. French, which clings to more remnants of its flexional past, offers more to bite on. Thus the noun of French, as it is spoken by descendants of African slaves in Mauritius, has lost its gender. If the adjective has different masculine and feminine forms, the Creole eliminates one, e.g. *éne bon madame* (= *une bonne madame*). The demonstrative *ça* stands for *ce, cet, ces*, as well as for *ceci, cela, celui, celle, ceux, celles*. *Mo* (= *moi*) means *I* before a verb, and *my* before a noun. *Li* (= *lui*) means *he* or *him*. Simplification of the verbal apparatus is pushed to the uttermost. The Creole verb is the form most often used, i.e. the past participle or the imperative, e.g. *vini* (= *venir*), *manzé* (= *manger*). To indicate time or aspect, the Creole relies on helpers. Thus *va* (or *pour*) points to the future, e.g. *li va vini* (*he will come*). The helper which signifies the simple past is *té* or *ti* (= *été*), e.g. *mo té manzé* (*I ate*). In the same way *finé* or *fini* expresses completed action, e.g. *mo finé causé* (*I have spoken, and won't say more*). The form *té* or *ti*, which combines with the invariant verb stem is all that is left of the conjugation (or usage) of *être*. There is no copula. For *je suis malade*, the Mauritian Creole says *mo malade* (*I sick*). Since *té* or *ti* has no other function, there is no literal equivalent for the Cartesian clasp *I think, therefore I am*.

Orthodox linguists have paid scant attention to these vernaculars. Consequently there is little available information about them. To the student of language-planning for world-co-operation, they have salutary lessons. Above all, they open a new approach to the question: what are minimal grammatical requirements of communication at a particular cultural level? Apart from Steiner, the inventor of *Pasilingua* (1885), none of the pioneers of language-planning seems to have considered them worthy of sympathetic study.

CHAPTER XI

PIONEERS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

OUR last chapter was about the diseases of natural languages. This one is about the pathology of artificial languages. To many people the last two words, like *interlanguage* or *world-auxiliary*, are terms synonymous with *Esperanto*. In reality Esperanto is only one among several hundred languages which have been constructed during the past three hundred years; and many people who are in favour of a world-auxiliary would prefer to choose one of the languages which a large proportion of the world's literate population already use. The merits of such views will come up for discussion at a later stage.

Language-planning started during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The pioneers were Scottish and English scholars. Several circumstances combined to awaken interest in the problem of international communication at this time. One was the decline of Latin as a medium of scholarship. For more than a thousand years Latin made learned Europeans a single fraternity. After the Reformation, the rise of nationalism encouraged the use of vernaculars. In Italy, which had the first modern scientific academy, Galileo set a new fashion by publishing some of his discoveries in his native tongue. The scientific academies of England and France followed his example. From its beginning in 1662, the Royal Society adopted English. According to Sprat, the first historian of the Society, its statutes demanded from its members *a close, naked, natural way of speaking . . . preferring the language of the artisans, countrymen, and merchants before that of wits and scholars*. About thirty years later the Paris *Académie des Sciences* followed the example of its English counterpart by substituting French for Latin.

The eclipse of Latin meant that there was no single vehicle of cultural intercourse between the learned academies of Europe. Another contemporaneous circumstance helped to make European scholars language-conscious. Since the sixteenth-century Swiss naturalist, Conrad Gessner, had collected samples of the Lord's Prayer in twenty-two different tongues, an ever-increasing variety of information about strange languages and stranger scripts accompanied miscellanies of new herbs, new beasts, and new drugs with cargoes coming back from

voyages of discovery. Navigation and missionary fervour fostered new knowledge of near and middle Eastern languages, including Coptic, Ethiopic, and Persian. It made samples of Amerindian, of Dravidian, of Malay, and of North Indic vernaculars available to European scholars. In becoming Bible-conscious, Europe became Babel-conscious.

One linguistic discovery of the seventeenth century is of special importance, because it suggested a possible remedy for the confusion of tongues. The labours of Jesuit missionaries diffused new knowledge about Chinese script. To seventeenth-century Europe Chinese, a script which substituted words for sounds, was a wholly novel way of writing. Still more novel was one consequence of doing so. To the reader of the *Loom* it is now a commonplace that two people from different parts of China can read the same texts without being able to converse with one another. To seventeenth-century Europe it was a nine days' wonder, and the knowledge of it synchronized with a spectacular innovation. Symbolic algebra was taking new shapes. The invention of logarithms and the calculus of Leibniz, himself in the forefront of the linguistic movement, gave mankind an international vocabulary of computation and motion.

Without doubt, the novelty of mathematical symbolism and the novelty of Chinese logographic writing influenced the first proposals for a system of international communication through script. Leibniz corresponded with Jesuit missionaries to find out as much as possible about Chinese; and Descartes, the French philosopher-mathematician, outlined a scheme for a constructed language in 1629. Thanks to our Hindu numerals, anyone—and by *anyone* Descartes meant anyone except the common people of his time—can master the art of naming all possible numbers which can exist in any language in less than a days' work. If so, the ingenuity of philosophers should be up to the job of finding equally universal symbols for *things and notions* set out in a systematic way. These would be the bricks of a language more logical, more economical, more precise, and more easy to learn than any language which has grown out of the makeshifts of daily intercourse. At least, that is what Descartes believed. He did not put his conviction to the test by trying to construct a universal catalogue of things and notions. Forty years later the dream materialized. In 1668 Bishop Wilkins published the *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*.

Wilkins was not first in the field. George Dalgarno, of Aberdeen, also author of a language for the deaf and dumb, and inventor of a new

type of shorthand *applicable to all languages*, had undertaken the same task a few years before Wilkins. In 1661 Dalgarno published the *Ars Signorum*, or *Universal Character and Philosophical Language*. Dalgarno claimed that people who spoke any language could use his for intelligible conversation or writing after two weeks. Essentially, this *Art of Symbol* was a lexicon based on a logical classification of "notions." All knowledge, or what Dalgarno and his contemporaries thought was knowledge, was distributed among seventeen main pigeon holes, each indicated by a *consonant*, e.g. *K* = political matters, *N* = natural objects. Dalgarno divided each of the seventeen main classes into sub-classes labelled by a Latin or Greek *vowel* symbol, e.g. *Ke* = judicial affairs, *Ki* = criminal offences, *Ku* = war. Further splitting of the sub-classes into groups indicated by consonants and vowels successively led to a pronounceable polysyllable signifying a particular thing, individual, process, or relation.

Thus the four mammals called *éléphant*; *cheval*, *âne* and *mulet* in French, *Elefant*, *Pferd*, *Esel*, and *Maulesel* in German, or *elephant*, *horse*, *donkey*, and *mule* in English, are respectively *Nḡka*, *Nḡkḡ*, *Nḡke*, and *Nḡko* in Dalgarno's language. The ambition of its engineer was to design something that would be speakable as well as writeable; and the grammatical tools he forged for weaving the items of his *catalanguage* into connected statements included genuinely progressive characteristics. The verb is absorbed in the noun, as in headline idiom (p. 131). Case goes into the dustbin. The single suffix *-i* shows the plural number of all names. To show how it works, Dalgarno concludes the book with a translation of the first chapter of Genesis, five Psalms, and two of Aesop's *Fables*. Here is a specimen: *Dam semu Sava sameasa Nam tḡn Nom* = In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

Two features of this pioneer enterprise are of special interest to-day. One is Dalgarno's recognition that all grown languages, including Latin, are irrational, irregular, and uneconomical. The other is explicit in the introduction to his *Didascalocophus* or the *Deaf and Dumb Man's Tutor* (1680), which contains eloquent testimony to the author's Baconian faith in the inventiveness of man:

"About twenty years ago I published . . . a Synopsis of a Philosophical Grammar and Lexicon, thereby showing a way to remedy the difficulties and absurdities which all languages are clogged with ever since the Confusion, or rather since the Fall, by cutting off all redundancy, rectifying all anomaly, taking away all ambiguity and equivocation, contracting the primitives (primary words) to a few number, and even those not

to be of a mere arbitrary, but a rational institution, enlarging the bounds of derivation and composition, for the cause both of copia and emphasis. In a word, designing not only to remedie the confusion of language, by giving a much more easie medium of communication than any yet known, but also to cure even Philosophy itself of the disease of Sophisms and Logomachies; as also to provide her with more wieldy and manageable instruments of operation, for defining, dividing, demonstrating, etc."

The Council of the Royal Society shared this faith. In 1664 the Royal Society appointed a committee for improving the English language. A minute of December 7th runs:

"It being suggested that there were several persons of the Society whose genius was very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue, and particularly for philosophical purposes, it was voted that there be a committee for improving the English language; and that they meet at Sir Peter Wyche's lodgings in Gray's Inn."

What the suggestions of the committee were we do not know. Apparently, no report was handed in, but we know from a letter addressed by the Royal Chancellery to Dalgarno that his language was recommended to the King for support by several Cambridge and Oxford dons, who stressed its value:

"for facilitating the matter of Communication and Intercourse between people of different Languages, and consequently a proper and effectual Means of advancing all the parts of Real and Useful knowledge, Civilizing barbarous Nations, Propagating the Gospel, and increasing Traffique and Commerce."

In conclusion the letter observes that if the project of the Aberdonian was properly supported mankind would later on look back upon his age with admiration and, fired by its example, endeavour:

"to proceed in a further repairing the Decayes of Nature, until Art have done its last, or, which is most probable, Nature cease to be, or be Renewed."

The letter is an impressive example of the Baconian faith in the unlimited power of man over nature. Nearly three hundred years ago it began to dawn upon a few human minds that language, instead of being left to the hazards of a slow evolution, could be intelligently interfered with and directed towards a desirable goal.

Dalgarno's *Ars Signorum* stimulated Bishop Wilkins to undertake something similar, but on a vastly more ambitious scale. The Royal

Society published the outcome of his efforts. Wilkins was one of its founders, an ardent Parliamentarian, husband of Cromwell's sister, Robina, a man of great versatility and social idealism. He was the first man to popularize Galileo's ideas in England, and did so in a scientific fantasy, published in 1642. In it he described a journey to the moon by rocket. Undoubtedly he was a genius. It would be pleasant to add that he acknowledged his indebtedness to an obscure Scots schoolmaster. He did not.




Bishop Wilkins starts from the fact that we already possess such symbols as +, -, ×, ♀, ♂, ○, in the language of mathematics and astronomy. Though pronounced in different ways in different countries, these symbols are the same on paper, and everywhere signify the same thing to the educated. From this he draws the Cartesian conclusion:

"If to every thing and notion there were assigned a distinct Mark, together with some provision to express Grammatical Derivations and Inflexions; this might suffice as to one great end of a Real Character, namely, the expression of our Conceptions by Marks which should signify things, and not words."

Wilkins realizes that if the number of marks is to be kept inside manageable limits some classification of things and notions is indispensable. He therefore compiles, as Dalgarno did, a systematic catalogue as the foundation of his language. The whole body of contemporary knowledge is fossilized in a hierarchy of forty different classes, such as plants, animals, spiritual actions, physical actions, motions, possessions, matters naval, matters ecclesiastical, etc. Each of the forty pigeon-holes has its subdivisions with the exception of the fifth class, which encloses HIM. The Bishop aptly remarks that the capitalized (and much hymned to) Him is not divisible into any subordinate species.

The world-lexicon of Wilkins is a *pot-pourri* of Aristotelean fiction, theological superstition, naturalistic fancy and much factual matter. The anthropomorphic outlook of the author and the low level of contemporary knowledge embodied in the catalogue is illustrated by his treatment of *Substance Inanimate*. He divides it into *vegetative* and *sensitive*. The *vegetative* splits into *imperfect* such as *minerals*, and *perfect*, such as *plants*. The *imperfect vegetative* distributes what we should now call the materials of inorganic chemistry between *stone* and *metal*. *Stones* take the labels *vulgar*, *middle-priced*, and *precious*. Wilkins divides the last into *less transparent* and *more transparent*.

Having completed his hierarchy of knowledge, Wilkins now gets to grips with symbols for visual or auditory recognition. He begins with the *Real Character*, or written language, which everybody will be able to understand without learning how to speak the Philosophical language itself. The real character is to be like Chinese. Each word signifies a notion, not a sound. Wilkins is confident that about 2,000 symbols will cover all requirements. The form of this new ideographic writing and its relation to the catalogue is best illustrated by the *commentar* which Wilkins appends to the word *father* in his attempted translation of the Lord's Prayer into Real Character:

" This next character being of a bigger proportion, must therefore represent some Integral Notion. The genius of it, viz.  is appointed to signify Oeconomical Relation. And whereas the transverse Line at the end towards the *left* hand hath an affix making the *acute* angle with the *upper* side of the Line, therefore doth it refer to the *first* difference of that Genus, which according to the Tables, is relation of Consanguinity: And there being an affix making a *Right Angle* at the other end of the same line, therefore doth it signify the second species under this Difference, by which the notion of *Parent* is defined. . . . If it were to be rendered Father in the strictest sense, it would be necessary that the Transcendental Note of male should be joyned to it, being a little hook on the top over the middle of the Character after this manner'. And because the word Parent is not here used according to the strictest sense but Metaphorically, therefore might the Transcendental Note of *Metaphor* be put over the head of it after this manner .

So far the Bishop's catalogue and its written form. To use words in rational discourse a grammar is necessary. The minimum requirements of communication must be fixed. It would be an exaggeration to say that Wilkins made any outstanding contribution to grammatical analysis. He was still far too much under the spell of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Indeed, he held that flexion is "founded upon the philosophy of speech and such natural grounds, as do necessarily belong to Language." None the less, he recognized that classical languages were not the last word; and Latin came in for a veritable *trommelfeuer* of criticism. He criticized its abundance of different flexions for one and the same function, the ambiguities and obscurities of its prefixes, the intrusion of grammatical gender into sex relations, its welter of exceptions to all rules of conjugation and declension, the difficulties of concord, and so forth.

Wilkins keeps his own grammatical apparatus within the limits set

by forty signs, consisting of circles and dots for particles, and hooks, loops, etc., for terminals. For the time, this was thrifty. Where the dictionary form of an English verb such as *fear* has only three derivative forms (*fears*, *feared*, *fearing*), a single Greek verb may appear in over two hundred, and a Latin one in over one hundred costumes. The forty grammatical categories of all sorts in the Philosophical Language are a sufficient indictment of the irregularities, anomalies, and superfluities of the two classical languages.

Though less interested in mere talk, Wilkins had the ambition to make his language audible. To do this he apes Dalgarno's plan, in his own way. Each of his forty classes or *genera* has a simple sound-combination consisting of an open syllable of the Japanese sort. The fifth major class (*God*) is labelled by the "root" *Da*, the thirteenth (*shrub*) by *Gi*, the thirty-ninth (*naval*) by *So*, and the last (*ecclesiastical*) by *Sy*. Subdivisions follow the same plan. To form those of the first order we have to add a consonant to the root. Thus we get words such as *Bab*, *Bad*, *Bag*, etc. If you want to understand what is hitting your eardrum, you must therefore be *au fait* with the whole classificatory set-up. You may then have no difficulty in diagnosing *De* as "elementary," *Det* as "meteor," and *Deta* as "halo."

To attack the Bishop's project in the light of our incomparably greater scientific and linguistic knowledge would be equally fatuous and unchivalrous. The great defect of it is not that it imposes on the memory the almost superhuman burden of the Chinese characters. That would be bad enough. Its greater weakness is at the base, the catalogue of human knowledge. A Dalgarno or a Wilkins can construct such a catalogue only in the light of information available to his own contemporaries. Thereafter any addition to knowledge, a single discovery, a fresh interpretation, calls for a complete overhaul of the catalogue. The reference symbols of "each thing and notion" specified after the item added to it would call for revision. Had Wilkins's plan come into use among scientific men, science would have been fossilized at the level it had reached in 1650, as Chinese culture was petrified in a logographic script several thousand years before Wilkins wrote.

With all his awareness of what is "improper and preternatural" in Latin, Wilkins failed to apply to its grammatical categories the test of functional relevance. So he never grasped the simplest grammatical essentials of effective communication. His continental contemporary Leibniz, famous for introducing the modern symbolism of the infinitesimal calculus, did so. Leibniz knew something of Dalgarnian as well

as Wilkinsian, and rejected both of them for not being "philosophical" enough. Since the age of nineteen he had dreamed of a language which was to be "an algebra of thought" in the service of science and philosophy. He had little concern for its value as a medium of international communication. His own efforts to collect all existing notions, analyse them, reduce them to simple elements, and arrange them in a logical and coherent system is of no interest to people who live in the twentieth century. It was another wild-goose chase. What is more significant to our time are the conclusions he reached. When he took up the task of providing his dictionary or conceptual catalogue with a grammar, he broke new ground.

Unfortunately he never put his views into book form. They remained unnoticed by all his successors with the exception of *Peano*, a twentieth-century mathematical logician who also invented *Interlingua*. What puts Leibniz far in advance of his time is that he recognized the scientific basis of intelligent language-planning. What the inventors of Volapük and the Esperantists never grasped, Leibniz saw with Leibnizian lucidity. The factual foundations of language-planning must be rooted in comparative analysis of natural languages, living and dead. From the data such analysis supplies we can learn why some languages are more easy to master than others. The versatile linguistic equipment of Leibniz supported him well in the task. He could learn lessons from the *lingua franca*, a jargon spoken by sailors and street urchins of the Mediterranean ports; and he had an experimental guinea-pig to hand. The guinea-pig was Latin.

As Leibniz himself says, the most difficult task for the student of a foreign language is to memorize gender, declension, and conjugation. So gender-distinction goes overboard because "it does not belong to rational grammar." Besides getting rid of gender, Leibniz advocates other reforms. Conjugation can be simplified. Personal flexion is a redundant device, because person is indicated by the accompanying subject. In all this Leibniz says nothing to startle the readers of the *Loom*, though he is way in front of Esperanto. He shoots ahead of many of our own contemporaries—Peano apart—when he discusses the number-flexion of the noun. What he intended to substitute we do not know, most probably equivalents to *some*, *several*, *all*, etc. Unlike the Esperantist adjective, which continues to execute the archaic antics of concord, that of Leibniz, like that of English, surrenders a battery of meaningless terminals which accompany a Bantu tribal chant to the corresponding noun.

What remains for discussion is case-, mood-, and time-flexion. Very properly Leibniz casts doubt on the *raison d'être* of the first two with the following argument. As things are, case- and mood- flexions are useless repetitions of particles. Either case- and mood-flexions can do without prepositions and conjunctions, or prepositions and conjunctions can do without case and mood terminal. Besides, it is impossible for flexion to express the immense variety of relations which we can indicate by means of particles. After some wavering between a highly synthetic medium and an analytical one, Leibniz comes out in favour of the latter. When all this sanitary demolition is over, the only thing left with the verb is time-flexion. Leibniz considers this essential, but wishes to extend it to adjectives (as in Japanese), to adverbs, and to nouns. Thus the adjective *ridiculus* would qualify an object which *will be* ridiculous, the noun *amavitio* would signify the fact of *having* loved, and *amaturitio* the disturbing certainty of *going to* love. Leibniz's next and most revolutionary step is to reduce the number of parts of speech. Clearly, the adverbs can be merged with adjectives because they have the same relation to the verb as adjectives have to a noun, i.e. they qualify its meaning.

For reasons sufficiently familiar to readers of *The Loom* (p. 125), distinction between adjective and substantive is also "of no great importance in a rational language." The only logical difference between the two is that the latter implies the idea of substance or existence. Every substantive is equivalent to an adjective accompanied by the word *Ens* (Being) or *Res* (Thing). Thus *Idem est Homo quod Ens humanum* (Man is the same thing as Human Being). Similarly (as in Celtic idiom) every verb can be reduced to the single verb substantive *to be* and an adjective: *Petrus scribit, id est: est scribens* (Peter writes, i.e. is writing). So the irreducible elements of discourse boil down to the single noun *Ens* or *Res*, the single verb *est* (is), together with a congeries of adjectival qualifiers and particles which bind the other parts of a statement together by exposing relations between them. A complete vocabulary is exhausted by a lexicon of roots and a list of affixes each with its own and sharply defined meaning.

All this tallies with the fruits of research in comparative grammar two hundred years later. Leibniz was far ahead of his time in other ways. He was alive to what Malinowski calls "the sliding of roots and meanings from one grammatical category to another" (p. 176), and anticipates Ogden's Basic (p. 473) by embarking on an analysis of the *particles* to ascertain their meaning and the requisite minimum number.

He regarded this as a task of the utmost importance, and carried it out with particular care. Notably modern in this context is a shrewd guess. Leibniz suggests that metaphorical extension has expanded the field of reference of prepositions, all of which originally had a *spatial* significance. Thus we give them a chronological value, when we say: *between* the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *in* the future, *before* 1789, etc.

The projects of Dalgarno and Wilkins had this in common with others put forward during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. They started from a preconceived logical system without reference to living speech. As late as 1858 a committee report of the French *Société Internationale de Linguistique* denounced the design of an international auxiliary built of bricks taken from natural languages. The reason given was that all natural languages, classical and modern, dead and living, are embedded in cultural levels which modern man had left behind him. A language "clear, simple, easy, rational, logical, philosophical, rich, harmonious, and elastic enough to cater for all the needs of future progress" must also be a language made out of whole cloth.

The vogue of *a priori* languages conceived in these terms is easy to understand. Language-planning was cradled by the needs of a scholar-caste cut off from the common aspirations of ordinary people, without the guidance of a systematic science of comparative linguistics. Inevitably the movement initiated by Dalgarno and Wilkins shared the fate of proposals for number reform put forward by Alexandrian mathematicians from Archimedes to Diophantus. Proposals for an international language with any prospect of success must emerge from the experience of ordinary men and women, like the Hindu number-system which revolutionized mathematics after the eclipse of Alexandrian culture.

Still it is not fair to say that the efforts of Dalgarno, Wilkins, or Leibniz were fruitless. It may well be true that international reform of scientific nomenclature initiated by the *Systema Naturae* of Linnaeus was catalysed by controversy which his more ambitious predecessor provoked. The movement which came to a focus in the *Systema Naturae* encouraged revision of chemical terminology with results which its author could not have foreseen. It created an international vocabulary of Latin and Greek (p. 250) roots. In a sense, though unwittingly, revision of chemical terminology realized Wilkins's dream of a *real character*. Modern chemistry has a vocabulary of ideographic and

pictographic symbols for about a quarter of a million pure substances now known.

The efforts of the catalinguists were not stillborn. They continued to stimulate other speculations for fully a century. Diderot and D'Alembert, joint editors of the French *Encyclopédie*, allotted an article to the same theme. The author was no less a personage than Faiguet, Treasurer of France. Its title was *Nouvelle Langue* (1765). Though merely a sketch, it anticipated and outdistanced proposals of more than a hundred years later. Like his forerunners in England, Faiguet recognized the wasteful and irrational features common to Western European languages, and had enough historical knowledge to notice the analytical drift in the history of his mother tongue. The outcome was a highly regularized skeleton of grammar for a universal *a posteriori* language, i.e. one which shares features common to, and draws on, the resources of existing languages. In contrast to Faiguet's mother tongue, the New Language had no article and no gender-concord. The adjective was to be invariant, as in English, or, as the designer says, a sort of adverb. Case-distinction, which has disappeared in nouns of French and other Romance languages, made way for free use of prepositions.

In all this Faiguet had a far better understanding of what is and what is not relevant than the inventor of *Esperanto* with its dead ballast of a separate object case (p. 463) and its adjectival plural. Perhaps because his own language gave him little guidance, Faiguet made no very radical suggestions for simplifying the verb system. It was to consist of a *single* regular conjugation without personal flexions. This cleansing of Augean stables was offset by the terminals *-a* for the present, *-u* for the future, *-é* for the imperfect, *-i* for the perfect, and *-o* for the pluperfect. In addition there were three different infinitive forms (present, past, future), and a subjunctive which was indicated by an *-r* added to the indicative. Still, it was not a bad attempt for its time. Perhaps Faiguet would have used the axe more energetically if he had been inspired by the needs of humanity at large. Like his predecessors he was chiefly at pains to provide "the learned academies of Europe" with a new means of communication.

Faiguet did not compile a vocabulary, and none of his contemporaries took up the task. Alertness to the waste and inconvenience of language confusion was still confined to the scholarly few. It did not become acute and widespread till steam-power revolutionized transport, and the ocean cable annihilated distance. Language-planning received a new impulse in a contracting planet. Where the single aim had been to cater

for the needs of international scholarship, the needs of international trade and internationally organized labour became tenfold more clamorous.

Humanitarian sentiment reinforced more material considerations. The inventor of Volapük, and many of its ardent advocates, regarded linguistic differences as fuel for warmongers and hoped that an interlingua would help to seal the bonds of brotherhood between nations. In fifty odd ephemeral auxiliaries which cropped up during the second half of the nineteenth century, several common features emerge. With few exceptions each was a one-man show, and few of the showmen were sufficiently equipped for the task. With one exception they were continental Europeans bemused by the idiosyncrasies of highly inflected languages such as German, Russian, or one of the offshoots of Latin. Each of them created a language in his own image. They did not look beyond the boundaries of Europe. If the inventor was a Frenchman the product must needs have a subjunctive; and when the Parisian votaries of Volapük objected to Schleyer's *ä*, *ö*, and *ü*, their Teutonic brothers in arms took up the defence with a zeal befitting the custody of the Holy Grail of the Nordic Soul.

The nineteenth-century pioneers of language-planning did not appreciate the fact that China's four hundred millions contrive to live and die without the consolation of case, tense, and mood distinction, indeed without any derivative apparatus at all. Why they ignored Chinese and new hybrid vernaculars such as *Beach-la-Mar*, *Creole French*, and *Chinook*, etc., is easy to understand. What still amazes us is that they could not profit by the extreme flexional simplicity of English, with its luxuriant literature, outstanding contributions to science, and world-wide imperial status. They had little or no knowledge of the past, and were therefore unable to derive any benefit from research into the evolution of speech. Almost alone, Grimm saw what lessons history has to teach. A few years before his death, Grimm recanted his traditional loyalty to the flexional vagaries of the older European languages, and laid down the essential prerequisites of intelligent language-planning. The creation of a world-auxiliary is not a task for peremptory decisions:

there is only one way out: to study the path which the human mind has followed in the development of languages. But in the evolution of all civilized languages fortuitous interference from outside and unwarranted arbitrariness have played such a large part that the utmost such a study can achieve is to show up the danger-rocks which have to be avoided.

Wise words!

VOLAPÜK

The first constructed language which human beings actually spoke, read, wrote, and printed was *Volapük* (1880). Its inventor was Johann Martin Schleyer, a German catholic priest, zealous alike in the cause of world-trade and universal brotherhood. Hence his motto: *Menade bal puki bal* (For one humanity one language). According to his disciples, he knew an amazing number of tongues. If so, he benefited little from his learning. It was evidently a handicap. It prevented him from understanding the difficulties of Volapük for less gifted linguists.

The new medium spread very rapidly, first in Germany, then in France, where it found an able apostle in Auguste Kerckhoffs, professor of Modern Languages at the Paris High School for Commercial Studies. There was a French Association for the propagation of Volapük, there were courses in it—and diplomas. Maybe with an eye on the annual turnover, a famous departmental store, *Les Grands Magasins du Printemps*, also espoused the cause. Success in France encouraged others, especially in the United States. By 1889, the year of its apogee, Volapük had about 200,000 adherents, two dozen publications, supported by 300 societies and clubs. Enthusiastic amateurs were not the only people who embraced the new faith. Academically trained linguists also flirted with it.

Volapük petered out much faster than it spread. When its partisans had flocked together in Paris for the third Congress in 1889, the committee had decided to conduct the proceedings exclusively in the new language. This light-hearted decision, which exposed the inherent difficulties of learning it or using it, was its death-knell. A year later the movement was in full disintegration. What precipitated collapse was a family quarrel. Father Schleyer had constructed the grammar of his proprietary product with the redundant embellishments of his own highly inflected language. Professor Kerckhoffs, supported by most of the active Volapükists, spoke up for the plain man and called for reduction of the frills. In the dispute which ensued, Schleyer took the line that Volapük was his private property. As such, no one could amend it without his consent.

It is impossible to explain the amazing though short-lived success of Volapük in terms of its intrinsic merits. There was a monstrous naiveté in the design of it. A short analysis of its sounds, grammar, and vocabulary suffices to expose its retreat in the natural line of linguistic progress. Part of the comedy is that Schleyer had the nerve to claim that

he had taken spoken English as his model, with due regard to any merits of German, French, Spanish, and Italian. The vowel battery of Schleyer's phonetic apparatus was made up of *a, e, i, o, u*, together with the German *ä, ö, ü*, of which the last is notoriously difficult for English-speaking people to pronounce. In conformity with his German bias, the consonants included the guttural *ch* sound. Out of chivalrous consideration for children, elderly people, and China's four hundred million, Schleyer discarded the *r* sound in favour of *l* (absent in Japanese) and other substitutes. This happened before anyone drew Schleyer's attention to the fact that the Chinese have an *r*. By then he had changed our English *red* or German *rot* to *led*. Similarly *rose* becomes *lol*.

In the grammar of Volapük the noun, like the noun of German and unlike that of Anglo-American or of any Romance language, trailed behind it case-marks with or without the uniform plural *-S*. In this way *father* becomes:

| | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|--------|-------------|--------------|
| Nomin. | <i>fat</i> | <i>fats</i> |
| Acc. | <i>fati</i> | <i>fatis</i> |
| Gen. | <i>fata</i> | <i>fatas</i> |
| Dat. | <i>fate</i> | <i>fates</i> |

There was no grammatical gender. Where sex raised its ugly head the simple noun form represented the male, which could assimilate the lady-like prefix *ji-*, as in *blod-jiblod* (brother-sister) and *dog-jidog* (dog-bitch). The adjective was recognizable as such by the suffix *-ik*, e.g. *gudik* (good), supplemented by *-el* when used as a noun, e.g. *gudikel* (the good man), *jigudikel* (the good woman). Gain on the roundabouts by levelling the personal pronoun (*ob* = I, *ol* = thou, *obs* = we, *ol* = you, etc.) was lost on the swings, because each person had four cases (e.g. *ob, obi, oba, obe*). From the possessive adjective derived from the pronoun by adding the suffix *-ik*, e.g. *obik* (my), you got the possessive pronoun by an additional *-el*, e.g. *obikel* (mine). Conjugation was a bad joke. In what he had to learn about the vagaries of the Volapük verb, the Chinese paid a heavy price for the liquidation of *r*. Whether there was or was not an independent subject, the personal pronoun stuck to the verb stem. So *fat löfom* literally meant *the father love he*. There were six tenses, as in Latin, each of them with its own characteristic vowel prefixed to the stem, presumably in imitation of the Greek augment:

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|
| <i>lōfob</i> | I love. | <i>ilōfob</i> | I had loved. |
| <i>ālōfob</i> | I loved. | <i>olōfob</i> | I shall love. |
| <i>elōfob</i> | I have loved. | <i>ulōfob</i> | I shall have loved. |

Strange to say, the prefix *a-* of the imperfect and the *o-* of the future also appeared on adverbs formed from *del* (day), *adela* (yesterday), *adelo* (to-day). There were characteristic suffixes for a subjunctive and a potential mood, and each with all six tense forms, e.g. *elōfomla* (that he has loved). By prefixing *p-* you could change the active to the passive, and interpolate an *i* immediately after the tense-mark to signify habitual action. So it was possible to make one word to say of a woman that *she had been loved all the time*. The Schleyer imperative, like the Schleyer deity, was threefold, with a gentle *will-you-please* form in *-ōs*, a normal one in *-ōd*, and a categorical of the *won't-you-shut-up* sort in *-ōz*. The mark of interrogation was a hyphenated *li*, prefixed or suffixed, and the negative particle was *no* placed before the verb, e.g. *no-li elōfons-la?* (will you not have loved?). If admittedly more regular than either, Volapük had almost as many grammatical impedimenta as Sanskrit or Lithuanian.

The Volapükists rightly claimed that the root-material of their language was taken from English, German, Latin, and its modern descendants. Unluckily, the roots suffered drastic castigation from Father Schleyer's hands before they became unrecognizable in the Volapük lexicon. The memory of the beginner had nothing to bite on. All roots had to conform with a set of arbitrary conditions. To take on several prefixes and suffixes, they had to be monosyllabic, and even so the enormous length to which such a word could grow forced Schleyer to italicize the root itself. He had to alter all words which ended in a sibilant (*c*, *s*, *z*, etc.) to accommodate the plural *s*; and every root had to begin and end with a consonant. From this German sausage-machine, knowledge emerged as *nol*, difficulty as *fikul*, and compliment as *plim*, the German word *Feld* as *fel*, *Licht* as *lit*, and *Wunde* as *run*. The name of the language itself illustrates the difficulties of detection. Even geographical names did not escape punishment. *Italy*, *England*, and *Portugal* became *Täl*, *Nelij*, and *Bödugän*. *Europe* changes to *Yulop*, and the other four continents to *Melop*, *Silop*, *Fikop*, and *Talop*. Who would guess that *Vol* in *Volapük* comes from *world*, and *pük* from *speech*?

The method of word-derivation was as fanciful, as illogical, and as silly as the maltreatment of roots. In the manner of the catalanguages, there was a huge series of pigeon-holes each labelled with some affix.

For instance, the suffix *-el* denotes *inhabitants* of a country or *person-agents*. So *Parisel* (Parisian) wore the same costume as *mitel* (butcher). The suffix *-af* denoted some animals, e.g. *suplaf* (spider), *tiaf* (tiger), but *lein* (lion) and *jeval* (horse) were left out in the cold. The names of birds had the label *-it*, e.g. *galit* (nightingale), the names of diseases *-ip*, e.g. *vatip* (hydropsy), and the names of elements *-in*, e.g. *vatin* (hydrogen). The prefix *lu-* produced something ambiguously nasty. Thus *luvat* (more literally *dirty water*) stood for *urine*. *Lubien* (a nasty bee) was a Volapük *wasp*. Schleyer's technique of building compounds of Teutonic length turned the stomachs of his most devoted French disciples. As a sample, the following is the opening of Schleyer's translation of the Lord's Prayer:

"O Fat obas, kel binol in süls, paisaludomöz nem ola!
Kömomöd monargän ola! Jenomöz vil olik, äs in sül, i su tal!"

We can understand the success of Volapük only if we assume that it satisfied a deep, though still uncritical, longing equally acute in humanitarian and commercial circles. So it was a catastrophe that a German parish priest provided this longing with ephemeral satisfaction at such a low technical level. For a long time to come the naïvetés of Volapük and its well-deserved collapse discredited the artificial language movement. Curiously enough it found many disciples in academic circles, including language departments of universities, always the last refuge of lost causes. The *American Philosophical Society*, founded by Benjamin Franklin, though sympathetic to proposals for a world-auxiliary, was not taken in. It appointed a committee in 1887 to assess the merits of Schleyer's interlanguage. In a very enlightened report the committee formulated principles of which some should be embodied in any future constructed world-auxiliary. It rejected Volapük because its grammatical structure turns back on the analytical drift of all the more modern European languages, and because its vocabulary is not sufficiently international.

The committee suggested the issue of an invitation to all learned societies of the world with a view to starting an international committee for promoting a universal auxiliary based on an Aryan vocabulary consonant with the "needs of commerce, correspondence, conversation, and science." About two thousand learned bodies accepted this invitation of Franklin's Society to a Congress to be held in London or Paris. The *Philological Society* of London declined the invitation with thanks, for reasons equally fatuous. One was that there was no common Aryan

vocabulary. The other was that Volapük was used all over the world. It was therefore too late in the day to offer a substitute.

After the third Congress of 1889, votaries of Volapük washed their hands of the whole business, or ratted. Many of those who ratted followed the rising star of Esperanto. Some regained confidence and continued to tinker with Schleyer's system. Before the final collapse St. de Max had proffered *Bopal* (1887), and Bauer *Spelin* (1888). Thereafter came Fieweger's *Dil* (1893), Dormoy's *Balta* (1893), W. von Arnim's *Veltparl* (1896), and Bollack's *Langue Bleue* (1899). There were several other amendments to Volapük with the same basic defects. The stock-in-trade of all was a battery of monosyllabic roots, cut to measure from natural languages, and that past human recognition, or cast in an even less familiar mould from an arbitrary mixture of vowels and consonants. The root was a solitary monolith surrounded by concentric stone-circles of superfluous, if exquisitely regular flexions. There was declension and conjugation of the traditional type, and a luxuriant overgrowth of derivative affixes. The essential problem of word-economy was not in the picture. Indeed, the inventor of *La Langue Bleue* (so-called because the celestial azure has no frontiers) boasted that 144,139 different words were theoretically possible within the framework of his phonetics.

Before Volapük, far better artificial languages had appeared on the market without attracting enthusiastic followers. One was Pirro's *Universal-Sprache*, a purely *a posteriori* system of a very advanced type. The noun, like the adjective, is invariant. Prepositions take over any function which case-distinction may retain in natural languages. The outward and visible sign of number is left to the article or other determinants. The personal pronoun with a nominative and an accusative form has no sex-differentiation in the third person. A verb without person or number flexions has a simple past with the suffix *-ed*, a future with *-rai*, and compound tenses built with the auxiliary *haben*. Unlike so many before and after him, Pirro did not shirk the task of designing a vocabulary. His lexicon consisted of 7,000 words, largely Latin, hence international, but partly Teutonic. The number of affixes for derivatives was small, but since he took them over from natural languages they were not particularly precise. The merits of the following specimen of the *Universal-Sprache* speak for themselves:

Men senior, I sende evos un gramatik e un varb-bibel de un nuov
glot nomed universal glot. In futur I scriptrai evos semper in did glot.
I pregate evos responden ad me in dit self glot.

Though it discouraged some, Volapük also stimulated others to set out along new paths. More than one disillusioned Volapükist recovered to undertake the task which Schleyer had executed with maladroitness. One ex-Volapük enthusiast, Julius Lott, invented *Mundolingue* (1890). It was a neo-Latin language. A moderately well-educated person can quite easily read it, as the following specimen shows:

Amabil amico,

Con grand satisfaction mi ha lect tei letter de le mundolingue. Le possibilitä de un universal lingue pro le civilisat nations ne esse dubitabil, nam noi ha tot elements pro un tal lingue in nostri lingues, sciences, etc.

Another language which owed its existence to Volapük renegades was *Idiom Neutral* (1903). It was designed by members of the *Akademi Internasional de lingu universal*. This body came into being at the Second Volapük Congress. When it developed heretic doctrines the great *Datuwal* (inventor) unsuccessfully excommunicated the rebels. The claim of *Idiom Neutral* in its own time was that it had a vocabulary based on the principle of greatest international currency. The reader who compares Schleyer's version of the opening words of the Lord's Prayer (p. 458) with the following can see how completely it had grown apart from Volapük:

Nostr patr kel es in sieli! Ke votr nom es sanktifiked; ke votr regnia veni; ke votr volu es fasied, kuale in siel, tale et su ter.

ESPERANTO

The collapse of Volapük left the field clear for Esperanto. Esperanto was the child of Dr. Ludwig Lazarus Zamenhof, a Russian-Polish Jew (1859-1917). He put forward his first proposals when Father Schleyer's invention was at the height of its popularity. Zamenhof had spent his early youth at Bielostock, where Russians, Poles, Germans, and Jews hated and ill-treated one another. Reinforced by a humanitarian outlook, this distasteful experience stimulated the young pioneer to reconcile racial antagonisms by getting people to adopt a neutral medium of common understanding. Incubation was long and painful. He was still at grammar-school when inspiration dawned. So it was natural to seek a solution in revival of one or other of the two classical languages. Slowly Zamenhof learned to recognize the chaotic superfluity of forms in natural speech. It was English which opened young Zamenhof's eyes:

I learnt French and German as a child, and could not then make comparisons or draw conclusions; but when, in the fifth class at the

academy, I began to study English, I was struck by the simplicity of its grammar, the more so owing to the sudden change from that of Latin and Greek. I came to see that richness of grammatical forms is only a historical chance occurrence, and is not necessary for a language. Under the influence of this idea I began to look through my language and to cast out unnecessary forms, and I perceived that the grammar melted away in my hands, till it became so small as to occupy, without any harm to the language itself, not more than a few pages.

The design of a simplified grammar did not detain him long; but he was held up when he began to construct a vocabulary. Then it dawned on him that we can make an unlimited number of new words by means of derivative affixes added to a single root. The manufacture of suitable affixes led him back to Wilkins's theme, analysis of notional relations. His first idea was to make up his own stock-in-trade of roots. He soon realized the difficulty of learning the arbitrary root-forms of Volapük and began to see that living languages work with a high proportion of common or international words. A preliminary Romano-Teutonic lexicon was born of this recognition. In its final form the project appeared in 1887 under the pseudonym *Linguo Internacia de la Doktoro Esperanto* (International Language by Dr. Hopeful).

Unlike Schleyer, Zamenhof sustained a sensible humility towards his own creation. He did not look upon it as final. He invited criticism. His intention was to collect, discuss, and publish the objections raised, then to amend its shortcomings in the light of the findings. The public ignored Zamenhof's request for sympathetic and enlightened criticism. Esperanto remained unchanged till 1894, when its author himself initiated a drastic reform. It found its first adherents in Czarist Russia where the authorities suppressed its organ, *La Esperantisto*, because it published an article by Tolstoi. From Russia it spread to the Scandinavian countries, to Central Europe, thence to France, where it had strong support in university circles. In 1905 the Government of the French Republic made Zamenhof an Officer of the *Légion d'Honneur*. In 1909 H.M. King Alfonso conferred upon him the honour of Commander in the Order of Isabella the Catholic. After a brief eclipse during the Great War of 1914-1918, the wave of pacifist sentiment which subsequently swept over the world gave it new momentum.

We should accept figures about its spread and popularity, when given by Esperantists themselves, with the caution we should adopt towards data about the vitality of Erse or Gaelic when those who supply them are Celtic enthusiasts. According to a report published by the General Secretariat of the League of Nations (but based upon data

provided by Esperantists), Esperanto could boast of about 4,000 publications, consisting of original works, translations, text-books, propaganda items, etc. In Albania it became a compulsory subject in secondary and higher education. In China the University of Peking offered courses. Madrid, Lisbon, and several German towns placed it on the curriculum of Police Schools. In Great Britain it was popular in Labour Colleges, and got some encouragement from such publicists as Lord Bryce, H. G. Wells, Lord Robert Cecil, and Arthur Henderson. In the U.S.S.R., the People's Commissariat for Public Education appointed a Commission to examine its claims in January 1919, and to report on the advisability of teaching an international language in Soviet schools. The Commission decided for Esperanto, though Zinoviev favoured Ido. Five German towns made Esperanto a compulsory subject in primary schools under the Weimar Republic, and the National Esperanto Institute for the training of teachers at Leipzig received official recognition from the Ministry of the Interior. During the winter 1921-22 there were 1,592 courses in Germany for about 40,000 adults, half of them working-class people. On June 8, 1935, the National-Socialist Minister of Education, Bernhard Rust, decreed that to teach Esperanto in the Third Reich was henceforth illegal. The reason he gave was that *the use of artificial languages such as Esperanto weakens the essential value of national peculiarities*.

Esperanto just failed to gain support which might have made history. In spite of wire-pulling and high-grade publicity management, its promoters were not able to persuade the League of Nations to come out unequivocally in favour of its use as *the* international language. Whether this was a calamity the reader may judge from what follows. Let us first look at its phonetic build-up.

Though Esperanto uses all the letters of the Roman alphabet except three (Q, X, V), its aspect is unfamiliar on the printed page. This is due to its five accented consonants, Ĉ, Ĝ, Ĥ, Ĵ, Ŝ, a novelty open to more than one criticism, more particularly that such symbols impede recognition of international roots and slow down the speed of writing. The corresponding sounds are equally open to unfavourable comment. The *H* (like *h* in *horn*) and the *Ĥ* (like *ch* in Scots *loch*) are difficult sounds for people brought up to speak Romance languages. Other sounds which cause embarrassment to many nationals are represented by such combinations as *SC* (= *sts*), *KC* (= *kts*), and *NKC*, e.g. *funkcio* (function). In contradistinction to the practice of Volapük, which had end-stress appropriate to the importance of its suffixes, the accent of

an Esperanto word falls invariably on the last syllable but one, e.g. *virbóvo* (bull).

With many other artificial auxiliaries, Esperanto shares the dubiously useful grammatical trick of labelling each of the "parts of speech" with its own trade-mark. The noun singular must end in *-o*, the adjective in *-a*, the derived adverb in *-e*, the infinitive in *-i*. The official defence is this. A reader can recognize at once which words express the main theme of an Esperanto sentence and which merely express qualifications. The ubiquitous vocalic endings of Esperanto, like those of Italian, make the spoken language sonorous and prevent accumulation of consonantal clusters which are difficult to pronounce, e.g. in English: *economists expect spread of slumps throughout civilized world*.

Zamenhof learned nothing from the obliteration of subject-object distinction in the English and Romance noun. Esperanto has an object case-form ending in *-n* both for nouns and pronouns, e.g. *ni lernas Esperanton* (we are learning Esperanto). Esperantists claim that people who speak or write Esperanto enjoy greater freedom of word-order, and can therefore reproduce that of the mother tongue without making a statement unintelligible in writing. If *the goat eats the cabbage*, we can also say that *the cabbage eats the goat*, because the *n* of the Esperanto cabbage shows that it is harmless. The Esperanto object case-form is also an accusative of direction in the Latin style. Instead of the preposition *al* (to) you may use the accusative and say, e.g. *mi iras Londonon* (nom. *Londono*) = I am going to London. Apparently the Esperanto for our verb *go* does not sufficiently express locomotion.

To make the plural of an Esperanto noun we add *-j* to the singular, e.g. *kato* (cat)—*katoj* (cats), accus. *katon*—*katojn*. There is no grammatical gender, but for some reason difficult to fathom Zamenhof could not break away from the institution of adjectival concord. His adjective has to trail behind it the case and number terminals of the noun, e.g. nomin. *bela rozo* or obj. *belan rozon* (beautiful rose)—*belaj rozoj* or *belajn rozojn* (beautiful roses). Without regard for feminist sentiment, names of females come from names for males by interpolation of *-in* before the trade-mark *-o* of the noun, e.g. *patro* (father), *patrino* (mother), *frato* (brother), *fratino* (sister). Without deliberate deference to feminine sentiment Zamenhof reverses the process to manufacture the novel product *fratlo* (unmarried young man) by analogy with *fratino* (German *Fräulein* = Miss).

The Esperanto verb has, like that of most of the more recent artificial languages, a single regular conjugation, without flexion of

number or person, e.g. *mi skribas* (I write), *li skribas* (he writes), *ni skribas* (we write). It sticks to affixation for tense and mood, and there is no shortage of them. We have to learn the *-i* for the infinitive, *-as* for the present indicative, *-is* for the past indicative, *-os* for the future, *-u* for the subjunctive and imperative, and *-us* for the conditional. There is only one auxiliary, *esti* (to be). By chasing it through the different tenses and moods (*estas, estis, estos*, etc.) and then combining it with the three active participles (*amanta* loving, *aminta* having loved, *amonta* going to love), you can manufacture 18 different compound constructions, and then double the number by substituting passive participles for the active ones (*amata* loved, *amita* having been loved, *amota* going to be loved).

Zamenhof's vocabulary consists of a collection of arbitrarily chosen roots, which grow by addition of about 50 derivative prefixes, suffixes, and infixes. The most glaring defect of the Esperantist stock of words is that it is not consistently international. To be sure, Zamenhof did choose some roots which are pan-European. In this category we find *atom*, *aksiom*, *tabak*, *tualet*. He also chose roots which are partially international, i.e. common to a large number of European languages. In this class we meet, e.g. *ankr* (anchor), *emajl* (enamel). These international and semi-international words had to comply with Zamenhof's sound and spelling conventions. They also had to take on Esperanto terminals. As often as not they are therefore unrecognizable, or at best difficult to recognize, e.g. *kafo* (coffee), *venko* (victory), *koni* (know), *kuri* (run). What is worse, they are often misleading. Thus *sesono* does not mean *season*, as we might suppose. It means *one-sixth*. So also *fosilo* stands for a *spade*, not for a *fossil*. Not even the starchy food called *sago* escaped mutilation. Its rightful name was changed to *saguo* presumably because *sago* (Latin *sagitta*) was badly needed to designate the Esperanto arrow.

Zamenhof rejected an enormous number of internationally current words. He dismissed hundreds ending in *-ation*, *-ition*, and *-sion*, or distorted them, e.g. *nacio* for *nation*, *nacia* for *national*. A large class of words in the Esperanto dictionary are not international in any sense. To coax the susceptibilities of Germans, or Russians who do not or did not then welcome addition of international terms derived from Latin or Greek roots, Zamenhof included words which add to the difficulties of a Frenchman or a Spaniard without appreciably lightening the burden for a Dutchman or a Bulgarian. This compromise was responsible for roots such as *bedaur* (German *bedauern* = regret), *flug*

(German *Flug* = flight), *knab* (German *Knabe* = boy), *kugl* (German *Kugel* = sphere).

Striking illustrations of Zamenhof's fear of national susceptibility, and his desire to keep an even balance, are the Esperanto words for *dog*, *year*, *hair*, and *school*. For *dog*, one naturally expects *kano* (*cane* in Italian, *cão* in Portuguese, *chien* in French) corresponding to our adjective *canine*. In deference to German and Scandinavian sentiment, it is *hundo*. For *year* the Swedish equivalent is *år*, German *Jahr*, French *an*, Italian *anno*, Spanish *año*, Portuguese *ano*. There is clearly no agreement between the Romance and the Teutonic word-form; but the root *ann-* is common to *annual* (English), *annuel* (French), *Annalen* (German). Zamenhof selected the German form, *jar*. The word for *hair* illustrates the same absurdity. In Swedish it is *hår*, German *Haar*, Italian *capello*, Spanish *cabello*, Portuguese *cabelo*, French *cheveu*. Again we have an international root in our technical words *capillary* or *capillarity*, corresponding to the German *Kapillar*—(*Kapillargefäß*, *Kapillarität*). Zamenhof chose the purely Teutonic form *har*. One of the most international words in daily speech is *school* (Latin *schola*, Italian *scuola*, French *école*, German *Schule*, Swedish *skola*). Zamenhof chose *lernejo*.

From such roots as raw materials of his dictionary, the Esperantist builds new words by simple juxtaposition, as in *vaporŝipo* (steamboat), *fervojo* (railway), or by adding prefixes and suffixes. Some of the affixes come from other languages with a native halo of vagueness. Others are whims of Dr. Zamenhof himself. Thus the prefix *bo-* signifies relation through marriage, as in *bopatro* (father-in-law), the suffix *-et* is diminutive, as in *venteto*, breeze (from *vento*, wind), and *-eg* is augmentative, as in *ventego* (gale). Even among the votaries the prefix *mal-* has never been popular. The uninitiated European would naturally assume that it means *ill* or *bad*, as in many international words. In Esperanto *mal-* denotes *the opposite of*, hence such strange bed-fellows as *malbona* (bad), *malamiko* (enemy), *malfermi* (to open). The derivative affixes of Esperanto have a characteristic absent from other constructed languages. They can lead their own lives if protected by an ending to signify a part of speech deemed suitable for philosophic abstractions. This trick is encouraging to philosophers who indulge in *the in-ness of a one-ship which fills the us-dom with anti-ty*.

Esperanto claims to be an auxiliary which satisfies human needs on an international scale, yet is easier to learn than any natural language. One should think that such a claim involves existence of a vocabulary

free from redundancies and local oddities. The sad truth is that neither Zamenhof nor his disciples have ever made an intelligent attempt at rationalization of word material. Unless one is a gourmet, a horticulturist, or a bird-watcher, it is difficult to see why a 36-page English-Esperanto dictionary should be encumbered by entries such as artichoke = *artiŝoko*, artichoke (Jerusalem) = *helianto*, nightshade (deadly) = *beladono*, nightshade (woody) = *dolĉamaro*. In the same opus nursing of the sick (Esperanto *flegi*, from German *pflegen*) is differentiated from nursing of children (Esperanto *varti*, from German *warten*) when an Esperanto equivalent of *to look after* would have covered both. The *Key to Esperanto* pushes specialization further by listing *kiso* = kiss, and *ŝmaco* = noisy kiss. If I shake a bottle Esperanto calls it *ŝui*, but if I shake my friend's hand it is *manpremi*. When a chamois leaps into the Esperanto world it turns into a *ĉamo*, but the stuff with which I get the dirt off my window is not a compound of chamois and leather, as you might think, it is *ŝamo*.

Esperanto fostered several rival projects, and their appearance gave rise to anxiety. The year 1900 was the foundation of the *Delegation of the Adoption of an International Auxiliary Language*. This body, which had the support of leaders in the academic world, including the chemist Ostwald, the philologist Jespersen, the logician Couturat, approached a large number of scientific bodies and individual men of science with the suggestion that some competent institution, preferably the *International Association of Academies*, should take over the task of pronouncing judgment on rival claimants. The Association refused to do so, and the *Delegation* itself eventually appointed a committee with this object in 1907. Initially discussion focussed on two schemes, Esperanto itself and *Idiom Neutral* (p. 460). The delegates then received a third proposal under the pseudonym *Ido*. The author of this bolt from the blue was *Louis de Beaufront*, till then a leading French Esperantist. The Committee decided in favour of Esperanto with the proviso that reforms were necessary on the lines suggested by *Ido*. The Esperantists officially refused to collaborate with the delegation in the work of reform, and the delegation then adopted the reformed product which took the pseudonym of its author. In some ways *Ido* is better, but it has the same defective foundations as Esperanto. It has dropped adjectival concord but retains the accusative form of the noun as an optional device. The accented consonants of Esperanto have disappeared. The vocabulary of *Ido* contains a much higher proportion of Latin roots, and is well-nigh free of Slavonic ingredients. The roots them-

selves are less distorted. The system of derivative affixes has been pruned of some glaring absurdities, but inflated by a fresh battery based on quasi-logical preoccupations. In place of the six prefixes and twenty-two suffixes of Esperanto, Ido has sixteen prefixes and forty suffixes.

There have been other bitter feuds between orthodox Esperantists and reformist groups. After Ido came *Esperantido* by *René de Saussure*. The three following equivalent sentences illustrate the family likeness of Esperanto, Ido, and Esperantido:

ESPERANTO

Por homo vere civilizita, filosofo au juristo, la kono de la latina lingvo estas dezirebla, sed internacia linguo estas utila por moderna interkomunikado de lando al alia.

IDO

Por homo vere civilizita, filozofo od yuristo, la konoco di Latina esas dezirinda, ma linguo internaciona esas utila por la komunikado moderna de un lando al altra.

ESPERANTIDO

Por homo vere civilizita, filozofo or yuristo, la kono de la latina linguo estas dezirebla, sed internacia linguo estas utila por moderna interkomunikado dey un lando al alia.

INTERLINGUA

No rival successfully arrested the spread of Esperanto, though several of its competitors were immeasurably superior. Every new project made for more internationality of the basic word material. Coming from different directions pioneers of language-planning were converging to a single focus. Some searched the living European representatives of the Aryan family for terms common to the greatest number of them, and inevitably arrived at a vocabulary essentially Latin in its character. Others took the outcome for granted, and went straight to the neo-Latin languages for bricks and straw. A third group extracted from Classical Latin what remains alive, i.e. its vocabulary, and discarded what is dead, i.e. its grammar. The most interesting, and till now the most enlightened, attempt to modernize Latin is *Latino sine Flexione* (*Interlingua*), devised by the Italian mathematician, Giuseppe Peano. In 1908 Peano became Director of the *Accademia pro Interlingua*, formerly the *Akademi de Lingu Universal*, and at a still earlier stage in its career, the *Kadem bevoünetik Volapüka*, founded by the second

and third Volapük Congress. The *Academia* was a meeting-ground for people interested in applied linguistics. Any enthusiast could join and contribute to its organ in any artificial language which his fellow-travellers could easily understand. The aim was to discover what is most international among the existing welter of European languages.

Since 1903 Peano had been publishing his research in a simplified form of Latin. He did not know that Leibniz (p. 451) had proposed something similar, till one of his pupils came across the German philosopher's observations on rational grammar and a universal language. On January 3, 1908, Peano did something quite unprofessorial. He read a paper to the *Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*. It began in conventional Latin and ended in Peanese. Citing Leibniz, he emphasized the superfluities of Latin grammar. As he discussed and justified each innovation he advocated, he incorporated it in the idiom of his discourse forthwith. Grammar-book Latin underwent a metamorphosis on the spot. What emerged from the chrysalis was a language which any well-educated European can read at first sight.

Interlingua aims at a vocabulary of *Latin* elements which enjoy widest currency in the living European languages of to-day. It therefore includes all words with which we ourselves are already familiar, together with latinized Greek stems which have contributed to international terminology. Of itself this does not distinguish *Interlingua* from some other auxiliaries. Five out of six words in the *Esperanto* dictionary have roots taken from Latin, directly or indirectly. The Latin bias of *Ido*, *Occidental*, or *Romanal* is even stronger. What distinguishes *Interlingua* from *Esperanto* and its relatives is the garb which the international root word wears. In Zamenhof's scheme the borrowed word had to conform with the author's ideas about spelling, pronunciation, and flexional appendices. After clipping and adding, the end-product often defies recognition on an international scale. Peano followed a different plan. He did not mutilate his pickings. The Latin word has the stem-form, that is, roughly the form in which we meet it in modern languages.

What Peano regards as the stem of a noun, adjective, or pronoun is the ablative (p. 315) form, e.g. *argento*, *campo*, *arte*, *carne*, *monte*, *parte*, *plebe*, *principe*, *celebre*, *audace*, *novo*. Every one of these words occurs in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. We ourselves are familiar with them in: *argentine*, *camp*, *artist*, *carnivorous*, *mountain*, *part*, *plebeian*, *principal*, *celebrity*, *audacious*, *novelty*. In this way Latin words preserve their final vowels. The stem-form of the Peano *verb* is the Latin im-

perative, or the infinitive without *-re*. So we get *ama* (*amare*), *habe* (*habere*), *scribe* (*scribere*), *audi* (*audire*), *i* (*ire*). Interlingua has no mobile derivative affixes to juggle with. It is wholly analytical, like Chinese or, we might almost add, Anglo-American. What prefixes and suffixes remain stick firmly to the Latin or Greek loan-word with all their diversity of meaning, contradictions and obscurities in English, French, or Spanish usage.

The grammar of Interlingua will not delay us long. Its supreme virtue is its modesty. In Peano's own words, *the minimum grammar is no grammar at all*. No pioneer of language-planning has been more iconoclastic towards the irrelevancies of number, gender, tense, and mood. It is Chinese with Latin roots, but because the roots are Latin (or Greek) there is no surfeit of ambiguous homophones. What Latin labels by several different genitive case-marks, Interlingua binds together with the "empty" word *de*, equivalent to our word *of*. Thus Latin *vox populi, vox dei*, becomes *voce de populo, voce de Deo*. Number indication is *optional*, an innovation which no future planner can ignore. What is now familiar to the reader of the *Loom*, Peano first grasped. He saw that number and tense intrude in situations where they are irrelevant, and we become slaves of their existence. Whether we like it or not, we have to use two irrelevant Anglo-American flexions when we say: *there were three lies in yesterday's broadcast*. The plural *s* is redundant because the number *three* comes before the noun. The past *were* is irrelevant because what happened *yesterday* is over and done with. *Interlingua* reserves the *optional* and international plural affix *-s* (Latin *matres*, Greek *meteres*, French *mères*, Spanish *madres*, Dutch *moeders*) for situations in which there is no qualifier equivalent to *many, several, etc.*, or nothing in the context to specify plurality, e.g. *the father has sons* = *patre habe filios*, but *three sons* = *tres filio*. It is almost an insult to Peano's genius to add that *Interlingua* has no gender apparatus or that the adjective is *invariant*. If sex is relevant to the situation, we add *mas* for the male, and *femina* for the female, e.g. *cane femina* = *a bitch*. There is no article, definite or indefinite. The distinction *I—me, he—him, etc.*, which almost all Peano's predecessors preserved, dies an overdue death. *Me* stands for *I* and *me, illo* for *he* and *him*.

Demolition of the verb-edifice is equally thorough. There are no flexions of person or number. Thus *me habe* = *I have*, *te habe* = *you have*, *nos habe* = *we have*. There is also no obligatory tense-distinction. This is in line with the analytical drift of modern European languages

(cf. especially *Afrikaans*, p. 285) which rely on helpers or particles to express time or aspect. The *-ed* like the *-s* in *two rabbits escaped yesterday* is redundant. We have no need for either of them when we say: *two sheep hurt themselves yesterday*. The Interlinguist says *heri me es in London* (yesterday I BE in London), *hodie illos es in Paris* (to-day they BE in Paris), *eras te es in New York* (to-morrow you BE in New York). Peano's attitude to tense is on all fours with his attitude to number. Where explicit particles, or context do not already specify past time, the helper *e* before the verb does so. Similarly *i* (from *ire*) indicates the future as in the French construction *je vais me coucher* (I am going to bed). Thus the Interlinguist says *me i bibe* = I am going to drink, or *me e bibe* = I drank.

Though one of the most attractive projects yet designed, Peano's *Interlingua* has several weak points. Some of them spring from the fact that its author had his eyes glued on the European *mise-en-scène*, and more particularly, on the cultural hierarchy. So he never asked himself whether *Interlingua* was free from sounds likely to cause difficulties to linguistic communities outside Europe. There is another grave but easily remediable omission. A completely flexionless language such as *Interlingua* calls for rigid rules of word-order. Peano bothered little about the necessary traffic regulations. The capital weakness of *Interlingua* is that its vocabulary is too large. Its author ignored the interests of the peoples of Africa and Asia, as he also ignored the plain man in Europe. Had he had more sympathy with their needs he would have worked out a *minimum* vocabulary sufficient for everyday purposes. He did not. The 1915 edition of Peano's *Vocabulario Commune* contains 14,000 words which have currency in leading European languages. Here is a sample of *Interlingua*:

Televisiōne, aut transmissiōne de imagines ad distantia, es ultimo applicatiōne de undas electrico. In die 8 februario 1928, imagines de tres homine in Long Acre apud London es transmissio ad Hartsdale apud New York, et es recepto super uno plano, de 5 per 8 centimetrom, ubi assistentēs vide faciēs in London ad move, aperi ore, etc.

NOVIAL

Bacon has said that the true and lawful goal of science is to endow human life with new powers and inventions. Throughout his long and distinguished career, the great Danish linguist Jespersen has had the courage and originality to emphasize that philology has the same "true and lawful goal" as any other science. As a young man he espoused

in turn *Volapük* and *Esperanto*. Later he helped to shape *Ido*. In 1928 he put forward a project of his own making, but like many other *Esperanto* renegades did not succeed in shedding the larval skin of his highly infected past. He called it *Novial*.

Novial is the latest arrival. It is not the last word in language-planning. Naturally, it is better than *Esperanto* or *Ido*. Because it had the advantage of coming later, it could scarcely be otherwise. Besides, Jespersen is the greatest living authority on English grammar. It would be surprising if a constructive linguist failed to recognize the cardinal virtues of a language so dear to him. What Jespersen calls the best type of international language is one: *which in every point offers the greatest facility to the greatest number*. When he speaks of the greatest number he refers *only to Europeans and those inhabitants of the other continents who are either of European extraction or whose culture is based on European civilization*. This sufficiently explains why *Novial* retains so many luxuries common to Western European languages.

For instance, the *Novial* adjective has a *conceptual neuter* form, ending in *-um*. From what is otherwise the invariant *ver* we get *verum*, which means *true thing*. In defiance of decent thrift, *Novial* has two ways of expressing possessive relations, an analytical one by means of the particle *de*, and a synthetic by means of the ending *-n*. Thus *Men patron kontore* is *Novial* for: *my (mine) father's office*. Jespersen's treatment of the verb conforms to the analytical technique of Anglo-American. This at least is an enormous advance upon *Esperanto*, Russian, Lithuanian, and other difficult languages; but is not particularly impressive if we apply the yardstick of Pekingese or Peanese. Future and conditional are expressed by the auxiliaries *sal* and *vud*, perfect and pluperfect by the auxiliaries *ha* and *had*. *Novial* departs from English usage in one particular. The dictionary form does the work of our past participle in compound past tenses, e.g. *me protekte*, I protect, *me ha protekte*, I have protected. This recalls the class of English verbs to which *cut*, *put*, or *hurt* belong. What simplification results from this is nullified by the superfluous existence of two ways of expressing past time, a synthetic one which ends in the Teutonic weak *-d*, e.g. *me protekted* (I protected), and an analytical one involving an equivalent non-emphatic Chaucerian helper *did*, e.g. *me did protekte*. There are no flexions of mood; but the student of *Novial* has to learn how to shunt tense forms appropriate to indirect speech.

Like *Esperanto*, *Novial* has a bulky apparatus of derivative affixes for coining new words. They recall forms which exist in contemporary

European languages; but Jespersen is at pains to give each a clear-cut meaning. There are many whimsicalities in the choice of them. A special suffix denotes action, another indicates the result of an action, and a third is for use *when the product of the action is specially meant, as distinct from the way in which it is done.* (Got it?) In the list of prefixes we meet an old acquaintance, the Esperanto *bo-*. This indicates relation by marriage, e.g. *bopatro* (father-in-law), *bomatra* (mother-in-law), *bofilia* (daughter-in-law). How long the mother-in-law will continue to be a menace to monogamy, or how long monogamy will continue to be the prevailing mores of civilized communities we cannot say. Meanwhile it is just as easy to make a joke about the analytical English or Chinese equivalent of Jespersen's *bomatra*.

In building up his vocabulary Jespersen aimed at choosing the most international words. Since there are many things and notions for which there are no fully fledged international (i.e. European) terms Jespersen embraces the eclecticism of his predecessors. The result is a mongrel pup. The following story illustrates its hybrid character:

Da G. Bernard Shaw.

Un amiko de me kel had studia spesialim okulali kirurgia, examinad in un vespre men vidpovo e informad me ke lum esed totim non-interessant a lo, pro ke lum esed "normal." Me naturim kredad ke tum signifkad ke lum esed simil a omni altren; ma lo refusad ti interpretatione kom paradoxal, e hastosim explicad a me ke me esed optikalim exeptional e tre fortunosi persone, pro ke "normali" vido donad li povo tu vida koses akuratim e ke nor dek pro sent del popule posedes to povo, konter ke li restanti ninanti pro sent esed non-normal. Me instantim deskovrad li explikatione de men non-sukceso kom roman-autore. Men mental okule kom men korporal okule esed "normal"; lum vidad koses altriman kam li okules de altri homes, e vidad les plu bonim.

(Traduktet kun permision de autore.)

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN REACTION

With one exception, G. J. Henderson, who published two proposals, *Lingua* in 1888 and *Latinesce* a few years later, none of the promoters of constructed languages during the nineteenth century were American or British. With few exceptions, no continental linguists of the nineteenth century, and none of the leaders of the world-auxiliary movement, recognized the fact that one existing language, that of the largest civilized speech community, is free from several defects common to all outstanding projects for an artificial medium, before the publication of Peano's *Interlingua*.

This is not altogether surprising. Because English spelling teems with irregularities, and still more because of the vast resources of its hybrid vocabulary, learning English is not an easy task for anyone who aims to get a *wide reading knowledge*. So academic linguists trained in sedentary pursuits overlooked the astonishing ease with which a beginner can get a good working knowledge of the Anglo-American interlanguage as a vehicle of unpretentious *self-expression*. C. K. Ogden and his colleague, I. A. Richards, are largely responsible for the growing recognition of the merits which won high tribute from Grimm. Ogden and Richards chose Anglo-American usage as the case material of *The Meaning of Meaning*, a handbook of modern logic. What began as an academic examination of how we *define* things, led one of the authors into a more spacious domain. Hitherto we had thought of English as the language with the large dictionary. Ogden's work has taught us to recognize its extreme *word economy*.

To resolve this paradox the reader needs to know the problem which Ogden and Richards discuss in their book. Latent in the theme of the *The Meaning of Meaning* is the following question: what is the absolute *minimum number of words we need to retain*, if we are to give an intelligible definition of all other words in Webster's or the Oxford Dictionary? The answer is, about 800, or between two and three months' work for anyone willing to memorize *twelve* new words a day. This great potential word-economy of Anglo-American is due to the *withering away of word-forms dictated by context without regard to meaning*. We have had many examples of this process, especially in Chapters III, IV, and VII. Our natural interlanguage has shed redundant contextual distinctions between particles and between transitive and intransitive verbs. We can now do without a battery of about 400 special verb-forms which are almost essential to ordinary self-expression in French or German. This is not disputed by critics who carp at the absence of names for everyday objects in Ogden's 850 Basic Word List, and it is not necessary to remind readers of the *Loom* that Anglo-American has another supreme merit which pioneers of language-planning, other than the great linguist Henry Sweet, were slow to realize.

Academic British grammarians, with few notable exceptions such as Bradley, have always been apologetic about the flexional "poverty" of English, and disposed to fondle any surviving flexions they could fish up. In fact, there are only three surviving *obligatory* flexions which we need to add to our items for a serviceable vocabulary of new words: (a) *-s* (for the third person singular of the present tense, or for the

plural form of the noun, (b) *-d* or *-ed* for the past tense or participle of verbs, (c) *-ing*, which can be tacked on to almost any word which signifies an action or process. The genitive *-s* is optional, as are the *-er* and *-est* of essential comparatives or superlatives. The seven forms of the verb *be*, four or five forms of a few—not more than a dozen—common *strong* verbs, and half a dozen irregular noun plurals, round up the essentials of Anglo-American grammar other than rules of word-order.

Thus the essential grammar of Anglo-American is much simpler than that of the only two artificial languages which have hitherto attracted a considerable popular following. The language itself is the most cosmopolitan medium of civilized intercourse, and it can boast of a copious literature produced at low cost. It is the exclusive Western vehicle of commercial transactions in the Far East, and the common tongue of business enterprise on the American continent. It is also a *lingua franca* for the publication of a large bulk of scientific research carried on in Scandinavia, Japan, China, and in countries other than France, Germany, or Italy. For all these and for other reasons, the movement to promote Anglo-American as a world-auxiliary has eclipsed the enthusiasms with which former generations espoused proposals for constructed languages.

Whatever fate has in store for Ogden's system of Basic English, everyone who is interested in the interlanguage problem must acknowledge a debt to its author for clarifying the problem of word-economy and specifying the principles for making the dictionary of a satisfactory world-auxiliary. What is not beyond dispute is whether his particular solution of the problem is the best one. To avoid the inflation of a basic vocabulary with separate verbs, Ogden takes advantage of the enormous number of distinctive elements which can be replaced by one of about sixteen common English verbs in combination with other essential words. Thus we can make the following combinations with *go* followed by a directive:

go around (circumscribe, encircle, surround); *go across* (traverse); *go away* (depart); *go after* (follow, pursue); *go again* (return); *go against* (attack); *go before* (precede); *go by* (pass); *go down* (descend); *go for* (fetch); *go in* (enter); *go on* (continue); *go out* (leave); *go through* (penetrate); *go to* (visit); *go up* (ascend); *go with* (fit, suit, accompany).

We can also manufacture many verb equivalents by combining some common English verbs with nouns or adjectives, in accordance with the precedent of Bible English: *make clean*, *make wet*, *make whole*, *make*

well, make a fire of, make a fuss about, make trouble. Reliance on such combinations is the method of verb-economy peculiar to *Basic English*. The Basic Word List contains only the verbs: *come, go, get, give, keep, let, make, put, seem, take, be, do, have, say, see, send, may, will*. It is possible to say anything in effective English which does not offend accepted conventions of grammar without introducing any verbs not included in this list.

We could make any language more easy to learn by lopping off its useless flexions and regularizing those which are useful, and if we deprived French of its preposterous encumbrance of personal flexions (fifty per cent *unpronounced*) and the still more preposterous burden of gender or number concord, Frenchmen might still decipher the product, as we can decipher pidgin English. It is doubtful whether this would help a foreigner to read French books, and the great practical advantage of a living, in contradistinction to a constructed, language is the amenity of cheap books already available. Besides, no Frenchman would agree to learn a mutilated form of his own language as an auxiliary for peaceful communication.

This is not the result at which Ogden aims. Spelling reform or simplification of Anglo-American grammar, beyond the elimination of optional survivals for which accepted isolating constructions already exist, would lead to something different from the Anglo-American in which millions of cheaply produced books come out yearly. So Ogden accepts all the few obligatory flexions and irregularities inherent in correct usage and rejects only those (e.g. the optional genitive) which we need not use. He has proved his claims for Basic as a means of self-expression by translating technical works and narratives for educational use into a terse idiom which is not unpleasing to most of us. The prose style of J. B. S. Haldane is often almost pure Basic. Basic is not *essentially* a different sort of English from Anglo-American as we usually understand the term. It would be better to describe it as a system by which a beginner can learn to express himself clearly and correctly according to accepted standards with no more effort than learning a constructed language entails.

The recently published New Testament in Basic is a sufficient refutation of the criticism that Basic is a pidgin English. The word list of the Basic New Testament contains some special Bible words which make the total up to a round 1,000. The following is a fair sample for comparison with the King James (Authorized) Bible (*Mark x. 21-24* and *Acts iv. 32*):

KING JAMES BIBLE.

Then Jesus beholding him loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, take up the cross, and follow me. And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved: for he had great possessions. And Jesus looked about, and saith unto his disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again, and saith unto them, Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God!

And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. . . . Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.

BASIC NEW TESTAMENT.

And Jesus, looking on him, and loving him, said, There is one thing needed: go, get money for your goods, and give it to the poor, and you will have wealth in heaven: and come with me. But his face became sad at the saying, and he went away sorrowing: for he was one who had much property. And Jesus, looking round about, said to his disciples, How hard it is for those who have wealth to come into the kingdom of God! And the disciples were full of wonder at his words. But Jesus said to them again, Children, how hard it is for those who put faith in wealth to come into the kingdom of God!

And all those who were of the faith were one in heart and soul: and not one of them said that any of the things which he had was his property only; but they had all things in common. . . . And no one among them was in need; for everyone who had land or houses, exchanging them for money, took the price of them, and put it at the feet of the Apostles for distribution to everyone as he had need.

Some critics of Basic will say that it is tainted with the philosophical preoccupations of Wilkins, Leibniz, and Bentham—the armchair view that the main business of language is to “transmit ideas.” To be sure, transmission of ideas is an unnecessarily charitable description of the everyday speech of people who have to eat, dress, buy cigarettes, pay rent, mate, or excrete. Admittedly a large part of the daily intercourse of intellectuals themselves deals with situations in which it is not convenient to define a beefsteak as a cut from the back end of a male cow

kept on the fire long enough with the right things—and so forth. Advocates of Basic may reasonably reply that this concern for our common humanity is spurious, that early training by the method of definition would do much to raise the general intellectual level of mankind, and that the main thing for the beginner is to get self-confidence as soon as possible, at the risk of a little long-windedness.

The focus of intelligent criticism is the form of verb-economy which Ogden has chosen. His critics point out that those who have used Basic idiom as a substitute for the more usual type of Anglo-American in examples such as those cited above already know English and have no doubt about the meaning of such combinations as *get for* or *go with*. Is the correct idiomatic construction for the verb of another language equally obvious, if we do not already know English? Is it certain that a foreigner will deduce from its literal meaning the idiomatic verb in the sentence *Martha had her hands full of the work of the house*? This difficulty comes out in three ways of translating into Basic idiom each of the highly indefinite native verbs (a) *try*, (b) *ask*:

- | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| (a) attempt | = make an attempt at. |
| test | = put to the test. |
| judge | = be the judge of. |
| (b) question | = put a question about. |
| request | = make a request. |
| invite | = give an invitation. |

Though it is quite correct English to *put a question* and *make a request*, it is difficult to see why a Chinese should prefer these forms to *making a question* or *putting a request*. Indeed the Chinaman would be at home in his native idiom if he took advantage of the fact that *attempt*, *test*, *judge*, *request*, *question*, can all be used as verbs or nouns, and that we *request the presence* of a person when we *invite* him. By exploiting this most remarkable feature of English word-economy it would be easy to devise a word-list no longer than that of the official Basic 850 without recourse to this bewildering multiplicity of idioms. We could also include a few words such as *purchase*, which can be verb (*to purchase*), noun (*the purchase of*), or adjective (*purchase price*), without such periphrases as *give money for* when we have to refer to an activity of daily occurrence. This way of solving the problem of verb-economy has another advantage. The Basic construction is long-winded. The Chinese trick is snappy.

It goes without saying that any attempt to simplify Anglo-American within the framework of generally accepted conventions has a ready

welcome where there is continuous contact between British administrators and Oriental or African populations with a multitude of local vernaculars. Owing to the influence of American trade and medicine, and to that of American Universities and philanthropic foundations in the Far East, the influence of their common language extends far beyond the bounds of the British Empire or the United States. As a *lingua franca* in China and Japan, it has no formidable European competitor. Esperanto or any form of rehabilitated Aryan would have no prospect of outstripping Anglo-American unless it first established itself by general agreement as the official medium of a United Europe. In more than one respect Esperanto is inferior, and in none superior, to English. With its wealth of flexions it limps far behind several European languages; and it would be a bold boast to say that its vocabulary is more international than that of English.

There is already a large educational publishing clientele for proposals which aim at promoting the use of Anglo-American as the *lingua franca* of technology and trade in backward and subject communities. Basic is not the only proposal of this sort. From Toronto comes West's method. This is based on word-counts, and presumably therefore aims to cater for the needs of those whose immediate goal is rapid progress in reading facility. Miss Elaine Swensen of the Language Research Institute at New York University has devised another system, H. E. Palmer of the *Institute for Research in English Teaching* in Tokyo a third (*Iret*). In *American Speech* (1934), Dr. Jane Rankin Aiken has put forward *Little English*, with an essential vocabulary of 800 words, i.e. 50 less than Basic. Others exist and will come.

THE PROSPECTS FOR LANGUAGE-PLANNING

The first desideratum of an interlanguage is the ease with which people can learn it. If we apply this test to rival claimants, two conclusions emerge from our narrative. One may well doubt whether any constructed language with the support of a mass movement is superior to Anglo-American, especially if we consider the needs of the Far East or of the awakening millions of Africa. At the same time, it would be easy to devise an artificial language vastly superior to Anglo-American by taking full advantage of neglected lessons from comparative linguistics and of the shortcomings of our predecessors in the same endeavour. If historical circumstances favour the adoption of a living one as a world language, Anglo-American has no dangerous rival; and practical reasons which make people prefer Anglo-American to any

artificial interlanguage, however wisely conceived, will inevitably check any bid to supersede the Anglo-American dictionary. Simplified English, whether Basic or Iret, Swensen or Aiken—not to mention more to come—can scarcely aspire to be other than a passport to the more ample territory of the great English-speaking community, and a safe-conduct to its rich treasury of technical literature.

To these conclusions it is reasonable to add another. No artificial interlanguage movement sponsored by voluntary effort can hope to swamp the claims of Anglo-American in the East. Thus our hopes for a neutral constructed language stand or fall with the prospects for a Europe united by a democratic constitution based on intelligent provision of linguistic problems which democratic co-operation must surmount. The choice before us may be settled for many decades to come by historical circumstances over which we have no control. If historical circumstances do allow us to cast our vote, it will be supremely important to recognize the implications of a decision in favour of Anglo-American or of a new start in language-planning.

If advocates of constructed languages have been peculiarly blind to the *intrinsic* merits of Anglo-American, those who champion its claims as a world-auxiliary have been equally deaf to its *extrinsic* disabilities. Though Anglo-American is not a national language, it is not a politically neutral language. If a victorious alliance of the English-speaking people attempts to make it the official medium of a united Europe, its use will make the British nation a *Herrenvolk*. It will perpetuate all the discords which arise when one speech-community enjoys a privileged position in the cultural and social life of a larger group. There is only one basis of equality on which nations can co-operate in a peaceful world order without the frictions which arise from linguistic differences. A new European order, or a new world order in which no nation enjoys favoured treatment will be one in which every citizen is bilingual, as Welsh or South African children are brought up to be bilingual. The common language of European or world citizenship must be the birthright of everyone, because the birthright of no one.

History has not yet given its verdict. It may not be too late to forestall disasters of a maladroit decision. For that reason the last chapter of *The Loom of Language* will deal with principles which must dictate a wholly satisfactory solution of the world-language problem. Whatever final decision blind fate or intelligent prescience imposes on the future of the most widely distributed and the only talking animal on this planet, this much is clear. The efforts of the pioneers of language-

planning and the work of men like Ogden will not have been for nothing. Ogden's principle of word-economy must influence the design of any satisfactory artificial language of the future. Some features of the later interlanguages, such as Jespersen's and Peano's, will inevitably influence the teaching of Anglo-American, if it is destined to be the auxiliary language of the whole world.

FURTHER READING

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| COUTURAT | <i>Histoire de la langue universelle.</i> |
| GUÉRARD | <i>A Short History of the International Language Movement.</i> |
| JESPERSEN | <i>An International Language.</i> |
| LOCKHART | <i>Word Economy.</i> |
| OGDEN | <i>Basic English versus the Artificial Languages.</i> |
| PANKHURST | <i>Delphos or the Future of Language.</i> |

CHAPTER XII

LANGUAGE PLANNING FOR A NEW ORDER*

As far as we can see into the future, there will always be a multiplicity of regional languages for everyday use. Those who advocate the introduction of an international medium do not dispute this. What they do assert is the need for a *second* language as a common medium for people who speak mutually unintelligible tongues. They envisage a world, or at least federations of what were once sovereign States, where people of different speech communities would be bilingual. Everyone would still grow up to speak one or other of existing national languages, but everyone would also acquire a single *auxiliary* for supra-national communication. This prospect is not incompatible with the mental capacities of ordinary human beings; nor does it involve a total break with existing practice. Bilingualism exists already in Wales, Belgium, South Africa and many other parts. Throughout the English-speaking world all secondary-school children study at least one foreign language, that is, French, Spanish, or German; and in some countries pupils who leave school with a smattering of a foreign language are in the majority.

In Britain they are not. Most of the children enter the labour market with a knowledge of no language other than their own. Consequently millions of adult workers are excluded from direct communication with their continental comrades. Postponement of the school-leaving age will provide an opportunity for bringing the curriculum for elementary instruction in Britain into line with that of many other countries. Thus the adoption of an international auxiliary implies no more than regularization of existing educational practice, i.e. universal instruction in a second language and agreement to use one and the same *second* language everywhere. Creation of conditions for uniformity of educational practice by international agreement, as a prelude to universal bi-lingualism, as defined above, is not a language problem. *It is a political problem.*

* The views expressed in this chapter are the outcome of joint discussion between the author and the editor. The latter has attempted to give them shape in a project, *Interglossa*, which has been published by Penguin Books Ltd.

Many well-informed people still doubt whether the social need for a single universal second language will prove strong enough to override human laziness. At first sight the plight of modern language teaching in Great Britain and elsewhere lends some support to pessimism. Hitherto our schools have produced poor results. After years of travail the British public school product may have mastered enough French to get in Paris what Paris is only too willing to sell without French. This need not make us hopeless. Any society ripe for adopting an Interlanguage will be faced with a new set of problems. Pupils who now take French or German as school subjects rarely have a clear-cut idea of the purpose for which they are learning them, and more rarely still, the chance of using what knowledge they acquire. The future is likely to provide incentives and opportunities hitherto unknown. Fantastic delays, misunderstandings and waste due to the absence of a single common language for international co-operation will impress even those who are not knowingly affected by it at present.

A hundred years ago, Europe witnessed perhaps less than a dozen international congresses in the course of a whole decade. Delegates were invariably drawn from the upper class. So communication was easy enough. Deliberations were in French. When international congresses became more numerous, they assumed a more gaudy linguistic character. Consequently procedure had often to be conducted in two or more "official" languages. One could choose delegates who were able to compete with the polyglot attendant of an international sleeping-car, but the delegate with the best linguistic equipment would rarely be one with the best understanding of relevant issues. This obstacle to international communication becomes more formidable as time goes on. People of new strata and more diverse speech habits discover community of interest, and no single language enjoys the prestige of French during the eighteenth century.

In short, the prospects for language planning depend on the extent to which the impulse to international co-operation keeps in step with the new potential of prosperity for all. Socialist planning, that is planning for the common needs of peoples belonging to different nations or cultural units, will bring about incessant contact between medical officers of health, town-planning experts, electrical engineers, social statisticians, trade-union representatives. Increased leisure combined with improved travelling facilities will give to a large floating section of the population opportunities to establish new social contacts through the medium of an Interlanguage; and its adoption

would find a ready ally in the radio. Even those who stay at home perpetually, would be tempted to avail themselves of opportunities to learn more of large-scale social enterprise in neighbouring communities of the supra-national State.

The choice for those of us who cherish this hope lies between a constructed language and an already established medium, either in its existing shape or in some simplified form, such as Basic English. The second involves nothing more than agreement between educational authorities expressing the will of the people. On account of its grammatical simplicity, its hybrid vocabulary, its vast literature, and, above all, its wide distribution over the planet, the claims of Anglo-American would undoubtedly exclude those of any other current language which could conceivably have a large body of promoters in the near future; but political objections to such a choice are formidable. It is most unlikely that a socialist Continent would decide for Anglo-American as its interlanguage if Britain remained hostile to the new order. The chances might improve if a Britain free of its imperial incubus entered into close co-operation with its neighbours next door to build up a world without class, war and want. Even so there is much to say for the adoption of a *neutral* medium cleansed from the all too evident defects of existing natural languages.

Some linguists meet the plea for a constructed auxiliary with the assertion that language is a product of growth. It is less easy to detect the relevance than to recognize the truth of this assertion. Admittedly it is beyond human ingenuity to construct a live sky-lark, but the aeroplane has advantages which no flying animal possesses. Apple trees and gooseberry bushes are also products of growth, and no reasonable man or woman advances this trite reflection as sufficient reason for preventing geneticists from producing new varieties of fruit by combining inherited merits of different strains or allied species. The work accomplished by pioneers of the science of synthetic linguistics shows that it is also possible to produce new language varieties combining the inherent merits of different forms of natural speech. In the light of their achievements and shortcomings we can now prescribe the essential features of a constructed language which would be free from the conspicuous defects of any natural, or of any previously constructed, language.

Professional linguists, who do not dispute the possibility of constructing a language to meet the requirements of international communication, sometimes raise another objection. They say that the adventure

would be short-lived, if ever attempted; that no auxiliary could remain intact for long. Even if confined to the territory of Europe itself, it would split into dialects. Each speech community would locally impose its own phonetic habits and its own system of stress; and the Tower of Babel would come crashing down on the builders. Only a perpetual succession of international congresses could thus prevent a new disaster. Such is the gloomy view which Professor Wyld of Oxford takes. There are three sufficient reasons why it need not intimidate us.

To begin with there is nothing inherently absurd in a suggestion for setting up a permanent interlinguistic commission to check the process of disintegration. For three centuries the *forty immortals* of the *Académie Française* have tried, not without success, to keep literary French in a straight-jacket; and Norway has changed its spelling and grammar by three Acts of Parliament in less than forty years. If national governments can control the growth of national languages, an international authority could also maintain an accepted standard for its own medium of communication. Though international committees to supervise scientific terminology, e.g. the *International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature*, are already in existence, our universities cling to the conviction that intelligent language planning on a world wide scale is out of the question.

By the nature of their training academic linguists are unduly pre-occupied with times when few people could travel beyond a day's journey on horseback or by cart, when reading and writing, like stenography to-day, were crafts confined to a few, when there were no mechanical means for distributing news or information. It is true that languages have broken up time and again in the past, because of dispersion over a wide area, geographical isolation, absence of a written standard and other disintegrating agencies. Those who entertain the hope of international communication by an auxiliary envisage a future in which these agencies will no longer operate. Indeed, we have experience to sustain a more hopeful view than is customary in academic quarters. During the centuries which have followed the introduction of printing, the gradual dissolution of illiteracy, and revolutionary changes in our means of communication, English has established itself as the language of North America and of Australasia. It is not true to say that the three main continental varieties of the common Anglo-American language are drifting further apart. It is probably more true to say that universal schooling, the film, and the radio are bringing them closer together. In any case, experience shows that geographical isola-

tion during several centuries has not made the speech of New England unintelligible to people in Old England, or vice versa. Experience should therefore encourage, rather than discourage, us in pressing for an international auxiliary.

The primary desiderata of an international auxiliary are two. First, it must be an efficient instrument of communication, embracing both the simple needs of everyday life and the more exacting ones of technical discussion. Secondly, it must be easy to learn, whatever the home language of the beginner may be. To be an efficient instrument of communication it must be free from ambiguities and uncertainties arising from grammatical usage or verbal definition. The vocabulary must be free from duplication and unnecessary over-lapping. It must shun all that is of purely regional importance. The design of it can turn for guidance to two diverse sources, the pioneer-work of Ogden, and recognition of defects which vocabularies of hitherto constructed languages share with natural speech. We can best see what characteristics make it easy to learn a constructed language if we first ask what features of natural languages create difficulties for the beginner. Difficulties may arise from a variety of causes: structural irregularities, grammatical complexities of small or no functional value, an abundance of separate words not essential for communication, unfamiliarity with word-forms, difficulty of pronunciation or auditory recognition of certain sounds or sound-groups, and finally conventions of script.

Progress of comparative linguistics and criticism provoked by successive projects for a constructed auxiliary have considerably clarified these difficulties during the past fifty years. Consequently there is a wide field of general agreement concerning the essential features of satisfactory design. Though several interlanguages still claim a handful of enthusiastic supporters, it is probably true to say that most people who now advocate an artificial language approach the prospect with a ready ear for new proposals. The plethora of projects touched on in the preceding chapter should not make us despair of unanimity. On the contrary, failure brings us nearer to accord. As Jespersen remarks in the beginning of his book on his own constructed auxiliary (*Novial*):

All recent attempts show an unmistakable family likeness, and may be termed dialects of one and the same type of international language. This shows that just as bicycles and typewriters are now nearly all of the same type, which was not the case with the earlier makes, we are now in the matter of interlanguage approaching the time when one standard

type can be fixed authoritatively in such a way that the general structure will remain stable, though new words will, of course, be constantly added when need requires.

This family likeness will become increasingly apparent in what follows. We shall now examine principles of design with due regard to the measure of agreement to which Jespersen draws attention and to later issues which have emerged, more especially from discussion of the merits and defects of simple English. One of the conspicuous defects of Anglo-American in its present form is the difficulty mentioned at the end of the last paragraph but one. Its script, particularly the spelling of its *inherited* stock of monosyllables, has become well-nigh ideographic; and this is the most striking difference between any form of authentic English and any modern constructed language. All advocates of a constructed international auxiliary agree that it must have consistent, simple, straightforward spelling rules, based on the use of the Roman alphabet. Since existing languages such as Italian, Spanish, and Norwegian furnish models of orderly behaviour, there has never been any practical difficulty about prescribing a system of phonetic spelling. A representative international committee of experts entrusted with the task of laying the foundations of a constructed world-auxiliary would waste few days in reaching agreement about its spelling conventions.

Spelling raises only one outstanding issue for discussion. Consistent spelling may mean either or both of two proposals: (a) that every sound has one symbol and one only; (b) that every symbol stands for a single sound. To insist too rigorously on the first has a disadvantage touched on in Chapter II. Different languages have different conventions of alphabetic script, and the imposition of a rule limiting one sound to one symbol alone would therefore mutilate otherwise familiar roots beyond easy recognition. For example, we should not recognize the root *chrom-* in *panchromatic* or *polychrome* as easily if we spelt it with an initial *k*, and the retention of two symbols for some sounds, e.g. *CH* or *K* for *k*, would not appreciably add to the difficulties of learning.

ESSENTIAL GRAMMAR

It is also safe to say that grammar no longer provides much fuel for controversy among interlinguists. We have moved far since the days of *Volapük*; and the main outlines of an international grammar are now clear enough. The reader of *The Loom of Language* no longer needs to

be told that the multiplication of word forms by flexions is foremost among obstacles to learning a language. In Chapters III, V, X, XI, we have seen that the difficulties are of two sorts:

- (i) Some flexions (e.g. gender, number accord between noun and adjective) have no semantic value at all and their existence is an arbitrary imposition on the memory;
- (ii) Even when meaningful, flexions which do the same type of work may show widely different forms.

Thus language-planners meet on common ground in recognizing that a satisfactory auxiliary must have: (a) no *useless* flexions; (b) *regularity* of what flexions it retains. About what constitutes regularity advocates of a constructed language do not differ. To say that flexion must be regular means that if we retain a plural, we must form the plural of all nouns in the same way; if we retain a past tense every verb must take the same past tense affix. In short: *a single pattern of conjugation—a single pattern of declension*. To the extent that this measure of agreement exists, any constructed language offers fewer grammatical obstacles to a beginner than do such languages as French, Russian, or German.

Unanimity with reference to what flexions are useful has come about slowly; and is not yet complete. At the time when Volapük and Esperanto took shape, and long after, planners were enthusiastic amateurs blinded by peculiarities of European languages they knew best. Nineteenth-century linguists made the same assumptions as nineteenth-century biologists. They took for granted that what exists necessarily has a use. Awareness of the universal drift from flexional luxuriance towards analytical simplicity in the history of Aryan languages was not yet part of their intellectual equipment. None of them recognized the many similarities between English, which has travelled furthest on the road, and Chinese, which consists wholly of unchangeable independently mobile root words. Professional philologists, who could have enlightened them, were not interested in constructive linguistics. In this setting it was a bold step to sacrifice gender or mood; and the accepted grammatical goal seemed to be a language of the agglutinative type illustrated (Chapter V) by Turkish, Hungarian, or Japanese.

Intellectual impediments to a more iconoclastic attitude were considerable, and we need not be surprised by the tenacity with which earlier pioneers clung to grammatical devices discarded by their

successors. The history of *case* illustrates their difficulties. Since the Reformation, generations of schoolboys have been drilled to submit to instruction which assumes a universal subject-order distinction faithfully reflecting something in the real world. Since the grammatical subject is often the actor or agent which initiates the process specified by the verb, and the grammatical object is often the victim or goal, a judicious choice of illustrations (e.g. *the teacher punishes the boy*), presented at an impressionable age makes it easy to implant the suggestion that this is always so. If the teacher acts in accordance with the last example, this bestows the reassuring conviction that there is a simple rule for choice of the nominative or accusative case-form of a Latin or Greek noun. The pupil in whom the teacher has firmly implanted this suggestion will overlook the fact that the grammatical subject is not the agent which initiates the *seeing* process in *I see him*; and is not likely to worry about the fact that the grammatical object is what really does so. In such situations the pupil still applies the rule correctly, because the nominative-accusative forms of the Latin noun tally with our own use of *I—me* and *he—him*. In this way we come to accept local likeness of speech habits as a universal necessity of discourse.

Interlinguists started, like the comparative philologists, with the handicap of a load of misconceptions inherent in traditional methods of teaching Greek or Latin. It has taken us long to recognize that case can be as useless as gender, and we are only beginning to see that no flexional device is an *essential* vehicle of lucid expression. While everyone concedes that a roundabout turn is preferable to passive flexion, most interlinguists still cling to the flexional plural and the flexional past. Thus it is common ground that a world-auxiliary must be at least as isolating as English. Indeed, there is a close family likeness between Novial and English, each with a hybrid vocabulary of Romance and Teutonic roots.

In short, what has happened to the flexional systems of the Aryan family during the past 2500 years of its known history has happened to the accepted pattern of an artificial inter-language during the past half-century. There has been a drift towards *isolation*. Jespersen recognizes the parallel. He bans the noun accusative terminal of Esperanto or Ido, as Zamenhof vetoed the dative of Volapük, on the ground that it is out of step with linguistic evolution; and cites the fact that Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, English, Dutch, and Scandinavian languages have scrapped it. By the same token we may be sceptical about the possessive case terminal which turns up in *Novial*.

Absent in modern Romance languages, it is already vestigial in English, and still more so in Dutch and in many German dialects. Number and tense are the only flexions which no Aryan language has completely discarded.

Unlike gender or the object-case category, flexion of number has a clear-cut meaning. Still it is not an indispensable device. We can always use a separate word to forestall doubt about whether the topic is one sheep or more than one sheep. Indeed it is wasteful to tack on a plural mark when the statement as a whole, or the presence of a qualifier such as *all*, *many*, *several*, *five*, make it clear that the word stands for more than one of a kind. To some extent, Turkish recognizes such uneconomical behaviour. The Turkish noun drops the plural affix (-*lar* or -*ler*) when accompanied by a numeral, e.g. *ev* = house, *evler* = houses, *dört ev* = four houses. The same usage occurs in German, but remains in a very rudimentary stage, e.g. *drei Mann*.

Similar remarks apply to *tense*. We express plurality once and completed action once, and both explicitly, when we say: *two deer cut through the thicket yesterday*. We express plurality twice and completed action twice when we say *two rabbits escaped yesterday*. The flexion -*s* does nothing which the numeral *two* has not already done. The flexion -*ed* does only what the particle *yesterday* does more explicitly. We can use the singular form of the noun in a collective or generic sense without the slightest danger of misunderstanding, for instance, when we say in French *le lapin est bon marché* (*rabbit is cheap*). Context is often sufficient to safeguard the distinction between singular and plural, past or present. When it is not, we can fall back on an appropriate numeral, pointer-word, or particle of time.

One serious objection to flexion as a functional device is that familiarity breeds contempt. By too often using a flexional form in a context which makes it redundant we become careless about its meaning. This process of semantic erosion has not gone far enough to make the plural flexion a positive nuisance, but clear functional outlines of tense distinction have been blurred in many languages, including English (p. 103).

Thus there is no formidable argument for retaining any flexional frills in a constructed language, designed with due regard to the needs of the Chinese, Japanese, and other non-Aryan speech communities to which our own flexional system is alien and confusing. In any case, a plural form of the noun and a past form of the verb are the only two likely to find any large body of supporters among interlinguists other

than fanatical adherents of Esperanto. A constructed auxiliary now designed in the light of defects and merits of previous proposals would therefore be almost, if not quite, as free of flexions as Chinese or Peano's *Interlingua*. This leaves us with the following question. Would it be also free from other types of word-modification? An international language would not be practicable if it listed as many words as the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* or *Webster*. Our limited learning capacities demand something more economical. So there is another need for which the planner has to cater. Apart from being economical, the vocabulary must allow for expansion made necessary by the incessant emergence of new articles, inventions, and ideas.

Many pioneers of language planning have tried to kill two birds with one stone by composing a restricted set of basic or root words from which other words can be derived by a rich battery of prefixes and suffixes. They do what we do when we derive *bookish* from *book*, or *systematize* from *system*. Till now the prevailing attitude towards such derivative affixes has been on all fours with the attitude of Schleyer, Zamenhof, and Jespersen towards flexions. They have been less critical of their functional importance than of their erratic behaviour. For instance, the Esperanto suffix -EC for the abstract idea is an incitement to people the world with new fictions comparable to the definition of love as *the ideality of the relativity of the reality of an infinitesimal portion of the absolute totality of the Infinite Being*.

Irregularities, formal and functional, of English derivative affixes are typical of other Aryan languages. The prefix *re-* may, and often does, connote repetition when attached to a new word; but it is quite lifeless in *receive*, *regard*, *respect*. The negative prefixes *un-*, *in-*, *im-*, *irr-* attach themselves to a root without regard to phonetic or philological etiquette, as in *unable—impossible*, *inert—unconscious*, *insensitive—irresponsible*. The Teutonic suffixes *-dom*, *-ship* and *-head* or *-hood* turn up in abstract nouns of the same general class (*wisdom—friendship, lordship—fatherhood*). If we tack on *-er* to some verb roots we get a member of the agent class represented by *fisher*, *writer*, *reader*, *teacher*, *manufacturer*. We may also get a means of transport (*steamer*) or a compartment in one (*smoker, sleeper*). To all these irregularities we have to add those inherent in borrowed Latin roots which contain such uncertain prefixes as *e-* or *ex-*, and *in-*, the last of which may signify either enclosure (*insert*) or negation (*innocuous*). Clearly a language with a regular system of derivative affixes for such clear-cut categories as

repetition, occupation, negation, etc., would be free from one obstacle which confronts anyone who sets out to learn one of the existing Aryan languages.

This advantage does not meet the objection: *are such derivative affixes really necessary?* To do justice to it we must distinguish between different classes of derivative affixes. One class may be called *semantic* or *meaningful*. The affix either modifies the meaning of the root to which it is attached or does the work of a compound formation. Clear-cut qualifying affixes such as those which express repetition, negation, precedence, etc., merely usurp the function of necessary mobile items already on the word list. Thus to *re-state* is to state *again*, *post-natal* means *after birth*, to *mis-judge*, means to judge *wrongly*, and the *man* in *bake-man* could do as much work as the accretion *-er* in *baker*. Compounds such as *textile workers, steel workers, wood workers, etc.*, are admittedly longer than words of the *fisher, writer, baker* class, but *postman, milkman, iceman, dustman, dairyman* show that compounds made from independent words need not be more long-winded than derivatives. By using derivative affixes of the Esperanto or Novial type we add a new burden to learning without much gain of space or any additional clarity.

Affixes of the other class merely label the grammatical behaviour of a word. Thus the *-dom* in *wisdom* or the *-ment* in *arrangement* respectively endow an attribute which would otherwise behave as an adjective, or a process which would otherwise behave as a verb, with the grammatical prerogatives of a *thing*. For instance, we can speak of *wisdom* in contradistinction to *wise*, as *it*, and we can put the article *a* or *the*, which never stand immediately in front of *arrange*, before *arrangement*. This shunting disguises the fact that *wisdom* remains within the adjectival world and means nothing more than *wise behaviour*. Some inter-languages carry this much further, having a special affix for each of the parts of speech.

At first sight there seems to be little in favour of this device. A plausible excuse is that there is a rough and ready, if far from perfect, correspondence between parts of speech in an Aryan language and the three pigeon-holes into which we squeeze the physical world. Although we meet many exceptions to any functional definition of the parts of speech, it is approximately true to say that a noun-label usually points to what is thing or person, an adjective-label to what is a property, a verb label to what is action in a statement. Such affixes therefore give the beginner a clue to the lay-out of a sentence which contains

unfamiliar words. They are sign-posts of sentence landscape. To that extent they lighten the task of spotting the meaning.

One reply to this is that isolating languages or near-isolating languages which have no (or few) labels to mark what are the parts of speech in a flexional language can use other devices for guiding us through the sentence landscape. Four examples from our own language illustrate them: (a) the articles label an object with or without accompanying attributes; (b) the pronoun usually labels the succeeding word as a verb in the absence of any flexional marks on the latter; (c) the copula *is, are, was, were* separates the thing or person from what the statement predicates; (d) without recourse to the adverb terminal *-ly*, the insertion of *and* in *fast and sinking ship* makes it clear that *fast* does not qualify *sinking*. All these examples imply the existence of definite word-order. Rules of word-order, with whatever safeguards such particles as *of, the*, and other literally empty words provide, constitute all the grammar of a language, if its vocabulary consists exclusively of unchangeable independently mobile elements.

Since interlinguists now lean far towards the isolating pattern we might expect satisfactory rules of word-order to be a threadbare theme. This is far from true. In the *Key to, and Primer of, Interlingua*, for instance, the subject is dealt with and dismissed in a few sentences, the first of which contrives to state the truth upside down:

The order of words in Interlingua presents no great difficulties, grammar and inflection having been reduced to a minimum. It is so nearly similar to the English order of words that one may safely follow that usage without fear of being misunderstood or being too greatly incorrect.

In fact, no author of a project for a constructed auxiliary has paid much attention to this problem, and those who advocate simple methods of teaching Anglo-American with a view to its use as an international language are singularly silent about the pitfalls into which the vagaries of English word-order can lure the beginner. These vagaries illustrate some of the issues involved in designing satisfactory rules.

While it is true that Anglo-American usage favours the method of grouping together what is thought of together, there is no uniformity about placing the qualifying expression immediately before or immediately after what it qualifies. Thus we place the qualifier *enough* in front of the word it qualifies in *enough fat sheep* and behind in *fat enough sheep*. Neither is consistent with more common procedure, the first because *enough* is not immediately in front of the sheep it

qualifies, the second because it *follows* and qualifies the word *fat*. Unless we have some flexional mark such as the much-abused English *-ly* to label the adverb as qualifier of the succeeding adjective, a rigid rule concerning the position of two qualifiers is the only way of showing if one qualifies the other or both may qualify a third. English has rigid rules of word-order, but the rules are not simple. For every combination of a particular adverb of place with a particular adverb of time usage is fixed, but no straight-forward regulation of precedence in favour of one or the other covers all cases.

A constructive conclusion which emerges from the preceding discussion is the need for a comparative study of word-order both as a safeguard of meaning and as an aid to ready recognition. At present we have little material evidence to guide a decision about: (a) the advantages of *pre-* and *post-* position of directives or qualifiers; (b) the most satisfactory way of distinguishing which word is qualified by each of a sequence of qualifiers; (c) how best to express interrogation, in speech and in script; (d) what latitude of word-order for purpose of emphasis is consistent with clarity and ease of recognition; (e) what empty words are necessary *sign-posts of sentence landscape*. These are themes to clarify before the grammar of an interlanguage pruned of flexional irrelevance and redundancy assumes a firm outline.

In this and other ways, a more sympathetic attitude toward the need for a constructed auxiliary would open fields of enquiry which have been neglected by linguists in the past. Because they accept languages as products of growth our scholars have for too long sacrificed the study of functional efficiency to the task of recording what is irregular, irrational, and uneconomical in speech. A more lively interest in language planning would direct their efforts towards new tasks. One which is of special importance has been formulated by Edward Sapir in *International Communication*:

It is highly desirable that along with the practical labour of getting wider recognition of the international language idea, there go hand in hand comparative researches which aim to lay bare the logical structures that are inadequately symbolized in our present-day languages, in order that we may see more clearly than we have yet been able to see how much of psychological insight and logical rigour have been and can be expressed in linguistic form. One of the most ambitious and important tasks that can be undertaken is the attempt to work out the relation between logic and usage in a number of national and constructed languages, in order that the eventual problem of adequately symbolizing thought may be seen as the problem it still is.

(EDWARD SAPIR, in *International Communication*.)

AN INTERDICTIONARY

Among the many pioneers who have put forward proposals for a constructed interlanguage, few have undertaken the task of giving to a skeleton of grammar the flesh and bones of a full-fledged vocabulary. Its execution brings us face to face with the two major difficulties of memorizing a vocabulary, i.e. unfamiliarity with the auditory or visual shape of words, and superfluity of separate forms. Elimination of unnecessary items came to the fore in the classificatory projects of Dalgarno and of Wilkins; and it has once more become a live issue owing to the popularity of Ogden's method for teaching and using a simplified yet acceptable form of Anglo-American. Between the publication of the *Real Character* of Wilkins and the *Meaning of Meaning* by Ogden and Richards, no author of a constructed language has come to grips with the problem of word wastage. Those who have not shirked the labour of constructing a lexicon have invariably concentrated on the more immediate and inescapable problem of word-form. Thus Peano's *Interlingua* accepts the *entire* bulk of English words derived from Latin.

To reduce the mnemonic burden of language-learning to a minimum, it is essential to work with familiar materials, i.e. with roots taken from existing languages. Most of the languages hitherto constructed pay lip-service to this principle, so stated; but there is less unanimity about the best way of choosing familiar material, i.e. a stock of roots with wide international currency. Indeed, there has been much confusion between two issues—proportional representation of different speech-communities in the total stock-in-trade of roots, and widest possible international currency of each individual root.

Up to date no one has consistently followed either plan. Out-and-out application of an eclectic solution, on an international scale, would suffice to demonstrate its inherent absurdity. A vocabulary drawn from Teutonic, Romance, Slavonic, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Indian vernaculars, Mongolian, Polynesian, and Bantu dialects, with due regard to the size of each contributory speech community would be largely foreign to the eye and ear of individuals belonging to any major one; and it would contain scarcely a trace of roots familiar to individuals using dialects of a small one. The acid test of basing choice on a count of heads has never been carried out. The pioneers of language planning have been Europeans primarily concerned with the needs of travel, commerce, and technics. Their outlook has been limited by

requirements and difficulties of nations within the pale of Western civilization. So their first concern has been to accommodate the claims of countries where official speech is a language of the Teutonic and Romance groups. Within this framework compromise leads to a hybrid vocabulary very much like that of English. This shows up in comparison of a random sample of English words and their equivalents in Jespersen's *Novial*:

| NOVIAL | ENGLISH |
|--------------------|------------|
| danka (Teutonic) | to thank |
| demanda (Romance) | to demand |
| dentiste (Romance) | dentist |
| diki (Teutonic) | thick |
| dishe (Teutonic) | dish |
| distribu (Romance) | distribute |
| dorne (Teutonic) | thorn |

There is a further objection to the eclectic principle. A few, yet by no means isolated, examples suffice to illustrate what it is. A Frenchman or an Italian will link up the root *alt-* with *altitude* (French) and *altura* (Italian), suggesting height. The German will recall his own *alt* (old) and go wrong. The Italian or Spaniard will at once recognize the root *calid-* in the Italian word *caldo* and Spanish *caliente*, both meaning *hot*. A German is more likely to associate it with *kalt* (cold). Even if he is a student of Latin or familiar with such words as *Kalorie* or *Kalorimeter*, a language based on a mixture of Romance and Teutonic materials will supply no clue to the correct meaning. Clearly, there is only one way of getting over the difficulties arising from unfamiliar material and of making a vocabulary with roots which readily suggest their meaning to men and women of different nationalities. Our first concern should be to choose roots present in words which people of different nations use.

Is this plan practicable? It is possible to answer this question without going to the trouble of making statistical word-counts in different languages. The impact of scientific discovery on human society has affected our speech, as it has affected other social habits. Though a few speech communities in Europe, notably Iceland and to a lesser extent Germany and Holland, have shut their ears to the growing stock of internationally current terms for machinery, instruments, chemicals, electrical appliances and manufactured products, the vocabulary of modern technics is equally the word material of the U.S.A. and of the U.S.S.R., of modern Iran and of Italy. It is already invading the Far

East and must do so more and more, if China and India emerge from their present miseries as free and modernized societies.

The world-wide and expanding lexicon of modern technics follows the dictates of international scientific practice. It grows by combination of roots drawn almost exclusively from two languages—Greek and Latin. To the extent that the lexicon of many projects, e.g. Esperanto Ido, Occidental, Novial, is largely or, like *Romanal* and Peano's *Interlingua*, almost exclusively based on material of recognizably Latin origin, all recent interlanguages display the family likeness to which Jespersen refers in the passage quoted above. In fact they do include a considerable proportion of words based on roots which individually enjoy a high measure of international currency.

The international vocabulary of technics contains a large proportion of Latin roots; but Greek has furnished for a long time the basis of the *majority of new scientific words*. For instance, the new terminology which Faraday and his successors designed for the description of electro-chemical phenomena is exclusively derived from Greek roots, as in: *electrolyte, electrode, cathode, anode, cation, anion, and ion*. Yet the Greek contribution to the vocabulary of languages hitherto constructed has been small. Indeed the Concise Oxford Dictionary has a far higher proportion (p. 16) of Greek roots than any hitherto constructed language. If interlinguists utilize them at all, they confine themselves to those assimilated by Latin. In short, none of the pioneers of language-planning has paid due regard to the profound revolution in scientific nomenclature which took place in the closing years of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nor did they see the implications of a fact which disturbed the English philologist Bradley. The language of invention now becomes the idiom of the street corner before the lapse of a generation. Bradley gave expression to his alarm at this process of internationalization in words which the partisans of passed projects might well have heeded:

At present our English dictionaries are burdened with an enormous and daily increasing mass of scientific terms that are not English at all except in the form of their terminations and in the pronunciations inferred from their spelling. The adoption of an international language for science would bring about the disappearance of these monstrosities of un-English English. . . .

Partly because of the tempo of invention, partly because of more widespread schooling, partly because of the expanding volume of books and articles popularizing new scientific discoveries, this infil-

tration of what Bradley was pleased to call *abstruse* words has increased enormously of recent years. Nineteenth-century interlinguists with a conventional literary training and outlook could scarcely foresee a time when schoolboys would chatter about *heterodyne* outfits, *periscopic* sights, or *stratosphere* flying as light-heartedly as they had discussed kites, marbles, or tuck. Wherever there are petrol pumps and women's journals with articles on modern standards of nutrition, anyone with a good school education—American or Russian, French or German—will recall and understand words compounded with *thermo-*, *kine-*, *hydro-*, *phon-*, *phot-*, *geo-*, or *chromo-*. The table on p. 498 illustrates neglect of this Greek building material in favour of the Latin one. The first column lists some 40 Greek bricks which frequently appear in international words; the second and third exhibit Esperanto and Novial words which have basically the same meaning as the Greek element in the first column. With the exception of a few marked by an asterisk, all of them are of Romance origin. The exceptions (other than *mikri* = small) are neither Latin nor Greek.

Thus no existing project can claim to provide for maximum ease of recognition or memorization of vocabulary; but if no existing project is wholly satisfactory, it is not difficult to point to the basis of a better solution. What remains to be done is not an insurmountable task. The discovery of a common international *denominator* does not call for the elaborate and tedious word-counts which have occupied the efforts—and wasted the time—of some enthusiasts. We can start with the fact that a growing vocabulary of international terms is a by-product of the impact of scientific invention on modern society. Hence our first need is a classified synopsis of technical words which have filtered into the everyday speech of different language communities. These we can resolve into their constituent parts. We can then form a picture of which roots enjoy wide international circulation. The overwhelming majority will be Greek or Latin. For constructing an economical, yet adequate vocabulary there will be no lack of suitable building material.

What constitutes an adequate vocabulary in this sense enters into the problem of word-economy. For the present it suffices to say that an international vocabulary need cater only for communication within the confines of our common international culture. Commerce and travel have equipped us with such words as *sugar*, *bazaar*, *samovar*, *sultanas*, *fjord*, *café*, *skis*, and there is no reason why an international language should not take from each nation or speech community those words which describe their own specific amenities and institutions.

| GREEK ELEMENT | | | ESPERANTO | NOVIAL |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|-----------|
| hetero | different | heterosexual | difera | diferenci |
| homo | same | homosexual | same* | sami* |
| iso | equal | isosceles | egala | egali |
| micro | small | microscope | malgranda | mikri* |
| mono | alone, single | monoplane | sola | sol |
| neo | new | neolithic | nova | novi |
| palaeo | old | palaeology | malnova | oldi* |
| pan | all | panchromatic | tuta | toti |
| poly | many | polygamous | multa | multi |
| pseudo | false | pseudonym | malvera | falsi |
| therm | heat | thermometer | varma* | varmi* |
| derma | skin | dermatitis | hauta* | pele |
| hypno | sleep | hypnosis | dormo | dormio |
| chron | time | chronometer | tempo | tempo |
| chrom | colour | chromosome | koloro | kolore |
| tele | distance | television | malproksima | distanti |
| erg | work | allergic | laboro | labore |
| demo | people | democracy | popolo | popule |
| bio | life | biology | vivo | vivo |
| physi | nature | physiology | naturu | nature |
| krati | government | autocracy | rego | regiro |
| kosmo | world | cosmopolitan | mondo | monde |
| helio | sun | heliotropic | suno* | sune* |
| morph | form | morphology | formo | forme |
| astr | star | astronomy | stelo | stele |
| phon | sound | phonetics | sono | suone |
| geo | earth | geology | tero | tere |
| hydr | water | hydrodynamics | akvo | hidra |
| anthrop | man | anthropology | viro | viro |
| gyne | woman | gynaecology | virino | fema |
| akoust | hearing | acoustics | audi | audi |
| graph | writing | telegraph | skribi | skripte |
| skop | seeing | telescope | vidi | vide |
| kine | moving | kinetic | movi | mov |
| ball | throwing | ballistics | jeti | lansa |
| phob | fearing | xenophobia | timi | tima |
| phil | loving | philately | ami | ama |
| game | marrying | polygamy | edzigo* | mariteso |
| phag | eating | phagocyte | mangi | manja |
| mnemo | remembering | mnemonic | memori | memora |

An analysis of the geographical distribution of roots derived from scientific and technical terms, such as *telegraph*, *megaphone*, *micro-*

meter, microscope, cyclostyle, thermoplastics, will certainly reveal wide international currency of some Latin and Greek roots of the same meaning. This prompts the question: which should we prefer? If one enjoys much wider distribution than the other, we should generally decide in its favour; but if the difference is not great we might take into consideration other criteria of merit. For instance, the existence of a Latin and a Greek root with the same meaning would enable us to avoid homophones. Thus the Latin syllable *sol* is common to *solar, solitary, solitude, and solstice*. While there is no equally common Greek root to suggest the meaning of *alone*, there is the suggestive *helio* of *heliograph, helium, perihelion, heliotropism*, and other technical words for the *sun*. We can therefore keep *sol* for *alone* and take *helio* for the *sun*. Many Latin words which are international, at least in the European and American sense, have widely divergent meanings in different countries. By substituting Greek for Latin we could avoid possible misunderstanding. For instance, the French word *conscience* is often equivalent to our word *consciousness*, and the German praises somebody for being *consistent* by applying the epithet *konsequent*. Another criterion which might well influence our decision will come up for discussion later on. We can also take into account the *relative ease with which it is possible for people of different tongues to pronounce* a Latin root or its Greek equivalent.

The raw materials of our lexicon will be: (a) a dual battery of cosmopolitan Latin and Greek roots; (b) a list of the necessary items which make up an adequate vocabulary for ordinary communication. We then have all the data from which a representative body could prescribe the details of a satisfactory interlanguage. If free from grammatical irrelevancies, people of moderate intelligence and a secondary school education should be able to read it with little previous instruction and learn to write and speak it in far less time than any ethnic language requires. Admittedly, the intervocabulary outlined above would be almost exclusively Western in origin. But we need not fear that our Eastern neighbours will reject it for that reason. The word-invasion of medicine and engineering need not be a corollary of political oppression and economic exploitation. Besides, Europe can say to China: I take your *syntax*, and you take my *word*.

WORD-ECONOMY

The next question which arises is: *what words* are essential? This is what C. K. Ogden and Miss L. W. Lockhart call the problem of *word-*

economy. The expression *word-economy* may suggest two, if not three, quite different notions to a person who meets it for the first time. One is ability to frame different statements, questions, or requests with the least number of different vocables. Another is ability to frame the same utterance in the most compact form, i.e. with the least number of vocables, different or otherwise. Economy of the first sort implies a minimum vocabulary of *essential* words. Economy of the second calls for a large vocabulary of *available* words. Since it is not difficult to multiply words, the fundamental problem of word economy from our viewpoint is how to cut down those which are not essential for self-expression. There remains a third and more primitive way in which economy may be achieved. We can save breath or space by contracting the volume of a word or word sequence, as in U.S.S.R. for *Union of Socialist Soviet Republics*, or *Gestapo* for *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Secret State Police).

At first sight it may seem a hopeless task to construct a vocabulary that would cover all the essential needs of intercommunication, yet contain not more than, say, a thousand basic words. A modern newspaper assumes acquaintance with perhaps 20,000, and in the English section of a very humble English-French pocket dictionary some 10,000 are listed. It requires no lengthy scrutiny to discover that a large portion of the material is not essential. A rationally constructed word list would discard many synonyms or near-synonyms, of which Anglo-American is chock-full, e.g. *little—small, big—large, begin—commence*. It need not tolerate such functional overlapping, as *band—ribbon—strip*. It would also steer clear of over-specialization by making one word do what in natural languages is often done by three or more. Thus the outer cover of the human body is called *la peau* in French, that of the onion *la pelure*, and that of the sausage *la cotte*. Though less fastidious than the French, we ourselves overburden the dictionary with the corresponding series *skin—rind—jacket—peel*. When we distinguish between *thread—twine—cord—string—rope—tow* we are merely heaping name upon name for what is ultimately a difference in size.

Since our interlanguage pursues strictly utilitarian ends and seeks perfection in precision, it can do without some of the verbal gewgaws and falderals of poetic and "cultured" speech. There is no need to incorporate a large number of words to express subtleties of attitude. We could safely replace the existing plethora of vocables denoting approval or disapproval by a bare handful of names. But rejection

of such would not keep us within the 1,000 word limit. We have to look elsewhere for help; and here we can apply with profit, if we apply it with temperance, the basic principle of Dalgarno's *Art of Symbols* and Wilkins' *Real Character*. All European languages have words which embrace the meaning of a group. Thus the general term *clothes* (with the bedfellows *vesture, garment, apparel, dress*) includes two main classes: *under clothes* including *vest, shirt, knickers, petticoat*, and *outer clothes* including *frock, skirt, trousers, coat*. In the same way *building* covers *school, theatre, prison, villa, hospital, museum*, and *drink* or *beverage* includes non-alcoholic and alcoholic, to the latter of which we assign *wine, cider, beer, whiskey, gin*.

A careful comparative investigation would probably reveal that modern English is far better equipped with words of the *food, drink, container, instrument* class than French or Spanish for instance. It is almost self-evident that classifying words of this sort must play an important part in the build-up of an economical vocabulary, because they enable us to refer to a maximum number of different things, operations, and properties with a minimum of separate names. In a given context or situation *drink* will usually deputize well enough for the more specific *wine*. It is also self-evident that there are limits to the use of master-key words, if we aim at excluding vagueness and ambiguity. It is not enough to have a general word *animal* distinguishable as *wild* or *domestic*. In real life we need words for *cat, cow, dog, horse, pig*. So one important problem which confronts us is this: which *animals, drinks, garments*, etc., have claim to a place on a list of essential words? The answer is not quite simple. We would not hesitate to provide a special niche for *wine, cow, shoe*; but can we ignore *cider, bull, or brassière*? Let us see how we can extricate ourselves from the difficulty of having no such words. One way is to choose a more general term and leave the rest to the situation. Another is to extract a definition or use a substitution by juggling with material already to hand. Thus we can define *cider* as a *drink made from apples*, a *bull* as the *male of the cow*, and a *brassière* as *support for the breasts*.

At bottom word economy depends on judicious selection of *general* terms and descriptive periphrase for *specific* uses. With reference to what constitutes judicious selection we have to remember two things. Definition is often cumbersome, and the aptitude for picking out features which make for identification in a given situation is the product of training. In short, the difficulty of fishing out an appropriate definition may be much greater than the effort of memorizing an extra word.

Therefore it is a doubtful advantage to cut out single names for things or processes to which we constantly refer. On the other hand, we can clearly dispense with separate names for an immense number of things and processes to which we do not continually refer; and the process of definition, when context calls for closer definition, need not be as wordy as the idiom of English or other Aryan languages often prescribes. Even within the framework of acceptable Anglo-American we can substitute *apple-drink* for *cider* and *breast-support* for *brassière* without committing an offence against usage. Making compounds of this sort is not the same as exact definition, but definition need never be more fastidious than context requires. From a purely pedantic point of view *lime water* might stand for the water we sprinkle on the soil for the benefit of lime trees, but it is precise enough in any real context in which it might occur.

In general the combination of a generic name with another word as in *lime water* suffices to specify a particular object or process in a way which is easy to recall because sufficiently suggestive. Here English usage provides some instructive models. Ordinarily a *house* is a private residence, the sort of building to which we refer most often, but it is also the generic basis of *alehouse*, *playhouse*, *greenhouse*, *poorhouse*, *bakehouse*. While it may be as difficult to construct a definition of a *theatre* as to learn a separate word for it, it is not easier to learn a new word than to recall a compound as explicit as *playhouse*, in which both elements are items of an essential vocabulary. Another model for the use of such generic words is the series *handwear*, *footwear*, *neckwear*, *headwear*. Clearly, we could reduce the size of our essential vocabulary by adopting the principle of using such generic terms as *-house*, *-wear*, *-man*, *-land*, for other classes such as *vessels*, *fabrics*, *filaments*. With each generic term we could then learn sufficiently suggestive couplets such as *postman*, *highland*, or *handwear* for use when context calls for additional information. Economical compounding of this sort involves two principles. First, the components must be elements of the basic minimum of essential words. Second, the juxtaposition of parts must sufficiently indicate the meaning. We cannot let metaphor have a free hand to prescribe such combinations as *monkey nut*, *rubber neck*, or *waffle bottom*.

How much licence we allow to metaphor in other directions is a matter of particular interest in relation to the merits and defects of Basic English. There is no hard-and-fast line between metaphorical usage as in *elastic demand* and generic names such as *elastic* for *rubber*;

and we cannot eliminate the use of suggestive metaphors which may point the way to unsuspected similarities. None the less, we have to set some limit, and one is not hard to see. Our essential list should contain separate names for physical and personal or social attributes with as little obvious connexion as the drought in *dry goods* and *dry humour*. If we prescribe the same word *sharp* for a tooth, for a twinge, for a temper, and for a telling reply, we might as well replace all names of qualities by two vocables respectively signifying general approval and disapproval. In this field of word choice the *apparent* economics of Basic English, as of Chinese, may raise our hopes unduly.

The dictionary of our ideal interlanguage would naturally list internationally current words such as *cigarette, coffee, tram, bus, hotel, taxi, post, international, tobacco, soya, valuta*. Fixation in print would have two advantages. It might discourage local differences of pronunciation which lead to confusion between the French word *coco*, variously used as a term of endearment, for coconut or for cocaine, and the English word *cocoa*. It might also promote international acceptance of a single word for such world-wide commodities as *petrol* (Engl.), *gas* (Amer.), *essence* (French), *Benzin* (Germ. and Swed.).

One important contribution of Ogden's Basic to the problem of word economy in a constructed language is his treatment of the verb. The Basic equivalent of a verb is a general term (*operator*) and some qualifying word or expression. By combining the general notion of space change in *go* with another word or group of words we dispense with all the various names now restricted to particular types of transport, e.g. *walk = go on foot, ride = go on a horse, or go on a bicycle*, etc. By the same method we avoid the use of different names for particular manners of moving, e.g. *run = go very fast, wander = go from place to place without aim*. We can also do without all *causative-intransitive* couplets which signify *producing* or *acquiring* a condition, by combining equivalents of *make* or *get* with one of the basic adjectives, e.g. *increase = make or get bigger, clarify = make or get clear, accelerate = make or get faster*. By combining 16 fundamental verb substitutes (*come, get, give, go, keep, let, make, put, seem, take, be, do, have, say, see, send*) with other essential items of the word list Basic English thus provides an adequate Ersatz for 4,000 verbs in common use.

Before Ogden devised the basic method of teaching English, pioneers of language-planning had paid scant attention to the minimum vocabulary required for effective communication. Consequently, the English pattern has stimulated as well as circumscribed subsequent discussion.

Though it is desirable to keep down the necessary minimum number of verbs by the same device, a constructed language could not advantageously incorporate equivalents of Ogden's sixteen operators and use them in the same way. The word-economy of Basic is a word-economy that has to conform with a standard acceptable to educated English-speaking people. Otherwise we should be at a loss to justify the inclusion of *come* in a sixteen-verb catalogue already equipped with *go*. With due regard to the economies which are possible if we combine *go*, *make*, *get*, or equivalent "operators" with other basic elements, it is difficult to recognize some Basic combinations such as *go on*, *make up*, *get on* as subspecies of single classes. In fact, they are idioms of standard Anglo-American usage. The beginner has to learn them as if they were separate items in a list of verbs.

This raises the possibility of including in our word list operators which have a wide range like *make* and *get* or *give* and *take*, but do not coincide with current Anglo-American usage. Some verb couplets are redundant because they express different general relations to the same state or process. Thus *to give life* is to *bear*, *to take life* is to *kill*, *to get life* is to *be born*. So also *to give instruction* is to *teach* and to *take* (or *get*) *instruction* is to *learn*. *To give credit* is to *lend* and to *get credit* is to *borrow*. It is easy to see how we might make similar economies, if we had an everyday equivalent for the biological *stimulus-response* contrast analogous to the acquisitive *give-get*. The word *give* sufficiently covers the operation of stimulating, but Basic offers nothing which expresses to *make the response appropriate* to implicit in the somewhat archaic *heed*. The addition of an operator with this functional value would explicitly dispense with the need for one member of such pairs as *question-answer*, *information-interest*, *command-obedience*, *defeat-surrender*, *writing-reading*, *buy-sell*. Thus to *answer* is to *make the response appropriate to a question* and to *obey* is to *heed a command*.

Other possibilities of word economy in a constructed auxiliary are illustrated by the large number of grammatically inflated abstractions in our language. Since we do not need separate link-word forms for the directives *after* and *before*, we do not need a separate link-word *while* corresponding to the directive *during*. Since we can speak of the *above* remarks for the remarks printed or written *higher* on the page, we should also be able to speak of the *previous* letter as the *before* letter without misgiving. Since some people discuss the *Beyond*, we might just as well call the *sequel* the *after* and the *past* the *before*. In fact, every directive is the focus of a cluster of different word-forms with the same

basic function. In a language with rigid word order and empty words as sign-posts of the sentence lay-out, we could generalize without loss of clarity a process which has already gone far in Anglo-American and much farther in Chinese.

Broadly speaking, for every one of our directives we can find an adverbial qualifier, an adjective, a noun, and often even a conjunction, with the same fundamental meaning. Each of these may itself be one of a cluster of synonyms. It is merely their different *grammatical* behaviour which prevents us from recognizing that *semantically* they are comrades in arms. Why cannot a single word do all the work of *after*, *since*, *afterwards*, *subsequent*(ly), *succeed*(ing), *sequel*, *aftermath*, or of *before*, *previous*(ly), *preced*(ing), *past*, *history*? We could then make about forty temporal, spatial, motor, instrumental and associative directives do the job of about two hundred words and three or four times as many synonyms or near synonyms sufficiently distinguishable by context and situation alone. Partly for this reason, and partly because this class of words covers all the territory of auxiliaries which express time and aspect (pp. 103-4), it might be an advantage to extend the range corresponding to the Basic English battery of directives by making more refined distinctions. Such distinctions may occur in one language, but be absent in another. For instance, a special word symbolizing physical contact is non-existent in Anglo-American, but exists in German and would deserve inclusion in an improved set of directives. For generations we have had chairs of comparative philology, but investigations dictated by an instrumental outlook are as rare to-day as in Grimm's time. If it were not so we should now be able to specify what relations and concepts tentatively or fully expressed in this or that existing medium can justify their claim to a place on the essential word list of a properly constructed language.

Basic English gives us another clue to word-economy. As formal distinction between noun and verb, when both stand for processes or states, is an unnecessary complication, formal distinction between noun and adjective is superfluous when both symbolize a property. If we can go out in the *dark* or the *cold*, we have no need of such distinctions as *warm—warmth*, *hot—heat*, *dry—dryness*. If we can discuss the *good*, the *beautiful*, and the *true*, *goodness*, *beauty*, and *truth* are too much of a good thing. At the same time, we need a consistent rule about fusion of such word-forms. We cannot endorse such inconsistencies as exist in Anglo-American. It may or may not be important to distinguish between *good actions* and *good people* when we speak of *the good*, but if we

do so we should be entitled to use *the unclean* for *uncleanliness* as well as for the *unclean individuals*. The misery of all existing speech is that useful devices remain half-exploited. Grammarians say that analogical extension has not gone far enough. English has now a simple and highly regularized flexional system, but in its linguistic expression of concepts and relations it is as chaotic as any other language, including Esperanto. This is what foreigners mean when they say: English is simple at the start, but, etc.

While we can design a language to achieve a high level of word-economy in Ogden's sense, and therefore to lighten the load which the *beginner* has to carry, there is no reason for restricting the vocabulary of an Interlanguage constructed with this end in view to the bare minimum of words *essential* for lucid communication; and we have no need to exclude the possibility of ringing the changes on synonyms which safeguard style against monotony. We might well add to our interdictionary an *appendix* containing a *reserve* vocabulary of compact alternatives. Even so, a *maximum* vocabulary of roots *excluding all strictly technical terms and local names for local things or local institutions*, need scarcely exceed a total of three thousand.

INTERPHONETICS

It would be easy to formulate the outstanding desiderata of an ideal language on the naïve assumption that phonetic considerations are of prior importance; and it would not be difficult to give them practical expression. To begin with, we have to take stock of the fact that the consonant clusters (p. 214) so characteristic of the Aryan family are almost or completely absent in other languages, e.g. in Chinese, Japanese, Bantu, and in Polynesian dialects. So clusters of two or three consonants such as in *blinds*, and, more serious, quadruple combinations as in *mustn't*, are foreign to the ear and tongue of most peoples outside Europe, America, and India. Then again, few people have a range of either simple consonants or simple vowels as great as our own. A five-fold battery of vowels with values roughly like those of the Italian and Spanish *a, e, i, o, u*, suffices for many speech communities. Several of our own consonants are phonetic rarities, and many varieties of human speech reject the voiceless series in favour of the voiced, or vice versa. A battery of consonants with very wide currency would not include more than nine items—*l, m, n, r*, together with a choice between the series *p, t, f, h, s*, and the series *b, d, v, g, z*. Even this would be a liberal allowance. The Japanese have no *l*.

A universal alphabet of five vowels and of eight or nine consonants would allow for between 1,500 and 2,000 pronounceable roots made up of open syllables like the syllables of Japanese, Bantu, and Polynesian words. Supplemented with forty-five monosyllables and a limited number of trisyllables, this would supply enough variety for a maximum vocabulary of sufficient size. The word material of a language constructed in accordance with this principle would be universally, or well-nigh universally, pronounceable and recognizable without special training of ear or tongue. It would offer none of the difficulties with which the French nasal vowels, the English *th* and *j* sounds, or the German and Scots *ch* confront the beginner. Against these admitted merits we have to weigh the fact that a language so designed from whole cloth would perpetuate one of the greatest of all obstacles to learning a new language. The beginner would have to wrestle with the total *unfamiliarity of its word material*. Each item of the vocabulary would be a fresh load with no mnemonic associations to give it buoyancy.

Grammar and memorization of the word-list are the two main difficulties of learning a new language, and the only way of reducing the second to negligible dimensions is to make each word the focus of a cluster of familiar associations like the root *tel* common to *telegraph*, *telescope*, *telepathy*. We have seen that scientific discovery is solving this problem for mankind by distributing an international vocabulary of roots derived from Latin and Greek. Anything we can do to simplify the phonetic structure of a satisfactory Interlanguage has to get done *within that framework*. The framework itself is exacting because Aryan languages in general are rich in variety of simple consonants and of consonantal combinations—Greek more than most. Thus the greatest concession we can make to the phonetic ideal is to weigh the claims of equivalent Latin and Greek roots, with due regard to ease of pronunciation and recognition, when both enjoy international currency.

While it would be foolish to deny the difficulties of achieving a universal standard of pronunciation for an Interlanguage based on Latin-Greek word material, and therefore on sounds and combinations of sounds alien to the speech habits of Africa and the Far East, it is possible to exaggerate this disability. People who indulge in the witless luxury of laughing at the foreigner who says *sleep* instead of *slip* condone equally striking differences between the vowel values of London and Lancashire, Aberdeen (Scotland) and Aberdeen (South Dakota). Although obliteration of the distinction between the *p, t, k, f*, and the *b, d, g, v* series makes homophones of such couplets as *pup—pub, write—*

ride, pluck—plug, proof—prove, the fact that very many Americans discard the voiceless in favour of the voiced consonants does not prevent British audiences from flocking to gangster sound-films.

Most of us are not trained phoneticians, and most people without some phonetic training are insensitive to comparatively crude distinctions, if interested in what the speaker is saying. Fastidious folk who foresee fearful misunderstandings because people of different nations will inevitably give slightly, or even sometimes crudely, different values to the same sound symbols may well reflect on the following remarks of an English phonetician:

A recent experiment proved that the sounds *s, f, th* are often indistinguishable to listeners when broadcast in isolation by wireless transmission. Nevertheless, despite this fact, listeners understand perfectly what is said. It follows, then, that up to a certain point, it is quite unnecessary to hear each and every sound that the speaker utters. We know that this is so from our experience in listening to speakers in large halls, or theatres. If we are at some distance from the speaker, we miss many of his sounds, but provided we get a certain number, or a certain percentage of the whole, then we understand what he is saying. The point to remember is that there is, or there would appear to be, in language an acoustic minimum necessary for intelligibility, and provided the listener gets this, it is all that he requires. The rest is superfluous. The speaker may utter it, but as far as the listener is concerned, it is quite immaterial to him whether he hears it or not. The more familiar we are with a language, the smaller is the fraction of its sounds, etc., that we require to catch in order to understand what is said. Much of the acoustic matter that is graphically represented in the written language is unnecessary for intelligibility, while, on the contrary, intelligibility requires that certain acoustic features of the language must be present in speech which have no representation whatever in the written language. Educated speech differs from uneducated speech mainly in providing a greater acoustic minimum.

(LLOYD JAMES: *Historical Introduction to French Phonetics.*)

Although the Greek range of consonants, and more especially its consonantal combinations, offers difficulties for most non-Aryan-speaking peoples and for some people who speak Aryan languages, the vowel range of a Latin-Greek vocabulary is not a serious drawback. We need only five simple vowels and their derivative diphthongs. As Jespersen rightly remarks: "it is one of the beauties of an international language that it needs only five vowels, and therefore can allow a certain amount of liberty in pronouncing these sounds without misunderstanding arising." Whether different citizens of a socialist world-

order pronounce *a* as in the English word *father*, as in the French *la*, German *Vater*, or Danish *far*, is immaterial to easy communication. In fact, the differences are not greater than between *glass* as people respectively pronounce it in Dundee and Dorchester, or between *girl* in Mayfair and Old Kent Road, and far less than between *tomato* as people severally pronounce it in Boston and Birmingham.

We may take it for granted that the difficulty which the Greek *θ* sound presents to people of many nations, the preference of Germans for voiceless and of Danes for voiced consonants, the partiality of the Scot and the Spaniard for a trilled *r*, and the reluctance of an Englishman to pronounce *r* at all, will not prevent people of different speech communities from using as an efficient and satisfactory medium of communication an Interlanguage liable to get colour from local sound. Indeed, we need not despair of the possibility of reaching a standard in the course of time. More and more the infant discipline of phonetics, which has lately received a new impulse from the needs of radio transmission and long-distance telephone conversation, will influence the practice of school instruction. In an international community with a single official medium of intercommunication the radio and the talkie will daily tune the ear to a single speech pattern. We have no reason to fear that discourse through a constructed Interlanguage will involve greater difficulties than English conversation between a French Canadian and a South African Boer, a Maori and a New Zealander of Scots parentage, a Hindu Congress member and a Bantu trade union leader from Johannesburg, or Winston Spencer Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

INTERLANGUAGE LEARNING WITHOUT TEARS

We may now sum up the outstanding features of a constructed language designed with due regard to criticisms provoked by a succession of earlier projects and to the efforts of those who aim at adapting English to international use.

(1) It would be essentially an *isolating* language. The beginner would not have to plod through a maze of useless and irregular flexions common to Aryan languages such as French or Spanish, German or Russian. With the possible exception of a plural terminal, it would have no flexional modifications of word-form. Apart from a few simple rules for the use of *operators* like our words *make* and *get*, formation of compounds like *tooth brush*, and insertion of empty words like *of* to show up the lay-out of the sentence, its rules of grammar would be

rules of word-order. These would be as uniform and as few as possible. In short, the grammar of the language could be set forth fully with examples in half a dozen pages of print.

(ii) It would be essentially a language with Latin-Greek word material, so chosen that the beginner could associate items of the basic word-list with syllables of internationally current words.

(iii) It would have *word-economy* at least as great as that of Basic English. That is to say, the entire list of words essential for ordinary discussion, news, and self-expression (not counting compound-formations, words common to the popular talk of the East as well as to the West, and the specialized vocabulary of the scientist and technician) might be not more than a thousand, and could be printed on one sheet of paper.

(iv) It would have *regular spelling* based on the characters of the Latin alphabet. Having the limited range of simple vowels, it would call for no diacritic marks (like the Esperanto ^ or French, ' and `) which reduce the speed of writing and add to the cost of printing.

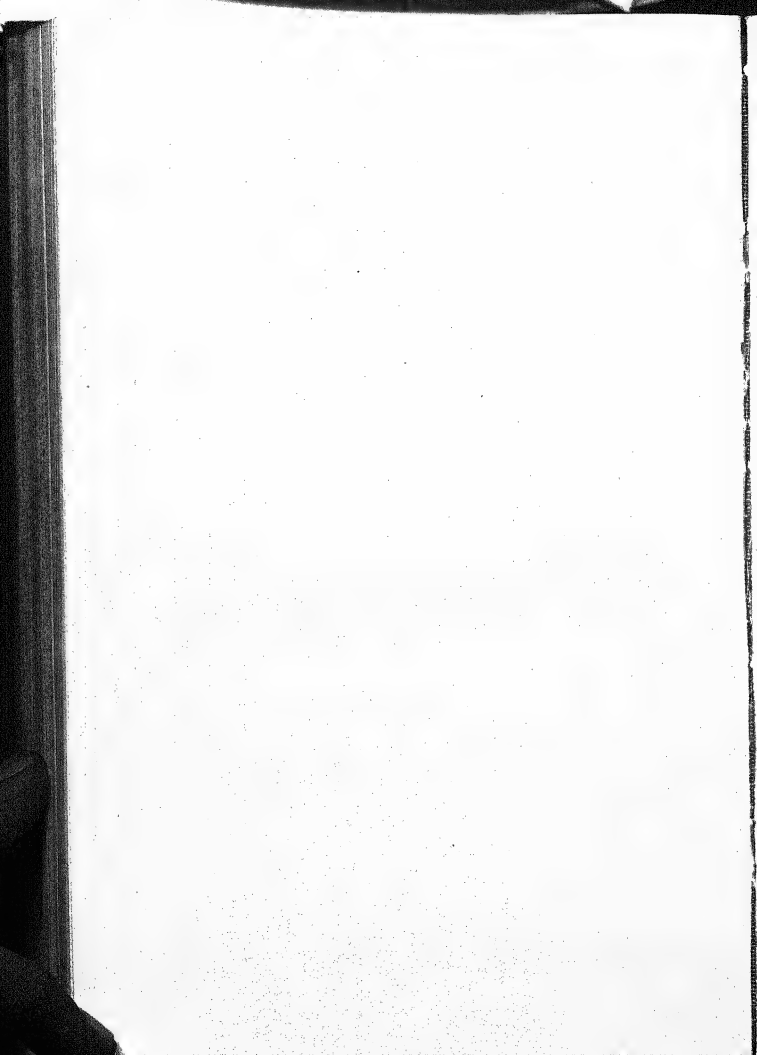
(v) Because of its great word-economy it could be easily equipped with the type of simplified *alphabetic* shorthand embodied in R. Dutton's ingenious system of *Speedwords*.

Grammatically such a language would be much simpler than *Esperanto*, and some other pioneer efforts, though not much simpler than *Novial* (if we exclude Jespersen's elaborate machinery of word derivation!). Its syntax would be decidedly simpler than that of Anglo-American, because shedding of flexions and levelling of the few surviving ones has not been accompanied by a proportionate simplification and standardization of word-order. Its word material would be far more international than that of any hitherto constructed language. Unlike *Esperanto*, *Interlingua*, *Novial*, etc., it would annex Greek roots which are in general circulation wherever scientific discovery is changing human habits. It would be more universal than *Basic English* because it would be free from Teutonic roots. Like *Basic English* it would not be encumbered with hundreds of redundant verbs, and the task of learning would not be made unnecessarily difficult by the fantastic irregularities of English, or French spelling. Because the word material would be transparent it would be easy to memorize. Each item would be a peg for attaching relevant semantic associations.

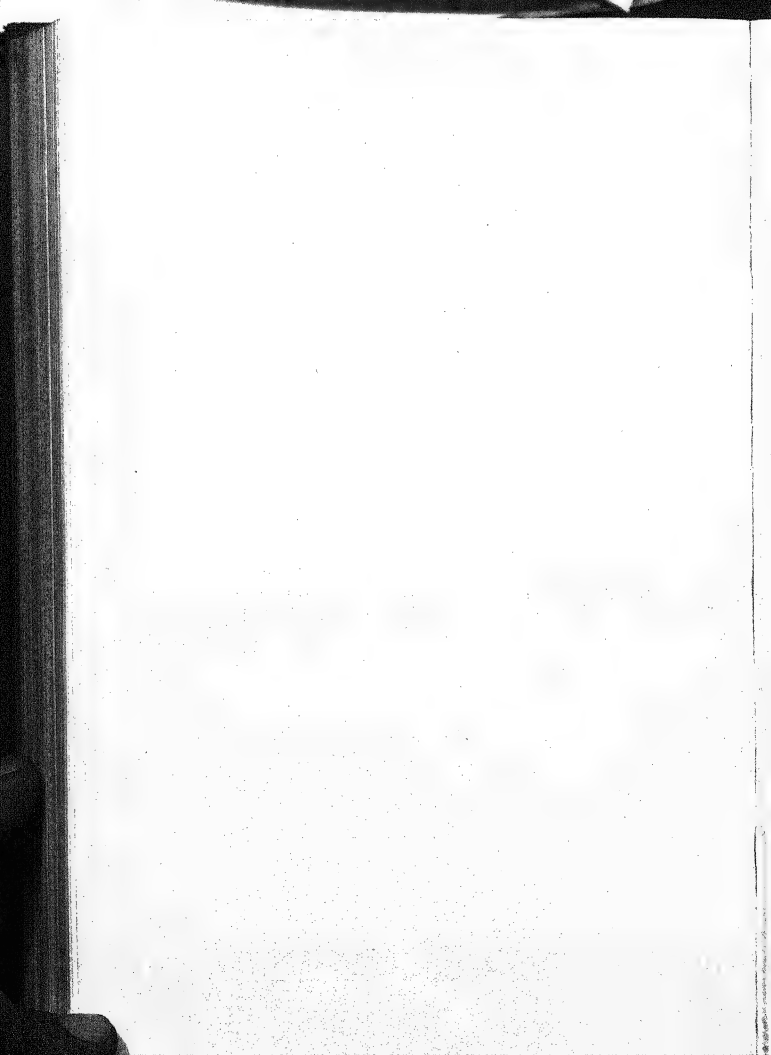
A language purged of irregular spelling, irregular and irrelevant grammar, unusual word collocations (i.e. idioms), and redundant word-forms would take its place unobtrusively in a programme of general

elementary instruction in semantics and etymology. Learning it would be learning to associate roots common to different words and to gain facility in the art of definition. Proficiency would thus come with little effort in a small fraction of the time now devoted to the teaching of foreign languages. Since its adoption presupposes a stable, supra-national organization in which children and adults are collaborating with a hitherto unknown intensity of interest and effort, the climate of school tuition would be very different from that of the French class in an American or the Latin class in a Scottish high school. Progress in the world's first true Interlingua would be a passport to a wider international culture made actually or psychologically ubiquitous by broadcasting, the modern cinema, and air-travel.

Of itself, no such change can bring the age-long calamity of war to an end; and it is a dangerous error to conceive that it can do so. We cannot hope to reach a remedy for the language obstacles to international co-operation on a democratic footing, while predatory finance capital, intrigues of armament manufacturers, and the vested interest of a rentier class in the misery of colonial peoples continue to stifle the impulse to a world-wide enterprise for the common wealth of mankind. No language reform can abolish war, while social agencies far more powerful than mere linguistic misunderstandings furnish fresh occasion for it. What intelligent language planning can do is to forge a new instrument for human collaboration on a planetary scale, when social institutions propitious to international strife no longer thwart the constructive task of planning health, leisure, and plenty for all.



PART IV



LANGUAGE MUSEUM

USE OF ROMANCE AND TEUTONIC WORD LISTS

The number of items in the ensuing word lists exceeds the *minimum* requirements of the beginner in search of a battery adequate for self-expression. They contain assortments of common nouns to meet *individual* requirements, such as those of the traveller or of the motorist, together with many useful English words which *share recognisable roots* with their foreign equivalents. The items in the English column of the Romance and Teutonic word lists do not tally throughout. One reason for discrepancies is the advisability of learning Teutonic words together with English words of Teutonic origin and Romance words together with English words of Latin origin.

The verb lists do not follow this plan consistently. The reason for this is that the meaning of an English verb of Latin origin is usually more sharply defined than that of its Teutonic twin. For many common English verbs less usual but more explicit (see p. 39) synonyms appear in the column at the extreme left. English verb forms printed in italics correspond to Romance or Teutonic verbs of the *intransitive* or *reflexive* type. In the Teutonic word list German verbs printed in italics take the dative case. For a reason explained on p. 31, the verb lists contain few items which signify *acquiring* or *conferring* a quality listed as an *adjective*. For instance, we do not need a transitive or intransitive equivalent for *widen*. To widen means to *make wide* (trans.) or to *become wide* (intrans.). We can use French or Spanish, German or Swedish equivalents of *make* and *become* with an adjective in the same way.

The reader who turns to these lists for case material illustrating family likeness or laws of sound shift should remember that the words listed are nearly always the ones in *common* use. By choosing highbrow, pedantic, and somewhat archaic synonyms or near synonyms, it would be easy to construct lists giving a much more impressive picture of genetic relationship

I. TEUTONIC WORD LIST

1. NOUNS

(a) CLIMATE AND SCENERY

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| air | luft | Luft | lucht | die Luft |
| bank (river) | strand | Bred | oever | das Ufer |
| bay | vik | Bugt | baai | die Bucht |
| beach | strand | Strand | strand (n) | der Strand |
| bush | buske | Busk | struik | das Gebüsch |
| cloud | moln (n) | Sky | wolk | die Wolke |
| coast | kust | Kyst | kust | die Küste |
| country (no town) | land (n) | Land (n) | platteland (n) | das Land |
| current | ström | Strøm | stroom | die Strömung |
| darkness | mörker (n) | Mørke (n) | duisternis | die Dunkelheit |
| dew | dagg | Dug | dauw | der Tau |
| dust | damm (n) | Støv (n) | stof (n) | der Staub |
| earth | jord | Jord | aarde | die Erde |
| east | öste | Øst | oosten (n) | der Osten |
| field | fält | Mark | veld (n) | das Feld |
| foam | skum (n) | Skum (n) | schuim (n) | der Schaum |
| fog | dimma | Taaqe | mist | der Nebel |
| forest | skog | Skov | bosch (n) | der Wald |
| frost | frost | Frost | vorst | der Frost |
| grass | gräs (n) | * Graes (n) | gras (n) | das Gras |
| hail | hagel (n) | Hagl | hagel | der Hagel |
| hay | hø (n) | Hø (n) | hooi (n) | das Heu |
| heath | hed | Hede | heide | die Heide |
| high tide | flod | Flod | vloed | die Flut |
| hill | kulle | Bakke | heuue | der Hügel |
| ice | is | Is | ijs (n) | das Eis |
| island | ö | Ø | eiland (n) | die Insel |
| lake | sjö | Sø | meer (n) | der See |
| light | ljus (n) | Lys (n) | licht (n) | das Licht |
| lightning | blixt | Lyn (n) | bliksem | der Blitz |
| low tide | ebb | Ebbe | eb | die Ebbe |
| meadow | äng | Eng | weide | die Wiese |
| moon | måne | Maane | maan | der Mond |
| mountain | berg (n) | Bjerg (n) | berg | der Berg |
| mud | mudder (n), dy | Dynd (n) | slijk (n) | der Schlamm |
| nature | natur | Natur | natuur | die Natur |
| north | norr | Nord | noorden (n) | der Norden |
| peninsula | halvö | Halvø | schiereiland (n) | die Halbinsel |
| plain | slätt | Slette | vlakte | die Ebene |
| pond | damm | Dam | vijver | der Teich |
| rain | regn (n) | Regn | regen | der Regen |
| rainbow | regnbåge | Regnbue | regenboog | der Regenbogen |
| river | flod | Flod | rivier | der Fluss |

* Danish æ is represented throughout by ae.

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| rock | klippa | Klippe | rots | der Felsen |
| sand | sand | Sand (n) | zand (n) | der Sand |
| sea | hav (n) | Hav (n) | zee | die See |
| shadow, shade | skugga | Skygge | schaduw | das Meer |
| sky | himmel | Himmel | lucht | der Schatten |
| snow | snö | Sne | sneeuw | der Himmel |
| south | söder | Syd | zuiden (n) | der Schnee |
| spring (water) | källa | Kilde | bron | der Süden |
| star | stjärna | Stjerne | ster | die Quelle |
| storm | storm | Storm | storm | der Stern |
| stream | bäck | Bæk | beek | der Sturm |
| sun | sol | Sol | zon | der Bach |
| thaw | töväder (n) | Tøvejr (n) | dooi | die Sonne |
| thunder | åska | Torden | donder | das Tauwetter |
| valley | dal | Dal | dal (n) | der Donner |
| view | utsikt | Udsigt | uitzicht (n) | das Tal |
| water | vatten (n) | Vand (n) | water (n) | die Aussicht |
| fresh water | sörvatten (n) | Ferskvand (n) | zoet water (n) | das Wasser |
| salt water | saltvatten (n) | Saltvand (n) | zout water (n) | das Süßwasser |
| waterfall | vattenfall (n) | Vandfald (n) | waterval | das Salzwasser |
| wave | bölja | Bølge | golf | der Wasserfall |
| weather | väder (n) | Vejr (n) | weer (n) | die Welle |
| west | väster | Vest | westen (n) | das Wetter |
| wind | vind | Vind | wind | der Westen |
| world | värld | Verden | wereld | der Wind |
| | | | | die Welt |

(b) HUMAN BODY

| | | | | |
|---------|--------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| arm | arm | Arm | arm | der Arm |
| back | rygg | Ryg | rug | der Rücken |
| beard | skägg (n) | Skaeg (n) | baard | der Bart |
| belly | buk | Bug | buik | der Bauch |
| bladder | blåsa | Blaere | blaas | die Blase |
| blood | blod (n) | Blod (n) | bloed (n) | das Blut |
| body | kropp | Legeme (n) | lichaam (n) | der Körper |
| bone | ben (n) | Knokkel | been (n) | der Knochen |
| brain | hjärna | Hjerne | hersenen (pl.) | das Gehirn |
| breath | anda | Aande | adem | der Atem |
| calf | vad | Laeg | kuit | die Wade |
| cheek | kind | Kind | wang | die Wange |
| chest | bröst (n) | Bryst (n) | borst | die Brust |
| chin | haka | Hage | kin | das Kinn |
| cold | förkylning | Forkølelse | verkoudheid | die Erkältung |
| cough | hosta | Hoste | hoest | der Husten |
| ear | öra (n) | Øre (n) | oor (n) | das Ohr |
| elbow | armbåge | Albue | elleboog | der Ellbogen |
| eye | öga (n) | Øje (n) | oog (n) | das Auge |
| eyebrow | ögonbryn (n) | Øjenbryn (n) | wenkbrauw | die Augen-braue |
| eyelid | ögonlock (n) | Øjenlaag (n) | ooglid (n) | das Augenlid |
| face | ansikte (n) | Ansigt (n) | gezicht (n) | das Gesicht |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| fever | feber | Feber | koorts | das Fieber |
| finger | finger (n) | Finger | vinger | der Finger |
| flesh | kött (n) | Kød (n) | vleesch (n) | das Fleisch |
| foot | fof | Fod | voet | der Fuss |
| forehead | panna | Pande | voorhoofd (n) | die Stirn |
| gums | tandkött (n) | Tandkød (n) | tandvleesch (n) | das Zahnfleisch |
| hair | hår (n) | Haar (n) | haar (n) | das Haar |
| hand | hand | Haand | hand | die Hand |
| head | huvud (n) | Hoved (n) | hoofd (n) | der Kopf |
| headache | huvudvärk | Hovedpine | hoofdpijn | die Kopfschmerzen (pl.) |
| heart | hjärta (n) | Hjerte (n) | hart (n) | das Herz |
| heel | hål | Hael | hiel | die Ferse |
| hip | höft | Hofte | heup | die Hüfte |
| intestines | inälvor (pl.) | Involde (pl.) | ingewanden (pl.) | die Eingeweide (pl.) |
| jaw | käke | Kaebe | kaak | der Kiefer |
| kidney | njure | Nyre | nier | die Niere |
| knee | knä (n) | Knae (n) | knie | das Knie |
| leg | ben (n) | Ben (n) | been (n) | das Bein |
| lip | läpp | Laebe | lip | die Lippe |
| liver | lever | Lever | lever | die Leber |
| lung | lunga | Lunge | long | die Lunge |
| moustache | mustasch | Overskaeg (n) | snor | der Schnurrbart |
| mouth | mun | Mund | mond | der Mund |
| muscle | muskel | Muskel | spier | der Muskel |
| nail | nagel | Negl | nagel | der Nagel |
| neck | hals | Hals | nek | der Hals |
| nerve | nerv | Nerve | zenuw | der Nerv |
| nose | näsa | Naese | neus | die Nase |
| pain | smärta | Smerte | pijn | der Schmerz |
| rib | revben (n) | Ribben (n) | rib | die Rippe |
| shoulder | skuldra | Skulder | schouder | die Schulter |
| skin | skinn (n) | Skind (n) | huid | die Haut |
| sole | fotsula | Fodsaal | voetsool | die Fußsohle |
| spine | ryggrad | Rygrad | ruggegraa | das Rückgrat |
| stomach | mage | Mave | maag | der Magen |
| tear | tår | Taare | traan | die Träne |
| thigh | lår (n) | Laar (n) | dij | der Schenke |
| throat (internal) | strupe | Strube | keel | der Hals die Kehle |
| thumb | tumme | Tommelfinger | duim | der Daumen |
| toe | tå | Taa | teen | die Zehe |
| tongue | tunga | Tunge | tong | die Zunge |
| tooth | tand | Tand | tand | der Zahn |
| toothache | tandvärk | Tandpine | kiespijn | die Zahnschmerzen (pl.) |
| wound | sår (n) | Saar (n) | wond | die Wunde |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------------------|
| wrist | handled | Haandled (n) | pols | das Hand- gelenk |
| (c) ANIMALS | | | | |
| animal | djur (n) | Dyr (n) | dier (n) | das Tier |
| ant | myra | Myre | mier | die Ameise |
| badger | grävling | Graevling | das | der Dachs |
| bat | flådermus | Flagermus | vleermuis | die Fledermaus |
| beak | nåbb | Næb (n) | snavel | der Schnabel |
| bear | björn | Björn | beer | der Bär |
| bee | bi (n) | Bi | bij | die Biene |
| beetle | skalbagge | Bille | tor | der Käfer |
| bird | fågel | Fugl | vogel | der Vogel |
| blackbird | koltrast | Solsort | merel | die Amsel |
| bull | tjur | Tyr | stier | der Stier |
| butterfly | fjäril | Sommerfugl | vlinder | der Schmetter- ling |
| calf | kalv | Kalv | kalf (n) | das Kalb |
| carp | karp | Karpe | karper | der Karpfen |
| cat | katt | Kat | kat | die Katze |
| caterpillar | larv | Kaalorm | rups | die Raupe |
| claw | klo | Klo | klaauw | die Klaue |
| cock | tupp | Hane | haan | der Hahn |
| cod | torsk | Torsk | kabeljauw | der Kabeljau |
| cow | ko | Ko | koe | die Kuh |
| crab | krabba | Krabbe | krab | die Krabbe |
| crayfish | kräfta | Krebs | kreeft | der Krebs |
| crow | kråka | Krage | kraai | die Krähe |
| cuckoo | gök | Gøg | koekoek | der Kuckuck |
| dog | hund | Hund | hond | der Hund |
| donkey | åsna | Aesel (n) | ezel | der Esel |
| duck | anka | And | eend | die Ente |
| eagle | örn | Ørn | arend | der Adler |
| eel | ål | Aal | aal | der Aal |
| feather | fjäder | Fjer | veer | die Feder |
| fin | fena | Finne | vin | die Flosse |
| fish | fisk | Fisk | visch | der Fisch |
| flea | loppa | Loppe | vloo | der Floh |
| fly | fluga | Flue | vlieg | die Fliege |
| fox | räv | Ræv | vos | der Fuchs |
| frog | groda | Frø | kikvorsch | der Frosch |
| fur | påls | Pels | pels | der Pelz |
| gill | gå | Gælle | kieuw | die Kieme |
| gnat | mygga | Myg | mug | die Mücke |
| goat | get | Ged | geit | die Ziege |
| goose | gås | Gaas | gans | die Gans |
| grasshopper | gräshoppa | Graeshoppe | sprinkhaan | der Grashüpfer |
| hare | hare | Hare | haas | der Hase |
| hen | höna | Høne | kip hen | das Huhn die Henne |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|---------------|
| heron | häger | Hejre | reiger | der Reiher |
| herring | sill | Sild | haring | der Hering |
| hoof | hov | Hov | hoef | der Huf |
| horn | horn (n) | Horn (n) | hoorn | das Horn |
| horse | häst | Hest | paard (n) | das Pferd |
| lamb | lamm (n) | Lam (n) | lam (n) | das Lamm |
| lion | lejon (n) | Løve | leeuw | der Löwe |
| lobster | hummer | Hummer | kreeft | der Hummer |
| louse | lus | Lus | luis | die Laus |
| mackerel | makrill | Makrel | makreel | die Makrele |
| mole | mullvad | Muldivarp | mol | der Maulwurf |
| monkey | apa | Abe | aap | der Affe |
| moth | nattfjäril | Mol (n) | mot | die Motte |
| mouse | mus | Mus | muis | die Maus |
| owl | uggla | Ugle | uil | die Eule |
| ox | oxe | Okse | os | der Ochs |
| oyster | ostron (n) | Østers | oester | die Auster |
| parrot | papegoja | Papegoje | papegaai | der Papagei |
| partridge | rapphöna | Agerhøne | patrijs | das Rebhuhn |
| paw | tass | Pote | poot | die Pfote |
| pig | svin (n) | Svin (n) | varken (n) | das Schwein |
| pigeon | duva | Due | duif | die Taube |
| pike | gädda | Gedde | snoek | der Hecht |
| plaice | flundra | Rødspætte | schol | die Scholle |
| rabbit | kanin | Kanin | konijn (n) | das Kaninchen |
| rat | råtta | Rotte | rat | die Ratte |
| salmon | lax | Laks | zalm | der Lachs |
| scale | fjäll (n) | Skael (n) | schub | die Schuppe |
| seagull | mås | Maage | meeuw | die Möwe |
| seal | säl | Sael | zeehond | der Seehund |
| shark | haj | Haj | haai | der Hai |
| sheep | får (n) | Faar (n) | schaap (n) | das Schaf |
| snail | snigel | Snegl | slak | die Schnecke |
| snake | orm | Slange | slang | die Schlange |
| sole | sjötunga | Tunge | tong | die Seezunge |
| sparrow | sparv | Spurv | musch | der Sperling |
| spider | spindel | Edderkop | spin | die Spinne |
| starling | stare | Staer | spreeuw | der Star |
| stork | stork | Stork | ootevaar | der Storch |
| swallow | svala | Svale | zwaluw | die Schwalbe |
| tail | svans | Hale | staart | der Schwanz |
| toad | padda | Tudse | pad | die Kröte |
| trout | forell | Forel | forel | die Forelle |
| turkey | kalkon | Kalkun | kalkoen | der Truthahn |
| wasp | geting | Hveps | wesp | die Wespe |
| weasel | vessla | Vaesel | wezel | das Wiesel |
| whale | væfisk | Hval | walvisch | der Walfisch |
| wing | vinge | Vinge | vleugel | der Flügel |
| wolf | varg | Ulv | wolf | der Wolf |
| worm | mask | Orm | worm | der Wurm |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------------|------------|------------------------|
| (d) FRUIT AND TREES | | | | |
| apple | äpple (n) | Aeble 'n) | appel | der Apfe |
| apple-tree | äppleträd (n) | Aebletrae (n) | appelboom | der Apfelbaum |
| apricot | aprikos | Abrikos | abrikoos | die Aprikose |
| ash | ask | Ask | esch | die Esche |
| bark | bark | Bark | schors | die Rinde |
| beech | bok | Bøg | beuk | die Buche |
| berry | bär (n) | Baer (n) | bes | die Beere |
| birch | björk | Birk | berk | die Birke |
| blackberry | björnbär (n) | Brombaer (n) | braam | die Brombeere |
| branch | gren | Gren | tak | der Ast |
| cherry | körsbär (n) | Kirsebaer (n) | kers | die Kirsche |
| chestnut | kastanje | Kastanie | kastanje | die Kastanie |
| currant | vinbär (n) | Ribs 'n) | aalbes | die Johannis- beere |
| elm | alm | Elm | olm | die Ulme |
| fig | fikon (n) | Figen | vijg | die Feige |
| fir | gran | Gran | den | die Tanne |
| fruit | frukt | Frugt | vrucht | die Frucht |
| gooseberry | krusbär (n) | Stikkelsbaer (n) | kruisbes | die Stachel- beere |
| grapes | vindruva | Vindrue | druif | die Traube |
| hazelnut | hasselnöt | Hasselnød | hazelnoot | die Haselnuss |
| kernel | kärna | Kærne | pit | der Kern |
| larch | lärkträd (n) | Laerk | lariks | die Lärche |
| leaf | blad (n) | Blad (n) | blad (n) | das Blatt |
| lemon | citron | Citron | citroen | die Zitrone |
| lime-tree | lind | Lind | linde | die Linde |
| oak | ek | Eg | eik | die Eiche |
| orange | apelsin | Appelsin | sinaasappe | die Orange |
| peach | persika | Fersken | perzik | der Pfirsich |
| pear | päron (n) | Paere | peer | die Birne |
| pine | tall | Fyr | pijnboom | die Kiefer |
| pine-apple | ananas | Ananas | ananas | die Ananas |
| plum | plommon (n) | Blomme | pruim | die Pflaume |
| poplar | poppel | Poppel | populier | die Pappel |
| raspberry | hallon (n) | Hindbaer (n) | framboos | die Himbeere |
| root | rot | Rod | wortel | die Wurzel |
| strawberry | jordgubbe | Jordbaer (n) | aardbei | die Erdbeere |
| tree | träd (n) | Trae (n) | boom | der Baum |
| tree-trunk | stam | Stamme | stam | der Stamm |
| vine | vinstock | Vinstok | wijnstok | der Weinstock |
| walnut | valnöt | Valnød | walnoot | die Walnuss |
| willow | pil | Pil | wilg | die Weide |

(e) CEREALS AND VEGETABLES

| | | | | |
|-----------|----------|----------|---------|-------------|
| asparagus | sparris | Asparges | asperge | der Spargel |
| barley | korn (n) | Byg | gerst | die Gerste |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------|------------|-------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| bean | böna | Bønne | boon | die Bohne |
| brussels sprouts | brysselkål | Rosenkaal | Brusselsch spruitje | der Rosenkohl |
| cabbage | kål | Kaal | kool | der Kohl |
| carrot | morot | Gulerod | peen | die Karotte |
| cauliflower | blomkål | Blomkaal | bloemkool | der Blumen- kohl |
| cucumber | gurka | Agurk | komkommer | die Gurke |
| garlic | vitlök | Hvidløg (n) | knoflook (n) | der Knoblauch |
| horse-radish | pepparro | Peberrod | mierikswortel | der Meerret- rich |
| lentil | lins | Linse | linze | die Linse |
| lettuce | sallad | Salat | sla | der Kopfsalat |
| mint | mynta | Mynte | kruizemunt | die Minze |
| mushroom | svamp | Svamp | paddestoel | der Pilz |
| oats | havre | Havre | haver | der Hafer |
| onion | lök | Løg (n) | ui | die Zwiebel |
| parsley | persilja | Persille | peterselie | die Petersilie |
| pea | ärta | Aert | erwt | die Erbse |
| potato | potatis | Kartoffel | aardappel | die Kartoffel |
| radish | rädis | Radise | radijs | das Radieschen |
| rice | ris (n) | Ris | rijst | der Reis |
| rye | råg | Rug | rogge | der Roggen |
| spinach | spenat | Spinat | spinazie | der Spinat |
| stalk | stjälk | Stilk | stenge | der Stengel |
| turnip | rova | Roe | steel | der Stiel |
| wheat | vete (n) | Hvede | knol | die Rube |
| | | | tarwe | der Weizen |

(f) *MATERIALS*

| | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|----------------------|
| alloy | legering | Legering | alloom (n) | die Legierung |
| brass | mässing | Messing (n) | geelkoper (n) | das Messing |
| brick | tegelsten | Mursten | baksteen | der Ziegelstein |
| cement | cement (n) | Cement | cement (n) | der Zement |
| chalk | krita | Kridt (n) | krijt (n) | die Kreide |
| clay | lera | Ler (n) | klei | der Lehm |
| coal | kol (n) | Kul (n) | kool | die Kohle |
| concrete | betong | Beton | beton | der Beton |
| copper | koppar | Kobber (n) | koper (n) | das Kupfer |
| glass | glas (n) | Glas (n) | glas (n) | das Glas |
| gold | guld (n) | Guld (n) | goud (n) | das Gold |
| iron | järn (n) | Jern (n) | ijzer (n) | das Eisen |
| lead | bly (n) | Bly (n) | lood (n) | das Blei |
| leather | läder (n) | Laeder (n) | leer (n) | das Leder |
| lime | kalk | Kalk | kalk | der Kalk |
| marble | marmor | Marmor (n) | marmer (n) | der Marmor |
| mercury | kvicksilver (n) | Kvikselv (n) | kwikzilver (n) | das Queck- silber |
| metal | metall | Metall (n) | metaal (n) | das Metall |
| rubber | gummi (n) | Gummi | rubber (n) | der Gumm |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| silver | silver (n) | Sølv (n) | zilver (n) | das Silber |
| steel | stål (n) | Staal (n) | staal (n) | der Stahl |
| stone | sten | Sten | steen | der Stein |
| tar | tjära | Tjære | teer (n) | der Teer |
| tin | tenn (n) | Tin (n) | tin (n) | das Zinn |
| wood | trä (n) | Træ (n) | hout (n) | das Holz |

(g) BUILDINGS

| | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| barn | lada | Lade | schuur | die Scheune |
| barracks | kasern | Kaserne | kazerne | die Kaserne |
| bridge | bro | Bro | brug | die Brücke |
| building | byggnad | Bygning | gebouw (n) | das Gebäude |
| castle | slott (n) | Slot (n) | slot (n) | das Schloss |
| cathedral | katedral | Katedral | kasteel (n) | der Dom |
| cemetery | kyrkogård | Kirkegaard | kathedraal | der Friedhof |
| church | kyrka | Kirke | kerkhof (n) | die Kirche |
| cinema | biograf | Biograf | kerk | das Kino |
| consulate | konsulat (n) | Konsulat (n) | bioscoop | das Konsulat |
| factory | fabrik | Fabrik | consulaat (n) | die Fabrik |
| farm | bondgård | Bondegaard | fabriek | der Bauernhof |
| fountain | bruun | Brønd | boerderij | der Brunnen |
| hospital | sjukhus (n) | Hospital (n) | fontein | das Krankenhaus |
| hut | hydda | Hytte | ziekenhuis (n) | die Hütte |
| inn | vårdshus (n) | Kro | hut | das Wirtshaus |
| lane (town) | gränd | Straede (n) | herberg | das Wirtshaus |
| legation | legation | Legation | steeg | die Gasse |
| library | bibliotek (n) | Bibliotek | legatie | die Gesandtschaft |
| market | marknad | Torv (n) | bibliotheek | die Bibliothek |
| monument | minnesvård | Monument (n) | markt | der Markt |
| path (country) | stig | Sti | gedenkteken (n) | das Denkmal |
| pavement (side-walk) | trottoir | Fortov (n) | pad (n) | der Pfad |
| police-station | polisstation | Politistation | trottoir (n) | der Bürgersteig |
| port | hamn | Havn | politiebureau (n) | das Trottoir |
| prison | fängelse (n) | Fængsel (n) | haven | die Polizeiwache |
| public convenience | toalett | Toilet (n) | gevangenis | der Hafen |
| road (highway) | landsväg | Landeve | toilet (n) | das Gefängnis |
| school | skola | Skole | andweg | der Abort |
| square | torg (n) | Plads | school | die Landstrasse |
| street | gata | Gade | plein (n) | die Schule |
| suburb | förstad | Forstad | straat | der Platz |
| theatre | teater | Teater (n) | voorstad | die Strasse |
| tower | torn (n) | Taarn (n) | schouwburg | das Theater |
| town | stad | By | toren | der Turm |
| | | | stad | die Stadt |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| town-hall | rådhus (n) | Raadhus (n) | stadhuis (n) | das Rathaus |
| university | universitet (n) | Universitet (n) | universiteit | die Universität |
| village | by | Landsby | dorp | das Dorf |
| (h) THE FAMILY | | | | |
| birth | födelse | Fødsel | geboorte | die Geburt |
| boy | gosse | Dreng | jongen | der Junge |
| brother | broder | Broder | broeder | der Bruder |
| brothers and sisters | syskon (pl.) | Seskende (pl.) | broers en zusters | die Geschwister (pl.) |
| child | barn (n) | Barn (n) | kind (n) | das Kind |
| Christian name | förnamn (n) | Fornavn (n) | voornaam | der Vorname |
| cousin | kusin (m & f.) | Faetter (male) Kusine (female) | neef (male) nicht (female) | der Vetter (male) die Kusine (female) |
| daughter | dotter | Datter | dochter | die Tochter |
| death | död | Død | dood | der Tod |
| divorce | skilsmässa | Skilsmisse | echtscheiding | die Scheidung |
| family | familj | Familie | familie | die Familie |
| father | fader | Fader | vader | der Vater |
| gentleman | herre | Herre | heer | der Herr |
| girl | flicka | Pige | meisje (n) | das Mädchen |
| grandfather | farfar (patern. morfar (matern.) | Bedstefader | grootvader | der Grossvater |
| grandmother | mormor (mat.) farmor (pat.) | Bedstemoder | grootmoeder | die Grossmutter |
| husband | man | Mand | man | der Mann |
| lady | dam | Dame | dame | der Gatte |
| man | man | Mand | man | die Dame |
| marriage | äktenskap (n) | Aegteskab (n) | huwelijk (n) | der Mann |
| mother | moder | Moder | moeder | die Ehe |
| parents | föräldrar | Forældre | ouders | die Mutter |
| relative | släkting | Slaegtning | bloedverwant | die Eltern |
| sister | syster | Søster | zuster | der Verwandte |
| son | son | Søn | zoon | die Schwester |
| surname | tillnamn (n) | Efternavn (n) | achternaam | der Sohn |
| twin | tvilling | Tvilling | tweeling | der Familienname |
| wife | hustru | Hustru | vrouw | der Zwilling |
| woman | kvinna | Kvinde | vrouw | die Frau |

(i) DRESS AND TOILET

| | | | | |
|--------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| belt | bälte (n) | Baelte (n) | ceintuur | der Gürtel |
| boot | känga | Stövle | laars | der Stiefel |
| braces | hängslen (pl.) | Seler (pl.) | bretels (pl.) | die Hosenträger (pl.) |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| brush | borste | Børste | borstel | die Bürste |
| button | knapp | Knap | knoop | der Knopf |
| cap | mössa | Kasket | pet | die Mütze |
| cigar | cigarr | Cigar | sigaar | die Zigarre |
| cigarette | cigarrett | Cigaret | sigaret | die Zigarette |
| clothes | kläder | Klaeder | kleeren | die Kleider |
| coat | jacka | Jakke | jas | der Rock |
| collar | krage | Flip | boord | der Kragen |
| comb | kam | Kam | kam | der Kamm |
| cotton | bomull | Bomuld (n) | katoen (n) | die Baumwolle |
| cotton wool | bomull | Vat (n) | watten | die Watte |
| dress | klänning | Kjole | jurk | das Kleid |
| fashion | mod (n) | Mode | mode | die Mode |
| glove | handske | Handske | handschoen | der Handschuh |
| handkerchief | näsduk | Lommeter- klaede (n) | zakdoek | das Taschentuch |
| hat | hatt | Hat | hoed | der Hut |
| knickers | dambylor | Dameben- klaeder | directoire | die Schlupf- hose |
| match | tändsticka | Tændstik | lucifer | das Streich- holz |
| needle | nål | Naal | naald | die Nadel |
| overcoat | överrock | Frakke | overjas | der Über- zieher |
| pants | kalsonger (pl.) | Underbukser (pl.) | onderbroek | die Unterhose |
| petticoat | underkjol | Underkjole | onderjurk | der Unterrock |
| pin | knappnål | Knappenaal | speld | die Stecknadel |
| pipe | pipa | Pibe | pijp | die Pfeife |
| pocket | ficka | Lomme | zak | die Tasche |
| safety-pin | säkerhetsnål | Sikkerheds- naal | veiligheids- speld | die Sicher- heitsnadel |
| shirt | skjorta | Skjorte | overhemd (n) | das Hemd |
| shoe | sko | Sko | schoen | der Schuh |
| shoe-lace | skoband (n) | Skobaand (n) | schoenveter | das Schuhband |
| silk | silke (n) | Silke | zijde | die Seide |
| skirt | kjol | Nederdel | rok | der Rock |
| sleeve | ärm | Aerme (n) | mouw | der Ärmel |
| slipper | toffel | Tøffel | pantoffel | der Pantoffel |
| soap | tvål | Sæbe | zeep | die Seife |
| sock | strumpa | Sok | sok | die Socke |
| spectacles | glasögonen (pl.) | Briller (pl.) | bril (sg.) | die Brille (sg.) |
| sponge | svamp | Svamp | spons | der Schwamm |
| stick | käpp | Stok | stok | der Stock |
| stocking | strumpa | Strømpe | kous | der Strumpf |
| thread | tråd | Traad | garen (n) | der Faden |
| tie | halsduk | Slips | das | der Schlips |
| tooth-brush | tandborste | Tandbørste | tandenborstel | die Zahnbürste |
| tooth-paste | tandpasta | Tandpasta | tandpasta | die Zahnpasta |
| trousers | byxor (pl.) | Bukser (pl.) | broek | die Hosen (pl.) |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|
| umbrella | paraply (n) | Paraply | paraplu | der Regenschirm |
| vest | undertröja | Undertroje | hemd (n) | das Unterhemd |
| waistcoat | väst | Vest | vest (n) | die Weste |
| watch | klocka | Ur (n) | horloge (n) | die Uhr |
| wool | ull | Uld | wol | die Wolle |

(j) THE HOME

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| alarm clock | väckarklocka | Vækkeur (n) | wekker | der Wecker |
| arm-chair | länstol | Laenestol | leunstoel | der Lehnstuhl |
| ash | aska | Aske | asch | die Asche |
| ash-tray | askkopp | Askebaeger (n) | aschbakje (n) | der Aschenbecher |
| balcony | balkong | Balkon | balkon (n) | der Balkon |
| basket | korg | Kurv | mand | der Korb |
| bath | bad (n) | Bad (n) | bad (n) | das Bad |
| bed | säng | Seng | bed (n) | das Bett |
| bedroom | sovrum (n) | Sovekammer (n) | slaapkamer | das Schlafzimmer |
| bell (door) | ringklocka | Klokke | bel | die Klingel |
| blanket | filt | Taepe (n) | deken | die Decke |
| blind (roller) | rullgardin | Rullegardin(n) | rolgordijn (n) | die Rollgardine |
| box (chest) | kista | Kiste | kist | die Kiste |
| broom | kvast | Kost | bezem | der Besen |
| bucket | ämbar (n) | Spand | emmer | der Eimer |
| candle | ljus (n) | Lys (n) | kaars | die Kerze |
| carpet | matta | Taepe (n) | tapijt (n) | der Teppich |
| ceiling | tak (n) | Loft (n) | plafond (n) | die Decke |
| cellar | källare | Kaelder | kelder | der Keller |
| chair | stol | Stol | stoel | der Stuhl |
| chamber-pot | nattkärl (n) | Natpotte | kamerpot | der Nachttopf |
| chimney | skorsten | Skorsten | schoorsteen | der Schornstein |
| corner | hörn (n) | Hjørne (n) | hoek | die Ecke |
| cupboard | skåp (n) | Skab (n) | kast | der Schrank |
| curtain | gardin | Gardin (n) | gordijn (n) | der Vorhang |
| cushion | kudde | Pude | kussen (n) | das Kissen |
| door | dörr | Dør | deur | die Tür |
| drawer | låda | Skuffe | lade | die Schublade |
| fire | eld | Ild | vuur (n) | das Feuer |
| flame | flamma | Flamme | vlam | die Flamme |
| flat | våning | Lejlighed | étage-woning | die Wohnung |
| floor | golv (n) | Gulv (n) | vloer | der Fussboden |
| flower | blomma | Blomst | bloem | die Blume |
| furniture | möbler (pl.) | Möbler (pl.) | meubelen (pl.) | die Möbel (pl.) |
| garden | trädgård | Have | ruin | der Garten |
| ground-floor | nedersta våning | Stuccetage | gelijkvloers (n) | das Erdgeschoss |
| hearth | eldstad | Årnested (n) | haard | der Herd |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| house | hus (n) | Hus (n) | huis (n) | das Haus |
| iron (flat) | strykjärn (n) | Strygejern (n) | strijkijzer (n) | das Bügel-eisen |
| key | nyckel | Nøgle | seutel | der Schlüssel |
| kitchen | kök (n) | Køkken (n) | keuken | die Küche |
| lamp | lampa | Lampe | lamp | die Lampe |
| lavatory | W.C., toalett | Toilet (n) | W.C., (pron. <i>vay-say</i>) | das Klosett |
| lock | lås (n) | Laas | slot (n) | die Toilette |
| mattress | madrass | Madras | matras | das Schloss |
| methylated spirit | denaturerad sprit | Sprit | brand-spiritus | die Matraze |
| mirror | spegel | Spejl (n) | spiegel | der Brenn-spiritus |
| oven | ugn | Ovn | oven | der Spiegel |
| pantry | skaffer (n) | Spisekammer (n) | provisiekamer | der Ofen |
| paper-basket | papperskorg | Papirkurv | prullemand | die Speise-kammer |
| paraffin | fotogen (n) | Petroleum | petroleum | der Papierkorb |
| picture | tavla | Billede (n) | schilderij (n) | das Petroleum |
| pillow | huvudkudde | Pude | oorkussen (n) | das Bild |
| pipe (water etc.) | rör (n) | Rør (n) | pijp | das Kopf-kissen |
| roof | tak (n) | Tag (n) | dak (n) | die Röhre |
| room | rum (n) | Vaerelse (n) | kamer | das Dach |
| scales | våg | Vaegt | weegschaal | das Zimmer |
| sheet | lakan (n) | Lagen (n) | laken (n) | die Wage |
| shovel | skyffel | Skovl | schop | das Bettuch |
| smoke | rök | Røg | rook | das Betlaken |
| stairs | trappa | Trappe | trap | die Schaufel |
| steam | ånga | Damp | stoom | der Rauch |
| storey | våning | Etage | verdieping | die Treppe |
| table | bord (n) | Bord (n) | tafel | der Dampf |
| tap | kran | Hane | kraan | der Stock |
| towel | handduk | Haandklæde (n) | handdoek | der Tisch |
| wall (structure) | mur | Mur | muur | der Hahn |
| wall (inner) | vägg | Vaeg | wand | das Handtuch |
| window | fönster (n) | Vindue (n) | raam (n) | die Mauer |
| yard | gård | Gaard | binnenplaats | die Wand |

(k) FOOD AND DRINK

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------|
| bacon | (sid) fläsk (n) | Bacon | rookspek (n) | der Speck |
| beef | oxkött (n) | Oksekød (n) | rundvleesch (n) | das Rind-fleisch |
| beer | öl (n) | Øl (n) | bier (n) | das Bier |
| beverage | dryck | Drik | drank | das Getränk |
| brandy | konjak | Cognac | cognac | der Kognak |
| bread | bröd (n) | Brød (n) | brood (n) | das Brot |
| breakfast | frukost | Morgenmad | ontbijt (n) | das Frühstück |
| butter | smör (n) | Smør (n) | boter | die Butter |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| cake | kaka | Kage | koek | der Kuchen |
| cheese | ost | Ost | kaas | der Käse |
| chicken | kyckling | Kylling | kip | das Huhn |
| cider | äppelvin (n) | Aeblevin (n) | appelwijn | der Apfelwein |
| coffee | kaffe (n) | Kaffe | koffie | der Kaffee |
| cream | grädde | Fløde | room | der Rahm |
| whipped cream | vispad grädde | Flødeskum (n) | slagroom | die Schlag-sahne |
| egg | ägg (n) | Aeg (n) | ei (n) | das Ei |
| boiled egg | kokt ägg | kogt Aeg | gekookt ei | gekochtes Ei |
| fried egg | stekt ägg | Spejlæg | spiegelei | Spiegelei |
| evening meal | kvällsmat | Aftensmad | avondeten (n) | das Abend-essen |
| fat | fett (n) | Fedt (n) | vet (n) | das Fett |
| flour | mjöl (n) | Mel (n) | meel (n) | das Mehl |
| ham | skinka | Skinke | ham | der Schinken |
| honey | honung | Honning | honing | der Honig |
| ice-cream | glass | Is | ijs (n) | das Eis |
| jam | sylt (n) | Syltetøj (n) | jam | die Konfitüre |
| meat | kött (n) | Kød (n) | vleesch (n) | das Fleisch |
| midday-meal | middag | Middag | middagmaal (n) | das Mittagessen |
| milk | mjölk | Mælk | melk | die Milch |
| mustard | senap | Sennop | mosterd | der Senf |
| mutton | fårkött (n) | Faarekød (n) | schapenvleesch (n) | das Hammel-fleisch |
| oil | olja | Olie | olie | das Öl |
| pepper | peppar | Peber (n) | peper | der Pfeffer |
| pork | fläsk (n) | Svinekød (n) | varkensvleesch (n) | das Schweine-fleisch |
| roll | bulle | Rundstykke (n) | kadetje (n) | das Brötchen |
| salad | sallad | Salat | salade | die Semmel |
| salt | salt (n) | Salt (n) | zout (n) | der Salat |
| sandwich | smörgås | Smørrebrød (n) | boterham | das Salz |
| sauce | sås | Sauce | saus | das belegte Brötchen |
| sausage | korv | Pølse | worst | die Sosse |
| soup | soppa | Suppe | soep | die Wurst |
| sugar | socker (n) | Sukker (n) | suiker | die Suppe |
| tea | te (n) | Te | thee | der Zucker |
| veal | kalvkött (n) | Kalvekød (n) | kalfsvleesch (n) | der Tee |
| vegetables | grönsaker (pl.) | Grønsager (pl.) | groente | das Kalb-fleisch |
| vinegar | ättika | Edikke | azijn | das Gemüse |
| wine | vin (n) | Vin (n) | wijn | der Essig |

(1) EATING AND COOKING UTENSILS

| | | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|---------|-------------|
| basin | skål | Kumme | kom (n) | das Becken |
| bottle | flaska | Flaske | flesch | die Flasche |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| coffee-pot | kaffekanna | Kaffekande | koffiepot | die Kaffee kanne |
| corkscrew | korkskruv | Proptrack- ker | kurkentrekker | der Kork- zieher |
| cup | kopp | Kop | kopje (n) | die Tasse |
| dish | fat (n) | Fad (n) | schotel | die Schüssel |
| fork | gaffel | Gaffel | vork | die Gabel |
| frying-pan | stekpanna | Stegepande | braadpan | die Bratpfanne |
| glass | glas (n) | Glas (n) | glas (n) | das Glas |
| jug | kruka | Kande | kan | der Krug |
| kettle | kittel | Kedel | ketel | der Kessel |
| knife | kniv | Kniv | mes (n) | das Messer |
| lid | lock (n) | Laag (n) | deksel | der Deckel |
| napkin | servet | Serviet | servet (n) | die Serviette |
| plate | tallrik | Tallerken | bord (n) | der Teller |
| saucepan | kastrull | Kasserolle | stoofpan | der Kochtopf |
| saucer | tefat (n) | Underkop | schoteltje (n) | die Untertasse |
| spoon | sked | Ske | lepel | der Löffel |
| table-cloth | bordduk | Borddug | tafellaken (n) | das Tischtuch |
| teapot | tekanna | Tepotte | cheepot | die Teekanne |
| tin-opener | konserv- öppnare | Daaseopluk- ker | blikopener | der Büchsen- öffner |

(m) TOOLS

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| axe | yx | Økse | bijl | die Axt |
| board | bräde (n) | Braet (n) | plank | das Brett |
| cartridge | patron | Patron | patroon | die Patrone |
| chisel | mejsel | Mejsel | beitel | der Meissel |
| file | fil | Fil | vijsl | die Feile |
| gimlet | borr | Bor (n) | boor | der Bohrer |
| gun | gevär (n) | Gevaer (n) | geweer (n) | das Gewehr |
| hammer | hammare | Hammer | hamer | der Hammer |
| hoe | hacka | Hakke | schoffel | die Hacke |
| hook (fishing) | metrok | Medekrog | vischhaak | der Angel- haken |
| ladder | stege | Stige | ladder | die Leiter |
| line (fishing) | metrev | Medesnøre (n) | vischlijn | die Angelleine |
| nail | spik | Søm (n) | spijker | der Nagel |
| net | nåt (n) | Net (n) | net (n) | das Netz |
| nut | mutter | Møtrik | moer | die Mutter |
| pincers | tång | Tang | nijptang | die Zange |
| plane | hyvel | Høvl | schaaf | der Hobel |
| plough | plog | Plov | ploeg | der Pflug |
| rod (fishing) | metspö (n) | Medestang | hengel | die Angelrute |
| saw | såg | Sav | zaag | die Säge |
| scissors | sax | Saks | schaar | die Schere |
| screw | skruv | Skrue | schroef | die Schraube |
| screw-driver | skruvmejsel | Skruetrackker | schroevendraaier | der Schrau- benzieher |
| scythe | lie | Le | zeis | die Sense |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| spade | spade | Spade | spade | der Spaten |
| spanner | skruvnyckel | Skruesøgle | schroefslente | der Schrauben- schlüssel |
| spring | fjäder | Fjeder | veer | die Feder |
| string | snöre (n) | Snor | touw (n) | die Schnur |
| tools | verktyg (n) | Vaerktoj (n) | werktuig (n) | das Werkzeug |
| wire | metalltråd | Traad | draad | der Draht |

(n) VOCATIONS AND SHOPS

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| actor | skådespelare | Skuespiller | tooneelspeler | der Schau- spieler |
| author | skriftställare | Forfatter | schrijver | der Schrift- steller |
| baker | bagare | Bager | bakker | der Bäcker |
| bank | bank | Bank | bank | die Bank |
| bookseller | bokhandlare | Boghandler | boekhandelaar | der Buch- händler |
| bookshop | bokhandel | Boghande | boekwinkel | die Buch- handlung |
| butcher | slaktare | Slagter | slager | der Fleischer |
| café | kafé (n) | Kafé | café (n) | der Metzger |
| chemist (phar- macist) | apotekare | Apoteker | apotheker | das Café |
| chemist's shop | apotek (n) | Apotek | apotheek | das Kaffeehaus |
| clergyman | präst | Praest | geestelijke | der Apotheker |
| clerk | kontorist | Kontorist | klerk | die Apotheke |
| confectionery | konditori (n) | Konditori (n) | banketbakkerij | der Pfarrer |
| cook (female) | kokerska | Kokkepige | keukenmeid | der Geistliche |
| customer | kund | Kunde | klant | der Angestellte |
| dairy | mjölkaffär | Mejeri (n) | melkinrichting | die Konditorei |
| dentist | tandläkare | Tandlaege | tandarts | die Köchin |
| doctor | läkare | Laege | dokter | der Kunde |
| engineer | ingenjör | Ingeniør | ingenieur | das Milchge- schäft |
| gardener | trädgårdsmäs- tare | Gartner | tuinman | der Zahnarzt |
| hairdresser | hårfrisör | Frisør | kapper | der Arzt |
| jeweller | juvelerare | Juvelér | juwelier | der Doktor |
| journalist | journalist | Journalist | journalist | der Ingenieur |
| judge | domare | Dommer | rechter | der Gärtner |
| laundry | tvättinrättning | Vaskeri (n) | wasscherij | der Frisör |
| lawyer | advokat | Sagfører | advocaat | der Haar- schneider |
| | | | | der Juwelier |
| | | | | der Journalist |
| | | | | der Richter |
| | | | | die Waschan- stalt |
| | | | | der Rechtsan- walt |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| mechanic | montör | Mekaniker | mecanicien | der Mechaniker |
| merchant | köpmän | Købmand | koopman | der Kaufmann |
| milliner | modist | Modehandlerinde | modiste | die Modistin |
| musician | musiker | Musiker | muzikant | der Musiker |
| notary | notarie | Notar | notaris | der Notar |
| nurse (hospital) | sjuksköterska | Sygeplejerske | verpleegster | die Krankenschwester |
| officer | officer | Officer | officier | der Offizier |
| official | ämbetsman | Embedsmand | ambtenaar | der Beamte |
| painter | målare | Maler | schilder | der Maler |
| peasant | bonde | Bonde | boer | der Bauer |
| photographer | fotograf | Fotograf | fotograaf | der Photograph |
| policeman | poliskonstapel | Politibetjent | politieagent | der Schutzmann |
| postman | brevbärare | Postbud | postbode | der Polizist |
| publisher | förläggare | Forlaegger | uitgever | der Briefträger |
| servant | tjänare | Tjener | dienstbode | der Verleger |
| shoemaker | skomakare | Skomager | schoenmaker | der Dienstbote |
| shop | butik | Butik | winkel | der Schuhmacher |
| singer | sångare | Sanger | zanger | der Laden |
| smith | smed | Smed | smid | der Sanger |
| soldier | soldat | Soldat | soldaat | der Schmied |
| stationer's shop | pappershandel | Papirhandel | kantoorboekhandel | der Soldat |
| surgeon | kirurg | Kirurg | chirurg | die Schreibwarenhandlung |
| tailor | skräddare | Skraedder | kleermaker | der Chirurg |
| teacher | lärare | Lærer | onderwijzer | der Schneider |
| traveller | resande | Rejsende | reiziger | der Lehrer |
| typist (female) | maskinskriver | Maskinskriver | typiste | der Reisende |
| watchmaker | urmakare | Urmager | horlogemaker | die Stenotypistin |
| workman | arbetare | Arbejder | werkmán | der Uhrmacher |
| | | | | der Arbeiter |

(6) COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Africa | Afrika | Afrika | Afrika | Afrika |
| America | Amerika | Amerika | Amerika | Amerika |
| an American | en amerikan | en Amerikaner | een Amerikaan | ein Amerikaner |
| Argentina | Argentina | Argentina | Argentinië | Argentinien |
| an Argentine | en argentinare | en Argentinier | een Argentijn | ein Argentinier |
| Asia | Asien | Asien | Azië | Asien |
| Austria | Österrike | Østrig | Oostenrijk | Österreich |
| Belgium | Belgien | Belgien | België | Belgien |
| a Belgian | en belgier | en Belgier | een Belg | ein Belgier |
| Brazil | Brasilien | Brasilien | Brazilië | Brasilien |
| a Brazilian | en brasilianare | en Brasilianer | een Braziliaan | ein Brasilian |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| China | Kina | Kina | China | China |
| a Chinese | en kines | en Kineser | een Chinees | ein Chinese |
| Denmark | Danmark | Danmark | Denemarken | Dänemark |
| a Dane | en dansk | en Dansker | een Deen | ein Däne |
| England | England | England | Engeland | England |
| an Englishman | en engelsman | en Englaender | een Engelschman | ein Engländer |
| Europe | Europa | Europa | Europa | Europa |
| a European | en europé | en Europaeer | een Europeaan | ein Europäer |
| France | Frankrike | Frankrig | Frankrijk | Frankreich |
| a Frenchman | en fransman | en Fransmand | een Franschman | ein Franzose |
| Germany | Tyskland | Tyskland | Duitschland | Deutschland |
| a German | en tysk | en Tysker | een Duitscher | ein Deutscher |
| Great Britain | Storbritanien | Storbritannien | Groot-Brittanië | Grossbritannien |
| Greece | Grekland | Graekenland | Griekenland | Griechenland |
| a Greek | en grek | en Graeker | een Griek | ein Grieche |
| Holland | Holland | Holland | Holland | Holland |
| a Dutchman | en holländare | en Hollaender | een Hollander | ein Holländer |
| Hungary | Ungern | Ungarn | Hongarije | Ungarn |
| India | Indien | Indien | Britsch Indië | Indien |
| Ireland | Irland | Irland | Ierland | Irland |
| an Irishman | en irländare | en Irlaender | een Ier | ein Ire |
| an Italian | en italienare | en Italiener | een Italiaan | ein Italiener |
| Italy | Italien | Italien | Italië | Italien |
| Japan | Japan | Japan | Japan | Japan |
| a Japanese | en japan(es) | en Japaner | een Japanees | ein Japaner |
| Norway | Norge | Norge | Noorwegen | Norwegen |
| a Norwegian | en norrman | en Nordmand | een Noor | ein Norweger |
| Poland | Polen | Polen | Polen | Polen |
| a Pole | en polack | en Polak | een Pool | ein Pole |
| Portugal | Portugal | Portugal | Portugal | Portugal |
| a Portuguese | en portugis | en Portugiser | een Portugees | ein Portugiese |
| Russia | Ryssland | Rusland | Rusland | Russland |
| a Russian | en ryss | en Russer | een Rus | ein Russe |
| Scotland | Skottland | Skotland | Schotland | Schottland |
| a Scotsman | en skotte | en Skotte | een Schot | ein Schotte |
| Spain | Spanien | Spanien | Spanje | Spanien |
| a Spaniard | en spanjor | en Spanier | een Spanjaard | ein Spanier |
| Sweden | Sverige | Sverrig | Zweden | Schweden |
| a Swede | en svensk | en Svensker | een Zweed | ein Schwede |
| Switzerland | Schweiz | Svejts | Zwitserland | die Schweiz |
| a Swiss | en schweizare | en Svejtsjer | een Zwitser | ein Schweizer |
| Turkey | Turkiet | Tyrkie | Turkije | die Türkei |
| United States | Förenta Staterna | de forenede Stater | de Vereenigde Staten | die Vereinigten Staaten |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (p) READING AND WRITING | | | | |
| address | adress | Adresse | adres (n) | die Adresse |
| blotting-paper | läskpapper (n) | Trackpapir (n) | vloeipapier (n) | die Anschrift das Lösch- papier |
| book | bok | Bog | boek (n) | das Buch |
| copy (of book, etc.) | exemplar (n) | Eksempel (n) | exemplaar (n) | das Exemplar |
| copy (of letter etc.) | kopia | Kopi | copie | die Kopie |
| date | datum (n) | Datum | datum | das Datum |
| dictionary | ordbok | Ordbog | woordenboek (n) | das Wörter- buch |
| edition | upplaga | Oplag (n) | uitgave | die Auflage |
| envelope | kuvert (n) | Konvolut | enveloppe | das Kuvert der Briefum- schlag |
| fountain-pen | reservoir- penna | Fyldepen | vulpenhouder | die Füllfeder |
| India-rubber | gummi (n) | Viskelaeder (n) | vlakgom | der Radier- gummi |
| ink | bläck (n) | Blaek (n) | inkt | die Tinte |
| letter | brev (n) | Brev (n) | brief | der Brief |
| letter-box | brevlåda | Brevkasse | brievbus | der Briefkasten |
| map | karta | Landkort (n) | landkaart | die Karte |
| newspaper | tidning | Avis | krant | die Zeitung |
| novel | roman | Roman | roman | der Roman |
| page | sida | Side | bladzijde | die Seite |
| paper | papper (n) | Papir (n) | papier (n) | das Papier |
| parcel | paket (n) | Pakke | pakje (n) | das Paket |
| pen | penna | Pen | pen | die Feder |
| pencil | blyertspenna | Blyant | potlood (n) | der Bleistift |
| periodical | tidskrift | Tidsskrift (n) | tijdschrift (n) | die Zeit- schrift |
| postage | porto (n) | Porto (n) | porto (n) | das Porto |
| postcard | brevkort (n) | Brevkort (n) | briefkaart | die Postkarte |
| post-office | postkontor (n) | Posthus (n) | postkantoor (n) | das Postamt |
| shorthand | stenografi | Stenografi | snelschrift (n) | die Kurzschrift |
| signature | underskrift | Underskrift | handteekening | die Unter- schrift |
| stamp | frimärke (n) | Frimaerke (n) | postzegel | die Briefmarke |
| type-writer | skrivmaskin | Skrivemaskine | schrijf- machine | die Schreib- maschine |

(q) HOTEL AND RESTAURANT

| | | | | |
|------|---------|---------|----------|--------------|
| bath | bad (n) | Bad (n) | bad (n) | das Bad |
| bill | räkning | Regning | rekening | die Rechnung |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| chambermaid | städerska | Stuepige | kamermeisje | das Zimmermädchen |
| change | smäpengar (pl.) | Smaapenge (pl.) | kleingeld (n) | das Kleingeld |
| cloak-room | garderob | Toilet | garderobe | die Garderobe |
| dining-room | matsal | Spisesal | eetzaal | der Speisesaal |
| hotel | hotell (n) | Hotel (n) | hotel (n) | das Hotel |
| lift | hiss | Blevator | lift | der Lift |
| manager | direktör | Bestyrer | directeur | der Fahrstuhl |
| menu | matsedel | Spiseseddel | menu (n) | der Direktor |
| | | | | die Speisekarte |
| office | kontor (n) | Kontor (n) | kantoor (n) | das Büro |
| porter | portier | Portier | portier | der Portier |
| receipt | kvitto (n) | Kvittering | kwitantie | die Quittung |
| restaurant | restaurant | Restaurant | restaurant (n) | das Restaurant |
| tip | driickspengar (pl.) | Drikkepenge (pl.) | fooi | das Trinkgeld |
| waiter | kypare | Tjener | kellner | der Kellner |

(r) TRAIN

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| arrival | ankomst | Ankomst | aankomst | die Ankunft |
| booking-office | biljettkontor (n) | Billetkontor (n) | loket (n) | der Fahrkartenschalter |
| cloak-room | garderob | Garderobe | bagage-depo (n) | die Gepäckabgabe |
| coach | vagn | Waggon | wagon | der Wagen |
| compartment | kupé | Kupé | coupé | das Kupee |
| communication cord | nödbroms | Nödbremse | noodrem | das Abteil |
| connexion | förbindelse | Forbindelse | aansluiting | die Lokomotive |
| customs | tull | Told | douane | der Anschluss |
| departure | avresa | Afgang | vertrek (n) | das Zollamt |
| engine | lokomotiv (n) | Lokomotiv (n) | locomotief | die Abfahrt |
| entrance | ingång | Indgang | ingang | die Lokomotive |
| exit | utgång | Udgang | uitgang | der Eingang |
| frontier | gräns | Graense | grens | der Ausgang |
| guard | konduktör | Konduktor | conducteur | die Grenze |
| inquiry office | upplýsningskontor (n) | Oplysningskontor (n) | informatiebureau (n) | der Schaffner |
| luggage | bagage (n) | Bagage | bagage | die Auskunftsstelle |
| luggage-van | bagagevagn | Bagagevogn | bagagewagen | das Gepäck |
| passenger | passagerare | Passager | passagier | der Gepäckwagen |
| passport | pass (n) | Pas (n) | paspoort (n) | der Passagier |
| platform | perron | Perron | perron (n) | der Pass |
| porter | bärare | Drager | kruier | der Bahnsteig |
| | | | | der Gepäckträger |
| railway | järnväg | Jernbane | spoorweg | die Eisenbahn |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| seat | plats | Plads | plaats | der Platz |
| sleeping-car | sovvagn | Sovevogn | slaapwagon | der Schlafwagen |
| smokers | rökare | Rygere | rookcoupé | das Raucherabteil |
| station | station | Station | station (n) | der Bahnhof |
| station-master | stationsinspektör | Stationsforstander | stationschef | der Bahnhofsvorsteher |
| stop | halt | Holdeplads | halte | die Haltestelle |
| suit-case | kappsäck | Haandkuffert | valies (n) | der Handkoffer |
| ticket | biljett | Billet | kaartje (n) | die Fahrkarte |
| return | retur | retur | retour | retour |
| timetable | tidtabell | Køreplan | spoorboekje (n) | der Fahrplan |
| train | tåg (n) | Tog (n) | trein | der Zug |
| fast train | snåltåg | Itog | sneltrein | der Eilzug |
| | | Eksprestog | | der D-zug |
| slow train | persontåg | Persontog | boemeltrein | der Personenzug |
| trunk | koffert | Kuffert | koffer | der Koffer |
| visa | visum | Visum (n) | visum (n) | das Visum |
| waiting-room | väntsal | Ventesal | wachtkamer | der Wartesaal |

(s) SHIP

| | | | | |
|------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| anchor | ankare (n) | Anker (n) | anker (n) | der Anker |
| boat | båt | Baad | boot | das Boot |
| bow | bog | Bov | boeg | der Bug |
| bridge | brygga | Bro | brug | die Brücke |
| cabin | kajuta | Kahyt | kajuit | die Kabin |
| captain | kapten | Kaptajn | kapitein | der Kapitän |
| compass | kompass | Kompas (n) | kompas (n) | der Kompass |
| crew | besättning | Mandskab (n) | bemanning | die Mannschaft |
| deck | däck (n) | Daek (n) | dek (n) | das Deck |
| dock | docks | Dok | dok (n) | das Dock |
| flag | flagga | Flag (n) | vlag | die Flagge |
| gangway | landgång | Landgang | loopplank | die Laufplanke |
| hold | lastrum (n) | Lastrum (n) | scheepsruim (n) | der Laderaum |
| keel | köl | Køl | kiel | der Kie |
| life-belt | livbälte (n) | Redningsbælte (n) | reddingsgordel | der Rettungsgürtel |
| life-boat | räddningsbåt | Redningsbaad | reddingsboot | das Rettungsboot |
| lighthouse | tyrtorn (n) | Fyrtaarn (n) | vuurtoren | der Leuchtturm |
| mast | mast | Mast | mast | der Mast |
| oar | åra | Aare | roeiriem | das Ruder |
| propeller | skruv | Skrue | schroef | die Schraube |
| purser | intendant | Hovmester | hofmeester | der Zahlmeister |
| rope | rep (n) | Reb (n) | ouw (n) | das Tau |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|
| rudder | roder (n) | Ror (n) | roer (n) | das Ruder |
| sail | segel (n) | Sejl (n) | zeil (n) | das Segel |
| sailor | sjöman | Sømand | zeeman | der Seemann |
| seasickness | sjösjuka | Søsyge | zeeziekte | die Seekrankheit |
| ship | skepp (n) | Skib (n) | schip (n) | das Schiff |
| stern | akter | Agterende | achterstevan | der Hinterstevan |
| tug | bogserbåt | Bugserbaad | sleepboot | der Schlepper |
| wharf | kai | Kaj | kaai | der Kai |

(t) *MOTOR AND BICYCLE*

| | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|
| axle | axel | Aksel | as | die Achse |
| bearing | lager (n) | Leje (n) | drager | das Lager |
| bend (road) | kurva | Sving (n) | hoek | die Kurve |
| bicycle | cykel | Cykle | fiets | das Fahrrad |
| bonnet | motorhuv | Motorhjælm | motorkap | die Haube |
| brake | broms | Bremse | rem | die Bremse |
| bulb | lampa | Paere | lamp | die Birne |
| bumper | kofångare | Kofanger | schokbreker | der Stossfänger |
| car | bil | Bil | auto | das Auto |
| carburettor | förgasare | Karburator | carburator | der Vergaser |
| chain | kedja | Kaede | ketting | die Kette |
| clutch | koppling | Kobling | koppeling | die Kupplung |
| cross-road | korsväg | Korsvej | kruispunt (n) | die Strassenkreuzung |
| distributor | fördelare | Fordeler | verdeeler | der Verteiler |
| driving-licence | körkort (n) | Køretilladelse | rijbewijs (n) | der Führerschein |
| fine | böter (pl.) | Bøde | boete | die Geldstrafe |
| gear | växel | Gear | versnelling | der Gang |
| head-lamp | strålkastare | Forlygte | koplicht (n) | der Scheinwerfer |
| hood | sufflett | Kaleche | kap | das Verdeck |
| hooter | signalhorn (n) | Signalhorn (n) | claxon | die Hupe |
| horse-power | hästkraft | Hestekraft | paardekracht | die Pferdestärke |
| ignition | tändning | Taending | ontsteking | die Zündung |
| insurance | försäkring | Forsikring | verzekering | die Versicherung |
| jack | domkraft | Donkraft | krik | der Heber |
| level-crossing | järnvägsövergång | Togoverskaering | overweg | der Bahnübergang |
| lorry | lastbil | Lastvogn | vrachtauto | das Lastauto |
| motor-cycle | motorcykel | Motorcykle | motorfiets | das Motorrad |
| mudguard | stänkskärm | Stænkskaerm | spatbord (n) | der Kotflügel |
| number-plate | nummerplåt | Nummerplade | nummerbord (n) | das Nummernschild |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| pedal | pedal | Pedal | pedaal (n) | das Pedal |
| petrol | bensin | Benzin | benzine | das Benzin |
| piston | pistong | Stempel (n) | piston | der Kolben |
| plug | tändstift (n) | Taendør (n) | bougie | die Kerze |
| pressure | tryck (n) | Tryk (n) | druk | der Druck |
| pump | pump | Pumpe | pomp | die Pumpe |
| radiator | kylare | Køler | radiator | der Kühler |
| saddle | sadel | Sadel | zadel (n) | der Sattel |
| spark | gnista | Gnist | vonk | der Funke |
| speed | fart | Fart | snelheid | die Geschwindigkeit |
| speed-limit | hastighetsgräns | Hastighedsgrænse | snelheidsgrens | die Höchstgeschwindigkeit |
| starter | självstartare | Selvstarter | starter | der Anlasser |
| starting-handle | startvæ | Startsving (n) | slinger | die Handkurbel |
| steering-wheel | ratt | Rat (n) | stuurrad (n) | das Steuerrad |
| tank | tank | Tank | reservoir (n) | der Behälter |
| tube | luftslang | Slange | binnenband | der Schlauch |
| tyre | ring | Dæck (n) | band | der Reifen |
| valve | ventil | Ventil | ventiel | das Ventil |
| wheel | hjul (n) | Hjul (n) | wiel (n) | das Rad |

(u) GENERAL

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| accident (mis-hap) | olyckshändelse | Ulykkestilfælde (n) | ongeval (n) | der Unfall |
| accident (chance event) | händelse | Tilfælde (n) | toeval (n) | der Zufall |
| account (report) | berättelse | Beretning | bericht (n) | der Bericht |
| action | handling | Handling | handeling | die Handlung |
| advantage | fördel | Fordel | voordeel (n) | der Vorteil |
| advertisement | annons | Annonce | annonce | die Annonce |
| advice | råd (n) | Raad (n) | advertentie | das Inserat |
| age (length of life) | ålder | Alder | raad | der Rat |
| allusion | hänsyftning | Hentydning | leeftijd | das Alter |
| amount | belopp (n) | Beløb (n) | zinspeling | die Anspielung |
| anger | vrede | Vrede | bedrag (n) | der Betrag |
| angle | förargelse | Vinkel | toorn | der Ärger |
| answer | vinkel | Vinkel | hoek | der Zorn |
| apology | svær (n) | Svar (n) | antwoord (n) | der Winkel |
| approval | ursåkt | Undskyldning | verontschuldiging | die Antwort |
| army | bifall (n) | Bifald (n) | bijval | die Entschuldigung |
| art | armé | Haer | leger (n) | der Beifall |
| | konst | Kunst | kunst | die Armee |
| | | | | das Heer |
| | | | | die Kunst |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| attack | anfall (n) | Angreb (n) | aanval | der Anfall |
| attempt | försök (n) | Forsøg (n) | poging | der Angriff |
| attraction | dragningskraft | Tiltraekningskraft | aantrekkingskracht | der Versuch die Anziehungskraft |
| average | genomsnitt (n) | Gennemsnit (n) | gemiddelde (n) | der Durchschnitt |
| ball (round thing) | boll | Kugle | kogel | die Kugel |
| battle | slag (n) | Slag (n) | veldslag | die Schlacht |
| beauty | skönhet | Skønhed | schoonheid | die Schönheit |
| beginning | begynnelse | Begyndelse | begin (n) | der Beginn |
| behaviour | uppförande (n) | Optørsel | aanvang gedrag (n) | der Anfang das Benehmen |
| belief | tro | Tro | geloof (n) | das Betragen der Glaube |
| birth | födelse | Fødsel | geboorte | die Geburt |
| blindness | blindhet | Blindhed | blindheid | die Blindheit |
| blot | fläck | Plet | vlek | der Fleck |
| blow | slag (n) | Slag (n) | slag | der Schlag |
| bottom | botten | Grund | bodem | der Grund der Boden |
| boundary, limit | gräns | Graense | grens | die Grenze |
| bow (arc) | båge | Bue | boog | der Bogen |
| breed, race | ras | Race | ras (n) | die Rasse |
| cause (grounds) | orsak | Aarsag | oorzaak | die Ursache |
| caution (care) | omsorg försiktighet | Forsigtighed | voorzichtigheid | die Vorsicht die Sorgfalt |
| centre | mitt | Midte | midden (n) | die Mitte |
| change (alteration) | förändring | Forandring | verandering | die Veränderung |
| chapter | kapitel (n) | Kapitel (n) | hoofdstuk (n) | das Kapitel |
| choice | val (n) | Valg (n) | keus | die Wahl |
| circle | cirkel | Cirkel | cirkei | der Kreis |
| circumference | omkrets | Omfang (n) | omtrek | der Umfang |
| collection | samling | Samling | verzameling | die Sammlung |
| colour | färg | Farve | kleur | die Farbe |
| combustion | förbränning | Kulør Forbraending | verbranding | die Verbrennung |
| command (order) | befallning | Befaling | bevel (n) | der Befehl |
| committee | kommité | Komité | comité (n) | das Komitee |
| comparison | jämförelse | Sammenligning | vergelijking | der Ausschuss der Vergleich |
| competition (business) | konkurrens | Konkurrence | concurrentie | die Konkurrenz der Wettbewerb |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| condition (stipulation) | vilkor (n) | Betingelse | voorwaarde | die Bedingung |
| condition (state) | tillstånd (n) | Tilstand | toestand | der Zustand |
| confidence (trust) | förtroende (n) | Tillid | vertrouwen (n) | die Lage |
| connexion | förbindelse | Forbindelse | verbinding | das Vertrauen |
| consequence | följd | Følge | gevolg (n) | die Verbindung |
| consolation | tröst | Trøst | troost | die Folge |
| contempt | förakt (n) | Foragt | verachting | der Trost |
| contents | innehåll (n) | Indhold (n) | inhoud | die Verachtung |
| continuation | fortsättning | Fortsættelse | voortzetting | der Inhalt |
| country (nation) | land (n) | Land (n) | land (n) | die Fortsetzung |
| courage | mod (n) | Mod (n) | moed | das Land |
| cowardice | feghet | Fejghed | lafheid | der Mut |
| crime | brott (n) | Forbrydelse | misdaad | die Feigheit |
| criticism | kritik | Kritik | kritiek | das Verbrechen |
| cross | kors (n) | Kors (n) | kruis (n) | die Kritik |
| crowd | mängd | Maengde | menigte | das Kreuz |
| cry (call) | rop (n) | Raab (n) | roep | die Menge |
| cube | tärning | Terning | kubus | der Ruf |
| custom | (sed)vana | Saedvane | gewoonte | der Würfel |
| | | | | die Sitte |
| | | | | die Gewohnheit |
| cut (incision) | snitt (n) | Snit (n) | snede | der Schnitt |
| damage | skada | Skade | schade | der Schaden |
| danger | fara | Fare | gevaar (n) | die Gefahr |
| death | död | Død | dood | der Tod |
| debt | skuld | Gæld | schuld | der Tod |
| decay | förfall (n) | Forfald (n) | verval (n) | die Schuld |
| decision | beslut | Beslutning | besluit (n) | der Verfall |
| defeat | nederlag n | Nederlag (n) | nederlaag | der Beschluss |
| defence | (örsvar) n | Forsvar (n) | verdediging | die Niederlage |
| | | | | die Verteidigung |
| degree (scale) | grad | Grad | graad | der Grad |
| depth | djup (n) | Dybde | diepte | die Tiefe |
| description | beskrivning | Beskrivelse | beschrijving | die Beschreibung |
| desire | önskan | Ønske (n) | wensch | der Wunsch |
| despair | förtvivlan | Fortvivelse | wanhoop | die Verzweiflung |
| destruction | förödelse | Ødelaeggelse | vernieling | die Zerstörung |
| | | | | die Vernichtung |
| detail | detalj | Enkelthed | detail (n) | die Vernichtung |
| | | | | die Einzelheit |
| development | utveckling | Udvikling | ontwikkeling | das Detail |
| | | | | die Entwicklung |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| diameter | diameter | Diameter | middellijn | der Durch- messer |
| digestion | matsmältning | Fordejelse | spijsvertering | die Verdauung |
| direction (course) | riktning | Retning | richting | die Richtung |
| discovery | upptäckt | Opdagelse | ontdekking | die Ent- deckung |
| discussion | diskussion | Drøftelse | bespreking | die Erörterung |
| disease | sjukdom | Sygdom | ziekte | die Krankheit |
| disgust | äckel (n) | Vaemmelse | walging | der Ekel |
| disk (slice) | skiva | Skiive | schijf | die Scheibe |
| distance | avstånd (n) | Afstand | afstand | die Entfernung |
| distribution | fördelning | Fordeling | verdeling | der Abstand |
| doubt | tvivel (n) | Tvivi | twijfel | die Verteilung |
| dozen | dussin (n) | Dusin (n) | dozijn (n) | der Zweifel |
| dryness | torrhet | Tørhed | droogte | das Dutzend |
| duty | torka | | | die Trocken- heit |
| edge (border | plikt | Pligt | plicht | die Pflicht |
| education | rand | Rand | rand | der Rand |
| effect | uppfostran | Opdragelse | opvoeding | die Erziehung |
| effort | verkan | Virkning | uitwerking | die Wirkung |
| | ansträngning | Anstrengelse | inspanning | die Anstren- gung |
| | | | | die Anspan- nung |
| encounter (meet- ing) | encontro (n) | Møde (n) | ontmoeting | die Begegnung |
| end | ände, slut | Ende | einde (n) | das Ende |
| enemy | fjende | Fjende | vijand | der Feind |
| enmity | fjendskab | Fjendskab (n) | vijandschap | die Feindschaft |
| entertainment (amusement) | underhålling | Under- holdning | vermaak (n) | die Unter- haltung |
| environment | omgivning | Omgivelse | omgeving | die Umgebung |
| envy | avund | Misundelse | afgunst | der Neid |
| equilibrium | jämvikt | Ligevegt | evenwicht (n) | das Gleich- gewicht |
| event | händelse | Tildragelse | gebeurtenis | das Ereignis |
| example | exempel (n) | Eksempel (n) | voorbeeld (n) | das Beispiel |
| exception | undantag (n) | Undtagelse | uitzondering | die Ausnahme |
| exhibition | utställning | Udstilling | tentoonstelling | die Ausstellung |
| existence | tilvaro | Eksistens | bestaan (n) | das Vorhan- densein |
| | | | | das Bestehen |
| expansion | utvidgning | Udvidelse | uitzetting | die Ausdeh- nung |
| experience | erfarenhet | Erfaring | ondervinding | die Erfahrung |
| explanation | förklaring | Forklaring | verklaring | die Erklärung |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| fact (what is true) | faktum (n) | Kendsgerning | feit (n) | die Tatsache |
| fall (drop) | tall (n) | Fald (n) | val | der Fall |
| fear | fruktan | Frygt | vrees | der Sturz die Furcht |
| feeling | känsla | Følelse | gevoel (n) | die Angst |
| flight (air) | flykt | Flugt | vlucht | das Gefühl |
| flight (escape) | flykt | Flugt | vlucht | der Flug |
| fleet | flotta | Flaade | vloot | die Flucht |
| fold (thing folded) | veck | Fold | vouw | die Flotte |
| food | näring, föda | Naering | voedsel (n) | die Falte |
| force | kraft | Kraft | kracht | die Nahrung |
| fracture | brott (n) | Brud (n) | breuk | die Kraft |
| freedom | frihet | Frihed | vrijheid | der Bruch |
| friend | vän | Ven | vriend | die Freiheit |
| friendship | vänskap | Venskab (n) | vriendschap | der Freund |
| tue | bränsl (n) | Braendsel (n) | brandsto | die Freund- schaft |
| future | framtid | Fremtid | toekomst | das Brenn- material |
| game (play) | lek | Spil (n) | spel (n) | die Zukunft |
| gathering | församling | Forsamling | vergadering | das Spiel |
| gift (present) | gåva | Gave | geschenk (n) | die Versamm- lung |
| government | regering | Regering | regeering | das Geschenk |
| gratitude | tacksamhet | Taknemme- lighed | dankbaarheid | die Gabe |
| greeting | hälsning | Hilsen | groet | die Regierung |
| growth | växt | Vækst | groei | die Dankbar- keit |
| guilt | skuld | Skyld | schuld | der Gruss |
| half | hälft | Halvdel | helft | das Wachstum |
| hardness | hårdhe | Haardhed | hardheid | die Schuld |
| haste | hast | Hast | haast | die Hälfte |
| hate | hat (n) | Had (n) | haat | die Härte |
| health | hälsa | Sundhed | gezondheid | die Hast |
| hearing (sense of) | hörsel | Hørelse (n) | gehoor (n) | die Eile |
| heat (physics) | värme | Varme | warmte | der Hass |
| height | höjd | Højde | hoogte | die Gesundheit |
| help | hjälp | Hjælp | hulp | das Gehör |
| history | historia | Historie | geschiedenis | die Wärme |
| hole | hål (n) | Hul (n) | gat (n) | die Höhe |
| honour | heder | Aere | eer | die Hilfe |
| hope | hopp (n) | Haab (n) | hoop | die Unter- stützung |
| hunger | hunger | Sult | honger | der Geschichte |
| idea | idé | Ide | idee (n) | das Loch |
| | | | | die Ehre |
| | | | | die Hoffnung |
| | | | | der Hunger |
| | | | | die Idee |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| imitation | imitation | Efterligning | imitatie | die Nachahmung |
| income | inkomst | Indkomst | inkomen (n) | das Einkommen |
| increase | tilltagande (n) ökning | Tilragen (n) | toename | die Zunahme |
| industry (application) | flit | Flid | vlijt | die Vermehrung der Fleiss |
| innocence | oskuld | Uskyld | onschuld | die Unschuld |
| instruction (teaching) | undervisning | Undervisning | onderwijs (n) | der Unterricht |
| intention | avsikt | Hensigt | voornemen (n) | die Absicht |
| interest (attention) | intresse (n) | Interesse | belangstelling | das Interesse |
| invention | uppfinning | Opfindelse | uitvinding | die Erfindung |
| investigation | undersökning | Undersøgelse | onderzoek (n) | die Untersuchung |
| invitation | inbjudan | Indbydelse | uitnodiging | die Einladung |
| jealousy | svartsjuka | Skinsyge | ialoezie | die Eifersucht |
| journey | resa | Rejse | reis | die Reise |
| joy | glädje | Glaede | vreugde | die Freude |
| judgment | dom | Dom | oordeel (n) | das Urteil |
| juice | saft | Saft | sap (n) | der Saft |
| jump | språng (n) | Spring (n) | sprong | der Sprung |
| iustice | rättvisa | Retfærdighed | gerechtigheid | die Gerechtigkeit |
| kick | spark | Spark (n) | schop | der Fusstritt |
| kind (sort) | art, sort | Art | trap | die Art |
| knot | slag | | soort | die Sorte |
| knowledge | knut | Knude | slag (n) | der Knoten |
| | kunskap | Kundskab | knoop | die Kenntniss |
| language | språk (n) | Sprog (n) | kennis | das Wissen |
| laughter | skratt (n) | Latter | taa | die Sprache |
| law | lag | Lov | lach | das Lachen |
| lawsuit | process | Proces | gelach (n) | das Gelächter |
| laziness | lätrja | Dovenskab | wet | das Gesetz |
| | | | proces (n) | der Prozess |
| lecture | föredrag (n) | Foredrag (n) | luiheid | die Trägheit |
| leisure | ledighet | Fritid | | die Faulheit |
| | | | voordracht | der Vortrag |
| | | | vrije tijd | die freie Zeit |
| length | längd | Laengde | | die Musse |
| lesson | lektion | Lektie | lengte | die Länge |
| level | nivå | Niveau (n) | les | die Lektion |
| lie | lög | Løgn | niveau (n) | das Niveau |
| life | liv (n) | Liv (n) | leugen | die Lüge |
| line | linje | Linie | leven (n) | das Leben |
| liquid | vätska | Vaedske | lijn | die Linie |
| | | | vloeistof | die Flüssigkeit |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| list | lista | Liste | lijst | das Verzeichniss die Liste |
| load | last | Laes (n) | last | die Last |
| look | blick | Blik (n) | blik | der Blick |
| loss | förlust | Tab (n) | verlies (n) | der Verlust |
| love | kärlek | Kærlighed | iefde | die Liebe |
| luck (chance) | tur | Held (n) | geluk (n) kans | das Glück die Chance |
| luxury | lyx | Luksus | luxe | der Luxus |
| man (human being) | manniska | Menneske (n) | mensch | der Mensch |
| manager | ledare, chief | Leder | leider | der Leiter |
| mark, sign | tecken (n) | Tegn (n) | teeken (n) | das Zeichen |
| mass | massa | Masse | massa | die Masse |
| measure | mått (n) | Maal (n) | maat | das Mass |
| member | medlem | Medlem (n) | lid (n) | das Mitglied |
| memory | minne (n) | Hukommelse | geheugen (n) | das Gedächtnis |
| mistake | misstag | Fejl | fout | der Fehler |
| mixture | blandning | Blanding | mengsel (n) | die Mischung |
| money | pengar (pl.) | Penge (pl.) | geld (n) | das Geld |
| mood (temper) | lynne (n) | Stemning | stemming | die Stimmung |
| movement | rörelse | Bevægelse | beweging | die Laune |
| name | namn (n) | Navn (n) | naam | die Bewegung |
| necessity | nödvändighet | Nødvendighed | noodzakelijk- heid | der Name |
| news | nyhet | Nyhed | tijding | die Notwendigkeit |
| noise (sound) | ljud (n) | Støj | nieuws (n) | die Nachricht |
| noise (din) | buller (n) | Larm | geluid (n) | die Neugier |
| number (No.) | nummer (n) | Nummer (n) | geraas (n) | das Geräusch |
| number (num- eral) | tal (n) | Tal (n) | nummer (n) | der Lärm |
| number (amount) | antal (n) | Antal (n) | getal (n) | die Nummer |
| observation | iakttagelse | Iagttagelse | opmerking | die Zahl |
| occasion | tillfälle (n) | Lejlighed | gelegenheid | die Anzahl |
| occupation (pro- fession) | ykke (n) | Stilling | beroep (n) | die Beobach- tung |
| opening | öppning | Aabning | opening | die Gelegen- heit |
| opinion | mening | Mening | mening | der Beruf |
| order (arrange- ment) | ordning | Ordning | orde | die Öffnung |
| origin | ursprung (n) | Oprindelse | oorsprong | die Meinung |
| owner | ägare | Ejer | eigenaar | die Ansicht |
| pain | smärta | Smerte | pijn | die Ordnung |
| part (of whole) | del | Del | deel (n) | der Ursprung |
| | | | | der Eigentüm- er |
| | | | | der Schmerz |
| | | | | der Teil |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| part (in play, etc.) | roll | Rolle | rol | die Rolle |
| party (faction) past | parti (n) der förflutna | Parti (n) Fortid | partij verleden (n) | die Partei die Vergangen- heit |
| payment | betalning | Betaling | betaling | die Bezahlung |
| peace | fred | Fred | vrede | der Friede |
| people (com- munity) | folk (n) | Folk (n) | volk (n) | das Volk |
| permission | tillåtelse | Tilladelse | vergunning | die Erlaubnis |
| picture | bild | Billede (n) | beeld (n) | das Bild |
| piece (fragment) | stycke (n) | Stykke (n) | stuk (n) | das Stück |
| place (spot) | ställe | Sted (n) | oord (n) | der Ort |
| | | Plads | plaats | die Stelle |
| plan (project) | plan | Plan | plan (n) | der Plan |
| pleasure | nöje (n) | Fornøjelse | vermaak (n) | das Vergnügen |
| point (sharp end) | spets | Spids | punt | die Spitze |
| point (in space or time) | punkt | Punkt (n) | punt (n) | der Punkt |
| poison | gift (n) | Gift | vergif (n) | das Gift |
| politeness | höflichkeit | Høflighed | beleefdheid | die Höflich- keit |
| politics | politik | Politik | politiek | die Politik |
| practice | övning | Øvelse | oefening | die Übung |
| prejudice | fördom | Fordom | vooordeel (n) | das Vorurteil |
| press | press | Presse | pers | die Presse |
| pressure | tryck (n) | Tryk (n) | druk | der Druck |
| pretext | förevändning | Faaskud (n) | voorwend- sel (n) | der Vorwand |
| price, prize | pris (n) | Pris | prijs | der Preis |
| product | produkt | Produkt (n) | product (n) | das Erzeugnis |
| progress | framsteg (n) | Fremskridt (n) | vordering | der Fortschritt |
| promise | löfte (n) | Løfte (n) | belofte | das Ver- sprechen |
| proof (evidence) | bevis (n) | Bevis (n) | bewijs (n) | der Beweis |
| property (qual- ity) | egenskap | Egenskab | eigenschap | die Eigen- schaft |
| property (things owned) | egendom | Ejendom | eigendom (n) | das Eigentum |
| protection | beskydd (n) | Beskyttelse | bescherming | der Schutz |
| publicity (ad- vertising) | reklam | Reklame | reclame | die Reklame |
| pull | drag (n) | Traek (n) | trek | der Zug |
| punishment | straff (n) | Straf | straf | die Strafe |
| purchase | köp (n) | Køb (n) | koop | der Kauf |
| purpose (aim) | mål (n) | Hensigt | doel (n) | der Zweck |
| | | | | das Ziel |
| push | stöt | Stød (n) | stoot | der Stoss |
| question | fråga | Spørgsmaal (n) | vraag | die Frage |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| ray | stråle | Straale | straal | der Strahl |
| reason (power of thought) | förnuft | Fornuft | vernuft (n) | die Vernunft |
| recollection | erining | Erindring | herinnering | die Erinnerung |
| relation | förhållande (n) | Forhold (n) | verhouding | die Beziehung |
| remainder | rest | Rest | rest | das Verhältnis |
| remark | anmärkning | Bemaerkning | opmerking | der Rest |
| rent (of house, etc.) | hyra | Leje | huur | die Bemerkung |
| repetition | upprepning | Gentagelse | herhaling | die Miete |
| reproach | förebärrelse | Bebrejdelse | verwijt (n) | die Wiederholung |
| resistance | motstånd (n) | Motstand | tegenstand | der Vorwurf |
| respect | aktning | Agtelse | achtung | der Widerstand |
| rest (repose) | vila | Ro | rust | die Achtung |
| revenge | hämnd | Hævn | wraak | die Ruhe |
| reward | belöning | Belønning | belooning | die Rache |
| right (just claim) | rätt | Ret | recht (n) | die Belohnung |
| risk | risk | Risiko | risico (n) | das Recht |
| rule (regulation) | regel | Regel | regel | das Risiko |
| rumour | rykte (n) | Rygte (n) | gerucht (n) | die Regel |
| safety | säkerhet | Sikkerhed | veiligheid | das Gerücht |
| sale | försäljning | Salg (n) | verkoop | die Sicherheit |
| sample | mönster (n) | Monster (n) | monster (n) | der Verkauf |
| science | vetenskap | Videnskab | wetenschap | das Muster |
| scratch | skråma | Ridse | schram | die Wissenschaft |
| screen | skärm | Skaern | scherm (n) | die Ritze |
| seat | säte (n) | Saede (n) | zitting | die Schramme |
| secret | hemlighet | Hemmelighed | geheim (n) | der Schirm |
| sensation (stir) | uppsende (n) | Røre (n) | sensatie | der Sitz |
| sense (meaning) | betydelse | Betydning | beteekenis | der Platz |
| sense (smell, touch, etc.) | sinne | Sans | zintuig | das Geheimnis |
| sentence (group of words) | sats | Sætning | volzin | das Aufsehen |
| sex | køn (n) | Køn (n) | geslacht (n) | die Sensation |
| shape | form | Form | vorm | die Bedeutung |
| share | andel | Andel | aandeel (n) | der Sinn |
| side | sida | Side | zijde | der Satz |
| size | størrelse | Størrelse | grootte | das Geschlecht |
| sleep | søvn | Søvn | slaap | die Form |
| smell | luk | Lugt | reuk | die Gestalt |
| smile | småleje (n) | Smil (n) | glimlach | der Anteil |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------|
| society | sällskap (n) | Selskab (n) | maatschappij | die Gesellschaft |
| song | sång | Sang | lied (n) | das Lied |
| sound | ljud | Lyd | geluid (n) | der Laut |
| space | rum (n) | Rum (n) | ruimte | der Raum |
| speech (address) | tal | Tale | redevoering | die Rede |
| speed | hastighet | Part | snelheid | die Geschwindigkeit |
| square | fyrkant | Firkant | vierkant (n) | das Quadrat |
| state | stat | Stat | staat | der Staat |
| stay (sojourn) | uppehåll (n) | Ophold (n) | verblijf (n) | der Aufenthalt |
| step (pace) | steg | Skridt (n) | stap | der Schritt |
| story | berättelse | Fortaelling | verhaal (n) | die Erzählung |
| strike | strejk | Strejke | staking | die Geschichte |
| struggle | kamp | Kamp | strijd | der Streik |
| study | studium (n) | Studium (n) | studie | der Kampf |
| substance | stoff (n) | Stof (n) | stof | das Studium |
| success | framgång | Success | succes | der Stoff |
| suggestion (proposal) | förslag (n) | Forslag (n) | voorstel (n) | die Substanz |
| sum | summa | Sum | som | der Erfolg |
| surface | yta | Overflade | oppervlakte | der Vorschlag |
| surprise | öppraskning | Öppraskelse | verrassing | die Summe |
| suspicion | misstanke | Mistanke | achterdocht | die Oberfläche |
| swindle (fraud) | bedrageri | Bedrag (n) | bedrog (n) | die Überraschung |
| sympathy (compassion) | medlidande (n) | Medlidenhed | medelijden (n) | der Verdacht |
| task | syssla | Opgave | taak | der Betrug |
| taste | smak | Smag | smaak | der Schwindel |
| tax | skatt | Skat | belasting | das Mitleid |
| tendency | tendens | Tendens | neiging | die Aufgabe |
| tension | spänning | Spaending | spanning | der Geschmack |
| test | prov (n) | Prøve | beproeving | die Steuer |
| thanks | tack | Tak | dank | die Neigung |
| theft | stöld | Tyveri (n) | diefstal | die Tendenz |
| thing | ting | Ting | ding (n) | die Spannung |
| thirst | sak | Sag | zaak | die Probe |
| thought | törst | Tørst | dorst | der Dank |
| tie (bond) | tanke | Tanke | gedachte | der Diebstahl |
| time | band (n) | Baand (n) | band | das Ding |
| top (summit) | tid | Tid | tijd | die Sache |
| touch (contact) | topp | Top | top | der Durst |
| trade | beröring | Berøring | aanraking | der Gedanke |
| | handel | Handel | handel | das Band |
| | | | | die Zeit |
| | | | | die Spitze |
| | | | | der Gipfel |
| | | | | die Berührung |
| | | | | der Handel |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
| trade-union | fackförening | Fagforening | vakvereeniging | die Gewerkschaft |
| translation | översättning | Oversættelse | vertaling | die Übersetzung |
| cremen | behandling | Behandling | behandeling | die Behandlung |
| triangle | triangel | Trekant | driehoek | das Dreieck |
| trick | knepp (n) | Knepp (n) | truc | der Kniff |
| trouble (worry) | bekymmer (n) | Sorg | zorg | die Sorge |
| truth | sanning | Sandhed | waarheid | die Wahrheit |
| turn | vändning | Vending | wending | die Wendung die Drehung |
| unemployment | arbetslöshet | Arbejdsløshed | werkeloosheid | die Arbeitslosigkeit |
| unit | enhet | Enhed | eenheid | die Einheit |
| use (application) | bruk (n) | Brug | gebruik (n) | der Gebrauch die Anwendung |
| vacation, holidays | ferier (pl) | Ferie | vacantie | die Ferien (pl) |
| value | värde (n) | Vaerd (n) | waarde | der Wert |
| vanity | fäfänga | Tomhed | ijdelheid | die Eitelkeit |
| vehicle | åkdon (n) | Køretøj (n) | voertuig (n) | das Fahrzeug |
| vermin | ohyra | Udøj (n) | ongedierte (n) | das Ungeziefer |
| vessel (container) | behållare | Beholder | vat (n) | das Gefäß der Behälter |
| victory | seger | Sejr | overwinning | der Sieg |
| visit | besök (n) | Besøg (n) | bezoek (n) | der Besuch |
| | visit | Visit | visite | die Visite |
| voice | stämma | Stemme | stem | die Stimme |
| wages | lön | Løn | loon (n) | der Lohn |
| walk (stroll) | spatseretur promenad | Spadseretur | wandeling | der Spaziergang |
| want (lack) | brist | Mangel | gebrek (n) | der Mangel |
| war | krig (n) | Krig | oorlog | der Krieg |
| warning | varning | Advarsel | waarschuwing | die Warnung |
| waste | slöseri (n) | Ødelaeggelse | verkwisting | die Verschwendung |
| way | väg | Vej | weg | der Weg |
| wealth | rikedom | Rigdom | rijkdom | der Reichtum |
| weapon | vapen (n) | Vaaben (n) | wapen (n) | die Waffe |
| weight | vikt | Vægt | gewicht (n) | das Gewicht |
| width | bredd | Bredde | breedte | die Breite |
| will | vilja | Vilje | wil | der Wille |
| wish | önskan | Ønske (n) | wensch | der Wunsch |
| word | ord (n) | Ord (n) | woord (n) | das Wort |
| work (labour) | arbete (n) | Arbejde (n) | werk (n) | die Arbeit |
| youth | ungdom | Ungdom | jeugd | die Jugend |
| zeal | iver | Iver | ijver | der Eifer |

2. DIVISION OF TIME

(a) GENERAL TERMS

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| afternoon | eftermiddag | Eftermiddag | namiddag | der Nachmit- tag |
| century | århundrade (n) | Aarhundrede (n) | eeuw | das Jahrhun- dert |
| Christmas | jul | Jul | Kerstmis | Weihnachten |
| day | dag | Dag | dag | der Tag |
| dawn | daggryning | Daggry (n) | dageraad | der Tagesan- bruch |
| dusk | skymning | Tusmørke (n) | schemering | die Dämmer- ung |
| Easter | påsk | Paaske | Paschen | Ostern |
| evening | afton, kväll | Aften | avond | der Abend |
| fortnight | fjorton dagar | fjorten Dage | veertien dagen | vierzehn Tage |
| holiday (public) | helgdag | Festdag | feestdag | der Festtag |
| hour | timme | Time | uur (n) | die Stunde |
| half-an-hour | en halvtimme | en halv Time | een half uur | eine halbe Stunde |
| a quarter of an hour | en kvart | et Kvarter(n) | een kwartier | eine Viertel- stunde |
| an hour and a half | en och en halv timme | halvanden Time | anderhalfuur | anderthalb Stunden |
| leap year | skottår (n) | Skudaar (n) | schrikkeljaar (n) | das Schaltjahr |
| midnight | midnatt | Midnat | middernacht | die Mitternacht |
| minute | minut | Minut (n) | minuut | die Minute |
| month | månad | Maaned | maand | der Monat |
| morning | morgon | Morgen | morgen | der Morgen |
| night | natt | Nat | nacht | die Nacht |
| noon | middag | Middag | middag | der Mittag |
| season | årstid | Aarstid | jaargetijde (n) | die Jahreszeit |
| second | sekund | Sekund (n) | seconde | die Sekunde |
| sunrise | soluppgång | Solopgang | zonsopgang | der Sonnen- aufgang |
| sunset | solnedgång | Solnedgang | zonsondergang | der Sonnen- untergang |
| time | tid | Tid | tijd | die Zeit |
| week | vecka | Uge | week | die Woche |
| year | år (n) | Aar (n) | aar (n) | das Jahr |

(b) SEASONS, MONTHS AND DAYS

| | | | | |
|----------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| spring | vår | Foraar (n) | lente | der Frühling |
| summer | sommar | Sommer | zomer | der Sommer |
| autumn | höst | Efteraar (n) | herfst | der Herbst |
| winter | vinter | Vinter | winter | der Winter |
| January | januar | Januar | Januari | Januar |
| February | februari | Februar | Februari | Februar |
| March | mars | Marts | Maart | März |
| April | april | April | April | April |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|
| May | maj | Maj | Mei | Mai |
| June | juni | Juni | Juni | Juni |
| July | juli | Juli | Juli | Juli |
| August | augusti | August | Augustus | August |
| September | september | September | Septembe. | September |
| October | oktober | Oktober | October | Oktober |
| November | november | November | November | November |
| December | december | December | December | Dezember |
| Monday | måndag | Mandag | Maandag | Montag |
| Tuesday | tisdag | Tirsdag | Dinsdag | Dienstag |
| Wednesday | onsdag | Onsdag | Woensdag | Mittwoch |
| Thursday | torsdag | Torsdag | Donderdag | Donnerstag |
| Friday | fredag | Fredag | Vrijdag | Freitag |
| Saturday | lördag | Lørdag | Zaterdag | Samstag |
| Sunday | söndag | Søndag | Zondag | Sonnabend Sonntag |

3. NUMERALS

| | | | | |
|------------|-------------|------------|----------------|---------------------|
| one | en, ett (n) | en, et (n) | een | ein, eine (f) |
| two | två | to | twee | zwei |
| three | tre | tre | drie | drei |
| four | fyra | fire | vier | vier |
| five | fem | fem | vijf | fünf |
| six | sex | seks | zes | sechs |
| seven | sju | syv | zeven | sieben |
| eight | åtta | otte | acht | acht |
| nine | nio | ni | negen | neun |
| ten | tio | ti | tien | zehn |
| eleven | elva | elleve | elf | elf |
| twelve | tolv | tolv | twaalv | zwölf |
| thirteen | tretton | tretten | dertien | dreizehn |
| fourteen | fjorton | fjorten | veertien | vierzehn |
| fifteen | femton | femten | vijftien | funfzehn |
| sixteen | sexton | sejsten | zestien | sechzehn |
| seventeen | sjutton | syrtten | zeventien | siebzehn |
| eighteen | aderton | atten | achtien | achtzehn |
| nineteen | nitton | aitten | negentien | neunzehn |
| twenty | tjugo | tyve | twintig | zwanzig |
| twenty-one | tjugoen | en og tyve | een en twintig | einund- zwanzig |
| twenty-two | tjugotvå | to og tyve | wee en twintig | zweiund- zwanzig |
| thirty | trettio | tredive | dertig | dreissig |
| forty | fjrtio | fyrre | veertig | vierzig |
| fifty | femtio | halvtreds | vijftig | funfzig |
| sixty | sextio | tres | zestig | sechszig |
| seventy | sjuttio | halvfjers | zeventig | siebzig |
| eighty | åttio | firs | tachtig | achtzig |
| ninety | nittio | halvfems | negentig | neunzig |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| hundred | hundra | hundrede | honderd | hundert |
| thousand | tusen | tusinde | duizend | tausend |
| million | en million | en million | een millioen | eine Million |
| first | den första | den første | de eerste | der erste |
| second | andra | anden | twede | zweite |
| third | tredje | tredje | derde | dritte |
| fourth | fjärde | fjerde | vierde | vierte |
| fifth | femte | femte | viijde | fünfte |
| sixth | sjätte | sjette | zesde | sechste |
| seventh | sjunde | syvende | zevende | siebente |
| eighth | åttonde | ottende | achtste | achte |
| half | en halv | en halv | een half | ein Halb |
| one-third | en tredjedel | en Tredjedel | een derde | ein Drittel |
| one-fourth | en fjärdedel | en Fjerdedel | een vierde | ein Viertel |
| one-fifth | en femtedel | en Femtedel | een vijfde | ein Fünftel |
| once | en gång | een Gang | eenmaa | einmal |
| twice | två gånger | to Gange | tweemaa | zweimal |
| three times | tre gånger | tre Gange | driemaal | dreimal |

4. ADJECTIVES

| | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| able (capable) | duglig | dygtig | bekwaam | ähig |
| absent | frånvarande | fravaerende | afwezig | abwesend |
| accidental | tillfällig | tilfældig | toevallig | zufällig |
| agreeable | behaglig | behagelig | aangenaam | angenehm |
| alive | levande | levende | levend | lebend |
| ambiguous | tvetydig | tvetydig | dubbelzinnig | doppelsinnig |
| amusing | rolig | morsom | vermakelijk | amüsant |
| | | | | unterhaltend |
| angry | ond | vred | toornig | böse |
| | förargad | | boos | aufgebracht |
| artificial | konstlad | kunstig | kunstmatig | künstlich |
| attentive | uppmärksam | opmaerkzaam | aandachtig | aufmerksam |
| avaricious | girig | gerrig | gierig | geizig |
| awake | vaken | aagen | wakker | wach |
| bad | dålig | daarlig | slecht | schlecht |
| beautiful | skön | smuk | mooi | schön |
| bent | böjd | bøjet | gebogen | gebogen |
| bitter | bitte | bitter | bitter | bitter |
| black | svart | sort | zwart | schwarz |
| blind | blind | blind | blind | blind |
| blue | blå | blaa | blauw | blau |
| blunt (not sharp) | slö | sløv | stomp | stumpf |
| brave | tapper | tapper | dapper | apfer |
| | modig | modig | moedig | mutig |
| bright (full of light) | ljus | lys | helder | hell |
| broad (wide) | bred | bred | breed | breit |
| brown | brun | brun | bruin | braun |
| careful (cautious) | försiktig | torsigtig | voorzichtig | vorsichtig |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| charming | förtjusande | fortryllende | bekoorlijk | reizend bezaubernd |
| cheap | billig | billig | goedkoop | billig |
| clean | ren | ren | schoon | rein sauber |
| clear (not clouded) | klar | klar | klaar | klar |
| cold | kall | kold | koud | kalt |
| comfortable | bekväm | bekvem | comfortabel | bequem |
| continual | ständig | bestandig | gestadig | fortwährend beständig |
| continuous | oavbruten | uafbrudt | onafgebroken | ununterbrochen |
| contrary | motsatt | modsat | tegengesteld | gegenteilig |
| cool | kylig | kølig | koel | kühl |
| cruel | gryn | grusom | wreed | grausam |
| daily | daglig | daglig | dagelijksch | täglich |
| dangerous | farlig | farlig | gevaarlijk | gefährlich |
| dark | mörk | mørk | donker | dunkel |
| dead | död | død | dood | tot |
| deaf | döv | døv | doof | taub |
| deaf and dumb | dövstum | døvstum | doofstom | taubstumm |
| dear (beloved) | kär | kaer | lief | lieb |
| dear (expensive) | dyr | dyr | duur | teuer |
| deep | djup | dyb | diep | tief |
| different (different) | olika | forskellig | verschillend | verschieden |
| difficult | svår | vanskelig | moeilijk | schwer |
| dirty | smutsig | snavset | vuil | schwierig |
| disagreeable | obehaglig | ubehagelig | onaangenaam | schmutzig |
| distinct (clear) | tydlig | tydelig | duidelijk | unangenehm |
| domestic | huslig | huslig | huiselijk | deutlich |
| double | dubbel | dobbelt | dubbel | häuslich |
| drunk | drukken | drukken | dronken | doppelt |
| dry | torr | tør | droog | betrunknen |
| dumb | stum | stum | stom | trocken |
| dusty | dammig | støvet | stoffig | stumm |
| early | tidig | tidlig | vroeg | staubig |
| eastern | östlig | østlig | oostersch | früh |
| easy | lätt | nem | gemakkelijk | östlich |
| edible | ätbar | spiselig | eetbaar | leicht |
| empty | tom | tom | leeg | essbar |
| equal | lika | lige | gelijk | leer |
| extreme | ytterst | yderst | uiterste | gleich |
| faithful | trogen | tro | trouw | äusserst |
| false | fälsk | falsk | valsch | treu |
| famous | berömd | berømt | beroemd | falsch |
| fast (firm) | fast | fast | vast | berühmt |
| fast (speedy) | snabb | hurtig | spoedig | fest |
| fat (of meat) | fet | fet | vet | schnel |
| | | | | fett |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| favourable | gynnsam | gunstig | gunstig | günstig |
| female | kvinnlig | kvindelig | vrouwelijk | weiblich |
| fertile | fruktbar | frugtbar | vruchtbaar | fruchtbar |
| flat | flat | flad | vlak | flach |
| foreign | utländsk | udenlandsk | buitenlandsch | ausländisch |
| fragile | skör | skør | broos | zerbrechlich |
| free | fri | fri | vrij | frei |
| fresh | frisk | frisk | versch | frisch |
| friendly | vänlig | venlig | vriendelijk | freundlich |
| full | full | fuld | vol | voll |
| furious | rasande | rasende | woedend | wütend |
| future | framtida | fremtidig | toekomstig | zukünftig |
| generous | frikostig | gavmild | vrijgevig | freigebig |
| genuine | äkta | aegte | echt | echt |
| good | god | god | goed | gut |
| great, large | stor | stor | groot | gross |
| green | grön | grøn | groen | grün |
| grey | grå | graa | grijs | grau |
| guilty | skyldig | skyldig | schuldig | schuldig |
| happy | lycklig | lykkelig | gelukkig | glücklich |
| hard | hård | haard | hard | hart |
| harmful | skadlig | skadelig | schadelijk | schädlich |
| healthy | sund | sund | gezond | gesund |
| heavy | tung | tung | zwaar | schwer |
| high | hög | høj | hoog | hoch |
| hollow | ihållig | hul | hol | hohl |
| honest | ärlig | aerlig | eerlijk | ehrlich |
| hot | het | hed | heet | heiss |
| human | mänsklig | menneskelig | menschelijk | menschlich |
| hungry | hungrig | sulten | hongerig | hungrig |
| ill | sjuk | syg | ziek | krank |
| important | viktig | vigtig | belangrijk | wichtig |
| impossible | omöjlig | umulig | onmogelijk | unmöglich |
| industrious | flitig | flittig | vlijtig | fleissig |
| inner | inre | indre | binnenst | inner |
| innocent | oskyldig | uskyldig | onschuldig | unschuldig |
| inquisitive | nyfiken | nysgerrig | nieuwsgierig | neugierig |
| insane | vansinnig | sindssyg | krankzinnig | geistesgestört |
| intelligent | klok | klog | knap | klug |
| interesting | intelligent | intelligent | intelligent | intelligent |
| just (fair) | intressant | interessant | interessant | interessant |
| kind | rättvis | retfærdig | rechtvaardig | gerecht |
| | godhjärtad | godhjertet | goedig | gütig |
| | snäll | | | freundlich |
| last | sist | sidst | laatst | letzt |
| late | sen | sen | laat | spät |
| lazy | lat | doven | lui | träge |
| | | | | faul |
| lean | mager | mager | mager | mager |
| left | vänster | venstre | linker | link |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| light (in weight) | lätt | let | licht | leicht |
| liquid | flytande | flydende | vloeibaar | flüssig |
| long | lång | lang | lang | lang |
| loose (slack) | lös | løs | los | lose |
| loud | högljud | høj | luid | laut |
| low | låg | lav | aag | niedrig |
| lukewarm | ljum | 'unken | lauw | lauwarm |
| male | man'lig | mandlig | mannelijk | männlich |
| married | gift | gift | gehuwd | verheiratet |
| mean (average) | medel- | gennemsnitlig | gemiddeld | mittler durchschnitt- lich |
| medical | medicinsk | medicinsk | geneeskundig | medizinisch |
| military | militärisk | militær | militair | militärisch |
| mobile | rörlig | bevaegelig | beweegbaar | beweglich |
| modest | blygsam | beskeden | bescheiden | bescheiden |
| moist | fuktig | fugtig | vochtig | feucht |
| mutual | ömsesidig | gensidig | wederzijdsch | gegenseitig |
| naked | naken | nøgen | naakt | nackt |
| narrow | smal | smal | nauw | schma |
| natural | naturlig | naturlig | natuurlijk | natürlich |
| necessary | nödvändig | nødvendig | noodig | nötig |
| | | | | notwendig |
| new | ny | ny | nieuw | neu |
| next | näst | naest | naast | nächst |
| northern | nordlig | nordlig | noordelijk | nördlich |
| obedient | lydig | lydig | gehoorzaam | gehorsam |
| occupied (of seat, etc.) | upptagen | optagen | bezet | besetzt |
| old | gammal | gammel | oud | alt |
| only | enda | eneste | eenig | einzig |
| open | öppen | aaben | open | offen |
| ordinary | vanlig | saedvanlig | gewoon | gewöhnlich |
| (current) | | | | |
| original (first) | ursprunglig | oprindeligt | oorspronkelijk | ursprünglich |
| outer | yttre | ydre | buitenst | äusser |
| own (one's) | egen | egen | eigen | eigen |
| painful | smärtsam | smertelig | pijnlijk | schmerzhaft |
| pale | blek | bleg | bleek | bleich |
| past | förgången | forbigangen | verleden | vergangen |
| patient | tålig | taalmødig | geduldig | geduldig |
| personal | personlig | personlig | persoonlijk | persönlich |
| pointed | spetsig | spids | puntig | spitz |
| poisonous | giftig | giftig | giftig | giftig |
| polite | hövlig | höflig | be'eed | höflich |
| poor | fattig | attig | arm | arm |
| popular | populär | populaer | populair | populär |
| possible | möjlig | mulig | mogelijk | möglich |
| practical | praktisk | praktisk | practisch | praktisch |
| pregnant | havande | svanger | zwanger | schwanger |
| present | närvarande | naervaerende | tegenwoordig | gegenwärtig |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| pretty | vacker | køn | aardig | hübsch |
| principal | huvudsaklig | hovedsagelig | hoofdzakelijk | wichtigst |
| probable | sannolik | sandsynlig | waarschijnlijk | hauptsächlichst |
| proud | stolt | stolt | trotsch | wahrscheinlich |
| public | offentlig | offentlig | openbaar | stolz |
| quiet (<i>calm</i>) | lugn | rolig | rustig | öffentlich |
| rare | sällsynt | sjaelden | zeldzaam | ruhig |
| raw (not cooked) | rå | raa | rau | selten |
| ready | färdig | faerdig | klaar | roh |
| real | verklig | virkelig | werkeiijk | bereit |
| reasonable | förnuftig | fornuftig | verstandig | fertig |
| (<i>rational</i>) | | | | wirklich |
| red | röd | rød | rood | vernünftig |
| regular | regelbunden | regelmæssig | regelmätig | rot |
| responsible | ansvarig | ansvarlig | verantwoordelijk | regelmässig |
| rich | rik | rig | rijk | verantwortlich |
| ridiculous | löjlig | latterlig | belachelijk | reich |
| right (correct) | riktig | rigtig | juist | lächerlich |
| right (hand) | höger | højre | rechter | richtig |
| rigid | styv | stiv | stijf | recht |
| ripe | mogen | moden | rijp | steif |
| rough (not smooth) | skrovlig | ru | ruw | reif |
| round | rund | rund | rond | rauh |
| rude | ohövlig | uhøflig | onbeleefd | rund |
| rusty | rostig | rusten | roestig | unhöflich |
| sad | bedrövad | bedrøvet | treurig | rostig |
| satisfied | nöjd | tilfreds | tevreden | traurig |
| scientific | vetenskaplig | videnskabelig | wetenschappelijk | betrübt |
| secret | hemlig | hemmelig | geheim | zufrieden |
| sensitive | känslig | følsom | gevoelig | lich |
| separate | skild | saerskilt | afzonderlijk | geheim |
| serious | allvarsam | alvorlig | ernstig | empfindlich |
| shallow | grund | lav | ondiep | getrennt |
| sharp | skarp | skarp | scherp | ernst |
| short | kort | kort | kort | untiet |
| shut | stängd | lukket | dicht | seicht |
| shy | skygg | sky | verlegen | scharf |
| similar | likartad | lignende | soortgelijk | kurz |
| simple | enkel | enkelt | eenvoudig | geschlossen |
| sleepy | sömnig | søvrig | slaperig | scheu |
| slim | smärt | slank | slank | ähnlich |
| slow | långsam | langsom | langzaam | einfach |
| small, little | liten | lille | klein | schlätzig |
| smooth | slät | glat | glad | schlank |
| | | | | langsam |
| | | | | klein |
| | | | | glatt |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| sober | nykter | aedru | nuchter | nüchtern |
| soft | mjuk | blød | zacht | weich |
| solid (not liquid) | fast | fast | vast | fest |
| sour | sur | sur | zuur | sauer |
| southern | sydlig | sydlig | zuidelijk | südtlich |
| special | särskild | saeregen | bijzonder | besonder |
| square | fyrkantig | firkantet | vierkant | viereckig |
| steep | brant | stejl | steil | steil |
| sticky | klibbig | klaebbrig | kleverig | klebrig |
| straight | rak | lige | recht | gerade |
| strange (peculiar) | egendomlig | ejendommelig | eigenaardig vreemd | eigentümlich sonderbar |
| strong | stark | staerk | sterk | stark |
| stupid | dum | dum | dom | dumm |
| sudden | plötslig | pludselig | plotseling | plötzlich |
| sufficient | tillräcklig | tilstraekkelig | voldoende | genügend |
| suitable (appropriate) | passande | passende | geschikt | passend |
| sure (certain) | säker | sikker | zeker | geeignet sicher |
| sweet | söt | sød | zoet | süss |
| talkative | pratsam | snaksom | spraakzaam | gesprächig |
| tame | tam | tam | tam | zähm |
| thankful | tacksam | taknemmelig | dankbaar | dankbar |
| thick (not thin) | tjock | tyk | dik | dick |
| thick (dense) | tät | taet | dich | dicht |
| thin | tunn | tynd | dun | dünn |
| thirsty | törstig | tørstig | dorstig | durstig |
| tight (close-fitting) | trång | taet | nauw | eng |
| tired | tröt | traet | moe | müde |
| topmost | överst | øverst | bovensie | oberst |
| tough | seg | sejg | tsai | zäh |
| transparent | genomskinlig | gennemsigtig | doorzichtig | durchsichtig |
| true | sann | sand | waar | wahr |
| ugly | ful | grim | leelijk | hässlich |
| unconscious | medvetslös | bevidstløs | bewusteloos | bewusstlos |
| unemployed | arbetslös | arbejdsles | werkeloos | arbeitslos |
| urgent | bråskande | indtraengende | dringend | dringend |
| useful | nyttig | nyttig | nuttig | nützlich |
| vain | fäfsang | forfaengelig | ijde | eitel |
| valid | giltig | gyldig | geldig | gültig |
| valuable | värdeful | vaerdifuld | kostbaar | wertvoll |
| visible | synlig | synlig | zichtbaar | sichtbar |
| vulgar | vanlig | gemen | ordinair | gemein |
| warm | varm | varm | warm | warm |
| weak | svag | svag | zwak | schwach |
| western | västlig | vestlig | westelijk | westlich |
| wet | vår | våad | nat | nass |
| white | vit | hvid | wit | weiss |
| whole | hel | hel | geheel | ganz |
| wild | vild | vild | wild | wild |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------------|---------|---------|-------------|-----------|
| wrong (incorrect) | oriktig | urigtig | verkeerd | unrichtig |
| yearly | årlig | årlig | jaarlijksch | fälsch |
| yellow | gul | gul | geel | jährlich |
| young | ung | ung | jong | gelb |
| | | | | iung |

5. VERBS

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| be able to | kunna | kunne | kunnen | können |
| absorb | absorbera | indsuge | absorbeeren | absorbieren |
| accept | mottaga | modtage | aannemen | annehmen |
| accompany | följa | ledsage | begeleiden | begleiten |
| accuse | anklaga | anklage | aanklagen | anklagen |
| act upon | verka på | virke paa | werken op | wirken auf |
| add to | tillfoga | tillføje | bijvoegen | hinzufügen |
| add up | addera | addere | optellen | addieren |
| | | | | zusammen- |
| | | | | zählen |
| admire | beundra | beundre | bewonderen | bewundern |
| advertise | annonsera | avertere | adverteeren | annoncieren |
| advise | råda | raade | raden | raten |
| be afraid of | vara rädd för | vaere bange for | bang zijn voor | sich fürchten vor |
| be in agreement with | hålla med | stemme over- | overeen- | übereinstim- |
| take aim at | sikta på | eens med | stemmen met | men mit |
| alight from | sikta på | sigte paa | mikken op | zielen auf |
| allow | stiga ur | stige ud | uitstoppen | aussteigen |
| amuse (oneself) | tillåta | tillade | veroorloven | erlauben |
| | roa (sig) | more (sig) | (zich) ver- | (sich) unter- |
| | | | maken | halten |
| annoy | förarga | plage | ergeren | argern |
| answer (reply) | svara | svare | antwoorden | antworten |
| apologize | ursäkta sig | undskyldte sig | zich veront- | sich entschul- |
| | | | schuldigen | digen |
| arrange | ordna | ordne | regelen | regeln |
| arrest (take in custody) | arrestera | arrestere | arresteren | festnehmen |
| arrive | anlända | ankomme | aankomen | ankommen |
| be ashamed of | skämmas för | skamme sig over | zich schamen over | sich schämen (gen.) |
| ask (put a question) | fråga | spørge | vragen | fragen |
| ask (beg) | bedja | bede | vragen | bitten |
| | | | verzoeken | ersuchen |
| associate with | umgås med | omgaas med | omgaan met | umgehen mit |
| assure | försäkra | forsikre | verzekeren | versichern |
| astonish | förvåna | forbause | verbazen | überraschen |
| attack | angripa | angribe | aanvallen | angreifen |
| attempt | försöka | forsøge | beproeven | versuchen |
| attract | tilldraga | tiltraække | aantrekken | anziehen |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---|
| avoid | undvika | undgå | vermijden | vermeiden |
| bathe, take a bath | bada | bade | baden | baden |
| beat (give blows) | slå | slaa | slaan | schlagen |
| become | bliva | blive | worden | werden |
| begin | börja | begynde | beginnen | beginnen |
| behave | uppföra sig | opføre sig | zich gedragen | sich betragen sich benehmen |
| believe | tro | tro | gelooven | glauben |
| belong to | tillhöra | tilhøre | behooren | gehören |
| bend | böja | bøje | buigen | biegen |
| bend down (stoop) | böja sig | bøje sig | zich bukken | sich bücken |
| bet | slå vad | vaedde | wedden | wetten |
| bite | bita | bide | bijten | beissen |
| blame (reproach) | klandra | dadle | laken | tadeln |
| blow | blåsa | blæse | blazen | blasen |
| blow one's nose | snyta sig | pudse sin Naese | zijn neus snuiten | sich die Nase putzen sich schnutzen sich rühmen |
| boast | skryts | prale | fochen | |
| boil | koka | koge | koken | kochen |
| boil | | | | |
| bore (drill) | borra | bore | boren | bohren |
| bore (tire) | uträka | kede | vervelen | langweilen |
| be born | vara född | vaere ødt | geboren zijn | geboren werden |
| borrow | låna (av) | laane (af) | leenen (van) | borgen (von) |
| bother oneself about | bry sig om | bryde sig om | zich bekommeren om | sich kümmern um |
| break | bryta | brække | breken | zerbrechen |
| break | | | | |
| breathe | andas | aaude | ademen | atmen |
| breed (rear) | avla | avle | fokken | züchten |
| | uppföda | opdrage | opvoeden | aufziehen |
| breed | avla | ynge | voortbrengen | sich vermehren |
| bring | hämta | bringe | brengen | bringen |
| broadcast | ursända | udsende | uitzenden | rundfunken |
| brush | borsta | børste | borstelen | bürsten |
| build | bygga | bygge | bouwen | bauen |
| burn | bränna | brænde | branden | brennen |
| burn | | | | |
| burst | brista | briste | barsten | platzen |
| bury (inter) | begrava | begrave | begraven | begraben |
| be busy with | sysselsätta sig med | beskæftige sig med | zich bezig houden met | sich beschäftigen mit |
| buy | köpa | købe | koopen | kaufen |
| calculate | beräkna | beregne | berekenen | berechnen |
| call (name) | kalla | kalde | noemen | nennen |
| call (shout for) | ropa | raabe | roepen | rufen |
| be called | beta | hedde | heeten | heissen |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| carry | bära | baere | dragen | tragen |
| catch (capture) | fånga | fange | vangen | fangen |
| cease (stop) | upphöra | ophøre | ophouden | aufhören |
| celebrate | fira | fejre | vieren | feiern |
| change (alter) | förändra | forandre | veranderen | ändern |
| change (money) | växla | veksle | wisselen | wechseln |
| change | förändras | forandre sig | veranderen | sich verändern |
| chew | tugga | tygge | kauwen | kauen |
| choke | kväva | kvaele | worgen | würgen |
| choke | kvävas | kvaeles | stikken | ersticken |
| choose, elect | välja | vaelge | kiesen | wählen |
| clean | göra ren | gøre ren | schoonmaken | reinigen |
| | | | | putzen |
| climb | klättra | klatre | klimmen | klettern |
| collect | samla | samle | verzamelen | sammeln |
| comb | kamma | kaemme | kammen | kämmen |
| come | komma | komme | komen | kommen |
| compare | jämföra | sammenligne | vergelijken | vergleichen |
| compel | tvinga | tvinge | dwingen | zwingen |
| compete | tävla | konkurrere | mededingen | konkurrieren |
| complain (about) | klaga (över) | klage (over) | klagen (over) | klagen (über) |
| concern (impersonal) | angå | angaa | betroffen | betreffen |
| | | | | angehen |
| condemn | döma | dømme | veroordeelen | verurteilen |
| confess | erkänna | bekende | bekennen | gestehen |
| confuse | förvirra | forvirte | verwarren | verwirren |
| congratulate | gratulera | gratulere | gelukwenschen | gratulieren |
| | | | feliciteeren | beglückwünschen |
| connect | förbinda | torbinde | verbinden | verbinden |
| conquer (territory) | erövra | erobre | veroveren | erobern |
| consent | samtycke | samtykke | toestemmen | zustimmen |
| | | | inwilligen | einwilligen |
| console (comfort) | trösta | trøste | troosten | trösten |
| contain | innehålla | indeholde | bevatten | enthalten |
| continue | fortsätta | fortsætte | voortzetten | fortsetzen |
| | | | | fortfahren mit |
| contradict | motsäga | modsig | tegenspreken | widersprechen |
| contribute | bidraga | bidrage | bijdragen | beitragen |
| control | kontrollera | kontrolere | controleeren | kontrollieren |
| converge | löpa samman | løbe sammen | samenlooper | zusammen- |
| | konvergera | | | laufen |
| | | | | konvergieren |
| convince | övertyga | overtyd | overtuigen | überzeugen |
| cook | koka, laga | koge | koken | kochen |
| copy | kopiera | kopiere | copieeren | kopieren |
| correct | rätta | rette | verbeteren | verbessern |
| | | | | korrigieren |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| correspond to | motsvara | svare til | beantwoorden aan | entsprechen |
| cost | kosta | koste | kosten | kosten |
| cough | hosta | hoste | hoesten | husten |
| count (find number) | räkna | tælle | tellen | zählen |
| cover | täcka | dække | bedekken | bedecken |
| creep | krypa | krybe | kruipen | kriechen |
| criticise | kritisera | kritisere | critiseeren | kritisieren |
| crush | krossa | knuse | verpletteren | zerdrücken |
| cure | bota | helbrede | genezen | heilen |
| cut | skära | skaere | snijden | schneiden |
| cycle | cykla | cykle | fietsen | radeln |
| damage | skada | beskadige | beschadigen | beschädigen |
| dance | dansa | danse | dansen | tanzen |
| dare | våga | vove | durven | wagen |
| dazzle | blända | blænde | verblinden | blenden |
| deceive | bedraga | bedrage | bedriegen | betrügen |
| decide | besluta | beslutte | beslissen | beschliessen |
| decorate | pryda | smykke | tooien | schmücken |
| deduce (infer) | sluta (sig till) | slutte | afleiden | schliessen folgern |
| defeat | beseгра | besejre | verslaan | besiegen schlagen |
| defend | försvara | forsvare | verdedigen | verteidigen |
| defy | trotsa | udfordre | uitdagen | herausfordern |
| demand | fordra | fordre | verlangen | fordern verlangen |
| deny (say that thing is untrue) | förneka | benaegte | ontkennen | leugnen |
| depart | avresa | afrejse | vertrekken | abreisen |
| depend upon | bero på | afhænge af | afhangen van | abhängen von |
| describe | beskriva | beskrive | beschrijven | beschreiben |
| deserve | förtjäna | fortjene | verdienen | verdienen |
| design (plan) | planlägga | planlægge | ontwerpen | entwerfen |
| despair | förtvivla | fortvivle | wanhopen | verzweifeln |
| despise | förakta | foragte | verachten | verachten |
| destroy | förstöra | ødelægge | vernien | zerstören |
| detain (delay) | uppehålla | opholde | ophouden | aufhalten |
| develop | utveckla | udvikle | ontwikkelen | entwickeln |
| develop | utveckla sig | udvikle sig | zich ontwikkel- en | sich ent- wickeln |
| die | dö | dø | sterven | sterben |
| dig | gräva | grave | graven | graben |
| digest | smälta | fordøje | verteeren | verdauen |
| disappear | försvinna | forsvinde | verdwijnen | verschwinden |
| disappoint | vika(ber)s | skuffe | teleurstellen | enttäuschen |
| discharge (dis- miss) | avskeda | afskedige | ontslaan | entlassen |
| discover | upptäcka | opdage | ontdekken | entdecken |
| disinfect | desinficera | desinficere | desinfecteeren | desinfizieren |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| dissolve | upplösa | opløse | oplossen | aufösen |
| distinguish between | åtskilja mellan | skelne mellem | onderscheiden tusschen | unterscheiden zwischen |
| distribute | fördela | fordele | verdeelen | verteilen |
| disturb | oroa | forstyrre | storen | stören |
| dive | dyka | dykke | duiken | tauchen |
| divide | dela | dele | deelen | teilen |
| divorce (get divorced from) | skilja sig | skille fra | scheiden | sich scheiden lassen |
| do | göra | gøre | doen | tun |
| doubt (of) | tvivla (på) | tvivle (paa) | twijfelen (aan) | zweifeln (an be zweifeln) |
| draw (sketch) | rita | tegne | teekenen | zeichnen |
| dream | drömma | drømme | droomen | träumen |
| dress oneself | kläda sig | klæde sig | zich aankleeden | sich ankleiden |
| drink | dricka | drikke | drinken | trinken |
| drive (vehicle) | köra | køre | rijden | fahren |
| drown | drunkna | drukne | verdrinken | ertrinken |
| dry | torka | terre | drogen | trocknen |
| dye | färga | farve | verven | färben |
| earn | förtjäna | fortjene | verdiene | verdienen |
| eat (of animals) | äta | aede | vreten | fressen |
| eat (of man) | äta | spise | eten | essen |
| educate (train) | uppfostra | opdrage | opvoeden | erziehen |
| embrace | omfamna | omfavne | omarmen | umarmen |
| emphasize | betona | laegge Vaegt paa | nadruk leggen op | betonen Nachdruck legen auf |
| empty | tömma | tømme | ledigen | leeren |
| encourage | uppmuntra | opmuntre | aanmoedigen | ermutigen |
| endeavour | bemöda sig | bestraebe sig | streven | sich bemühen sich bestreben |
| become engaged to | förlova sig med | forlove sig med | zich verloven met | sich verloben mit |
| enjoy | njuta | nyde | genieten | geniessen |
| envy | misunna | misunde | benijden | beneiden |
| escape | undkomma | undvige | ontvluchten | entkommen entweichen |
| estimate | uppskatta | vurdere | schatten | schätzen |
| evaporate | avdunsta | fordampe | verdampen | verdunsten |
| exaggerate | överdriva | overdrive | overdrijven | übertreiben |
| examine (in- vestigate) | undersöka | undersøge | onderzoeken | untersuchen |
| excite | uppegga | pirre | opwinden | aufregen |
| exclude | utesluta | udelukke | uitsluiten | ausschliessen |
| excuse | ursäkta | undskyldte | verontschul- digen | entschuldigen |
| exhibit | utställa | udstille | tentoonstellen | ausstellen |
| exist | existera | eksistere | bestaan | bestehen existieren |
| expect | vänta | forvente | verwachten | erwarten |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| explain | förklara | forklare | uitleggen | erklären |
| exploit | utnyttja | udbytte | uitbuiten | ausbeuten |
| express oneself | uttrycka sig | udtrykke sig | zich uitdruk- ken | sich ausdrü- cken |
| extinguish | utsläcka | udslukke | uitdooven | auslöschen |
| faint (swoon) | svimma | besvime | flauw vallen | in Ohnmacht fallen |
| fall | falla | falde | vallen | fallen |
| fall in love with | förälska sig | forelske sig | verliefd wor- den op | sich verlieben in |
| fasten (fix) | fästa | gøre fast | vastmaken | befestigen |
| feed (animals) | fodra, mata | fodre | voeden | füttern |
| feed (people) | nära, föda | (er) naere | voeden | (er) nähren |
| feel | känna sig | føle | zich voelen | sich fühlen |
| fetch | hämta | hente | halen | holen |
| fight | kämpa | kaempe | vechten | kämpfen |
| fill | fylla | fylde | vullen | füllen |
| find | finna | finde | vinden | finden |
| finish (conclude) | sluta | slutte | besluiten | schliessen |
| finish (complete) | fullborda | fuldende | voltooiën | vollenden |
| fish | fiska | fiske | visschen | fertigmachen |
| fit (make to fit) | passa | tilpasse | aanpassen | fischen |
| flatter | smickra | smigre | vleien | anpassen |
| flee (run away from) | fly | flygte | vluchten | <i>schmeicheln</i> fliehen |
| flow | flyta | flyde | vloeien | fließen |
| fly | flyga | flyve | vliegen | fliegen |
| fold | vika | folde | vouwen | falten |
| follow | följa | følge | volgen | <i>folgen</i> |
| forbid | förbjuda | forbyde | verbieden | verbieten |
| forecast (predict) | förutsäga | forudsige | voorspellen | voraussagen |
| foresee | förutse | forudse | voorzien | voraussehen |
| forget | glömma | glemme | vergeten | vergessen |
| forgive | förlåta | tilgive | vergeven | verzeihen |
| freeze | frysa | fryse | bevriezen | zum Gefrieren bringen |
| <i>freeze</i> | frysa | fryse | vriezen | gefrieren |
| frighten | skrämma | forskraekke | verschrikken | erschrecken |
| gather (pick) | plocka | plukke | plukken | pflücken |
| gather (come together) | församla sig | forsamles | samenkomen | sich versam- meln |
| get up (rise) | stiga upp | staa op | opstaan | aufstehen |
| give | giva | give | geven | geben |
| go (on foot) | gå | gaa | gaan | gehen |
| go (in vehicle) | fara | køre | rijden | fahren |
| govern | regera | regere | regeeren | regieren |
| greet | hälsa | hilse | groeten | grüssen |
| grind (crush) | mala | måle | mālen | mahlen |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| groan | stöna | stønne | steunen | stöhnen |
| grow | växa | vokse | groeien | wachsen |
| grumble | brumma | moppeme | moppere | murren |
| | knorra | knurre | knorren | brummen |
| guess | gissa | gaette | raden | erraten |
| hang | hänga | haenge | hangen | hängen |
| hang | | | | hängen |
| happen (impersonal) | hända | ske | gebeuren | geschehen |
| harvest (reap) | skörda | høste | oogsten | sich ereignen |
| hate | hata | hade | haten | ernten |
| have | hava | have | haben | hassen |
| hear | höra | høre | hooren | haben |
| help | hjälpa | hjælpe | helpen | hören |
| hesitate | tveka | tøve | aarzelen | helfen |
| hide | dölja | skjule | verbergen | zögern |
| hide (from) | gömma sig | skjule sig (for) | zich verbergen | verbergen |
| | (för) | | (voor) | sich verbergen |
| hinder | hindra | hindre | hinderen | (vor) |
| hire | hyra | hyre | huren | hindern |
| hit (strike) | träffa | træffe | treffen | mieten |
| hold | hålla | holde | houden | treffen |
| hope | hoppas | haabe | hopen | halten |
| hunt | jaga | jage | jagen | hoffen |
| hurry | skynda sig | skynde sig | zich haasten | jagen |
| | | | | sich beeilen |
| | | | | eilen |
| hurt (injure) | skada | saare | pijn doen | verletzen |
| illuminate (light up) | upplysa | oplyse | verlichten | Licht machen |
| imagine (form picture) | föreställa sig | forestille | zich voorstellen | sich vorstellen |
| imitate | efterhärma | efterligne | nabootsen | nachahmen |
| import | införa | indføre | invoeren | nachahmen |
| incline | böja | bøje | neigen | einführen |
| include | innesluta | indeslutte | insluiten | neigen |
| infect | smitta | smitte | besmetten | einschliessen |
| | infektera | inficere | infecteeren | anstecken |
| inflate | upplåsa | opblaese | opblazen | infizieren |
| inherit | ärva | arve | erven | aufblasen |
| inquire (about) | fråga (efter) | spørge (efter) | vragen (naar) | erben |
| insult | förolämpa | fornaarme | beledigen | fragen (nach) |
| insure | försäkra | forsikre | verzekereren | beschimpfen |
| interest | intressera | interessere | interesseeren | versichern |
| interfere (with) | blanda sig (i) | blande sig (i) | zich bemoeien | interessieren |
| | | | (met) | sich einmischen |
| introduce (person) | föreställa | forestille | voorstellen | vorstellen |
| invent | presentera | | | |
| invite | uppfinna | opfinde | uitvinden | erfinden |
| join (unite) | inbjuda | indbyde | uitnoodigen | einladen |
| | förena | forene | vereenigen | vereinigen |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| joke (jest) | skämta | spøge | schertsen | scherzen spassen |
| judge | döma | dømme | beoordeelen | beurteilen |
| jump | hoppa | springe | springen | springen hüpfen |
| keep (preserve) | bevare | bevare | bewaren | (auf)bewahren |
| keep (retain) | behålla | beholde | behouden | behalten |
| kick | sparka | sparke | schoppen | mit dem Fusse stossen |
| kill | döda | draebe | dooden | töten |
| kiss | kyssa | kysse | kussen | küssen |
| kneel | knäböja | knaele | knien | knien |
| knock (at door) | knacka | banke | kloppen | klopfen |
| know | känna | kende | kennen | kennen |
| | veta | vide | weten | wissen |
| land | landa | lande | landen | landen |
| last | vara | vare | duren | dauern währen |
| laugh | skratta | le | lachen | lachen |
| laugh at | utskratte | udle | uitlachen | auslachen |
| lead | föra | føre | voeren | führen |
| lean on | luta (sig) mot | laene sig til | leunen op | sich lehnen an |
| learn | lära sig | laere | leeren | lernen |
| leave behind | lämna efter | efterlade | achterlaten | zurücklassen |
| lend | låna | laane | leenen | leihen |
| let (house, etc.) | uthyra | udleje | verhuren | vermieten |
| lie (tell lie) | ljuga | lyve | liegen | lügen |
| lie (position) | ligga | ligge | liggen | liegen |
| lie down | lägga sig | laegge sig | gaan liggen | sich nieder- legen |
| lift | lyfta | løfte | tillen | heben |
| light (cigarette etc.) | tända | taende | aansteken | anzünden anstecken |
| like | tycka om | synes om | houden van | gern haben mögen |
| limp | halta | halte | hinken | hinken |
| listen to | lyssna till | lytte til | toehooren | zuhören |
| live (be alive) | leva | leve | leven | leben |
| live (dwell) | bo | bo | wonen | wohnen |
| look after (take care of) | se efter | se efter | oppassen | achten auf |
| look (have ap- pearance of) | se ut | se ud | uitzien | aussehen |
| look at | se på | se paa | aanzien | ansehen |
| | beskåda | betragte | aankijken | betrachten |
| lose | tappa | tabe | verliezen | verlieren |
| love (person) | älska | elske | houden van | lieben |
| lubricate | smörj | smøre | smeren | schmieren |
| make | göra | gøre | maken | machen |
| make a mistake | taga fel göra fel | tage Fejl | een fout maken | einen Fehler machen |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|----------------------|
| manage (direct) | sköta | lede | besturen | leiten |
| manufacture | fabricera | fabrikere | fabriceeren | fabrizieren |
| march | marschera | marchere | marcheeren | marschieren |
| marry (get married) | gifta sig med | gifte sig med | huwen | heiraten |
| | | | trouwen met | sich verheiraten mit |
| mate | para | parre sig | paren | paaren |
| measure } measure } | mäta | maale | me.en | messen |
| meet (encounter) | möta | møde | ontmoeter | begegnen |
| | träffa | traeffe | | treffen |
| melt } melt } | smälta | smelte | smelten | schmelzen |
| mend | reparera | reparere | repareerei | reparieren |
| milk | mjölk | malke | melken | melken |
| mix | blanda | blande | mengen | mischen |
| mourn | sörja | beklage | betreuren | beklagen |
| move (shift) | röra | rykke | verschuiven | rücken |
| | | | | verschieben |
| move (change residence) | flytta | flytte | verhuizen | umziehen |
| move (budge) | röra sig | røre sig | zich bewegen | sich bewegen |
| multiply | multiplier. | multiplier. | vermenigvuldigen | multiplizieren |
| need | behöva | behøve | noodig hebben | brauchen |
| | | | | nötig haben |
| neglect | försumma | forsumme | veronachtzamen | vernachlässigen |
| nurse (sick) | sköta | pleje | verplegen | pflügen |
| obey | lyda | adlyde | gehoorzamen | gehorsamen |
| offend | förolämpa | fornaerme | beledigen | beleidigen |
| offer | erbjuda | tilbyde | aanbieden | anbieten |
| omit (leave out) | utelämn. | udelade | weglaten | auslassen |
| open | öppna | aabne | opendoen | öffnen |
| | | | | aufmachen |
| oppose (withstand) | motstå | modsaette sig | weerstaar | sich widersetzen |
| oppress | förtrycka | undertrykke | onderdrukken | unterdrücken |
| order (goods) | beställa | bestille | bestellen | bestellen |
| organise | organisera | organisere | organiseeren | organisieren |
| owe | vara skyldig | skyldig | schuldig zijn | schulden |
| pack | packa | pakke | pakken | packen |
| paint | måla | male | schilderen | malen |
| pay | betala | betale | betalen | bezahlen |
| peel | skala | skraelle | schillen | schälen |
| perform (carry out) | utföra | udføre | uitvoeren | ausführen |
| persecute | förfölja | forfølge | vervolgen | verfolgen |
| persuade | övertala | overtale | overreden | überreden |
| pick up | plocka upp | tage op | oprapen | auflesen |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| pity | ömka | vnke | medelijden hebben met | bemitleiden Mitleid haben mit |
| plan | planera | planere | plannen | planen |
| plant | plantera | plante | planten | pflanzen |
| play (game) | leka | lege | spelen | spielen |
| play (instrument) | spela | spille | spelen | spielen |
| please | behaga | behage | behagen | gefallen |
| plough | plöja | pløje | ploegen | pflügen |
| plunder | plundr. | plyndre | plunderen | plündern |
| poison | förgifta | forgifte | vergiften | vergiften |
| possess | besitta, äga | besidde | bezitten | besitzen |
| postpone | uppskjuta | udsætte | uitstellen | verschieben |
| pour | gjuta, hälla | øse | gieten | giessen |
| practice (exercise oneself) | praktisera | øve | oefenen | üben |
| praise | berömma | rose | roemen | sich üben loben rühmen |
| pray | bedja | bede | bidden | beten |
| precede | gå förut | gaa foran | voorafgaan | vorangehen |
| prefer | föredraga | foretraække | verkiezen | vorziehen |
| prepare | förbereda | forberede | voorbereiden | vorbereiten |
| press | trycka | trykke | drukken | drücken |
| pretend (feign) | föregiva, låtsa | foregive | voorgeven | vorgeben |
| prevent | hindra | forhindre | verhinderen | verhindern |
| print | trycka | trykke | drukken | drucken |
| profit (from) | draga fördel (av) | profitere (af) | profiteeren (van) | profitieren (von) |
| promise | lova | love | beloven | versprechen |
| pronounce | uttala | udtale | uitspreken | aussprechen |
| propose (suggest) | föreslå | foreslaa | voorstellen | vorschlagen |
| protect | (be)skydda | beskytte | beschermen | beschützen |
| protest | protestera | protestere | protesteeren | protestieren |
| prove | bevisa | bevise | bewijzen | beweisen |
| publish (of publisher) | förlägga ge ut | udgive | uitgeven | herausgeben verlegen |
| pull | draga | række | trekken | ziehen |
| pump (water) | pumpa | pumpe | pompen | pumpen |
| pump (inflate) | pumpa upp | oppumpe | oppompen | aufpumpen |
| punish | straffa | straffe | straffen | (be)strafen |
| push | stöta, skjuta | støde | stooten | stossen |
| put (see p. 257) | sätta ställa lägga | sætte stille lægge | zetten stellen leggen | setzen stellen legen |
| quarre- | gråla | skaende | twisten | zanken |
| be quiet (silent) | vara tyst | tie | zwijgen | schweigen |
| quote | citera | citere | citeeren | zitieren |
| rain | regna | regne | regenen | regnen |
| react | reagera | reagere | reageeren | reagieren |
| read | läsa | laese | lezen | lesen |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| receive | mottaga | modtage | ontvangen | empfangen |
| recite | recitera | recitere | reciteeren | erhalten rezitieren vorlesen |
| recognize | känna igen | genkende | erkennen | erkennen |
| recommend | rekommendera | anbefale | aanbevelen | empfehlen |
| recover (get better) | tillfriskna | komme sig | herstellen | sich erholen |
| reflect (light) | reflektera | kaste tilbage | weerkaaften | zurückwerfen reflektieren |
| refuse to | vägra att | naegte at | weigeren te | sich weigern zu |
| regret | beklaga | beklage | spijten | bedauern |
| reject | förkasta | afvise | verwerpen | zurückweisen |
| rejoice (be glad) | glädja sig fröjdas | glæde sig | zich verheugen | sich freuen |
| release (let go) | släppa | iøslade | loslaten | loslassen |
| rely on | lita på | stole på | vertrouwen op | sich verlassen auf |
| remain | förbliva | forblive | blijven | bleiben |
| remember | komma ihåg erinra sig påminna | minde huske erindre | zich herinneren herinneren | sich erinnern erinnern |
| renew | förnya | förny | vernieuwen | erneuern |
| repeat | upprepa | gentage | herhalen | wiederholen |
| report (news) | meddela | meddele | berichten | berichten melden |
| represent (stand for) | föreställa | forestille | voorstellen | vorstellen |
| resemble | likna | ligne | gelijken | gleich |
| reserve (seat) | reservera | reservere | reserveeren | reservieren |
| respect | akta | agte | achten | achten |
| restrict | inskränka | indskraenke | beperven | einschränken |
| rest (take rest) | vila | hvile | rusten | ruhen sich ausruhen |
| reveal | uppenbara | aabenbare | openbaren | enthüllen |
| revenge oneself | hämna | haevne sig | zich wreken | sich rächen |
| review (books) | recensera | anmelde | bespreken recenseeren | besprechen rezensieren |
| revise | revidera | revidere | herzien | revidieren |
| revolt (rise) | resa sig | rejse sig | opstaan | sich erheben |
| reward | belöna | belønne | beloonen | belohnen |
| ride | rida | ride | rijden | reiten |
| be right | hava rätt | have Re | gelijk hebben | Recht haben |
| ring | ringa | ringe | bell | klingeln |
| ring | ringa | klinge | luiden | läuten |
| risk (incur risk) | riskera | risikere | gevaar loopen riskeeren | Gefahr laufen riskieren |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| roast | steka | stege | braden | braten |
| roll | rulla | rulle | rollen | rollen |
| roll | | | | |
| rot (decay) | ruttna | raadne | rotten | faulen |
| row | ro | ro | roeien | rudern |
| rub | gnida | gnide | wrijven | reiben |
| ruin | ruinera | ruinere | ruineeren | ruinieren |
| run | löpa | løbe | rennen | rennen |
| | springa | | loopen | laufen |
| sail | segla | sejle | zeilen | segeln |
| save (from) | rädda (från) | redde (fra) | redden (van) | retten (von) |
| save (money) | spara | sparre | sparen | sparen |
| saw | såga | save | zagen | sägen |
| say, tell | säga | sige | zeggen | sagen |
| scatter (sprinkle) | strö | strø | strooien | streuen |
| scrape | skrapa | skrabe | schrapen | schaben |
| scratch | riva | kradse | krabben | kratzen |
| scream | skrika | skrige | gillen | schreien |
| screw | skruva | skrue | schroeven | schrauben |
| search | rannsaka | ransage | doorzoeken | durchsuchen |
| secrete | avsöndra | afsondre | afscheiden | ausscheiden |
| see | se | se | zien | sehen |
| seek (look for) | söka | søge | zoeken | suchen |
| seem | tyckas | synes | schijnen | scheinen |
| seize (grasp) | gripa | gribe | grijpen | ergreifen |
| | | | | packen |
| sell | sälja | saelge | verkoopen | verkaufen |
| send | sända | sende | zenden | senden |
| | | | | schicken |
| separate | skilja | skille | scheiden | trennen |
| | separera | separere | | |
| serve | tjäna | tjene | dienen | dienen |
| serve (meals) | servera | servere | serveeren | servieren |
| sew | sy | sy | naaien | nähen |
| shake | skaka | ryste | schudden | schütteln |
| share with | dela med | dele med | deelen met | teilen mit |
| shave | raka sig | barbere sig | zich scheren | sich rasieren |
| shine | skinna | skinne | schijnen | scheinen |
| shoot | skjuta | skyde | schieten | schliessen |
| shoot dead | skjuta ihjel | ihjelskyde | doodschieten | erschliessen |
| show | visa | vise | toonen | zeigen |
| shut (close) | stänga | lukke | sluiten | schliessen |
| | | | dichtdoen | zumachen |
| shut in | instänga | indelukke | insluiten | einschliessen |
| side with | hålla med | holde med | partij kiezen | Partei nehmen |
| | | | voor | für |
| sigh | sucka | sukke | zuchten | seufzen |
| sign | underteckna | underskrive | onderteekenen | unterschreiben |
| | | | | unterzeichnen |
| signify (mean) | betyda | betyde | beduiden | bedeuten |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| sin | synda | synde | zondigen | sündigen |
| sing | sjunga | synge | zingen | singen |
| sink | sänka | saenke | doen zinken | versenken |
| sink | sjunka | synke | zinken | sinken |
| sit | sitta | sidde | zitten | sitzen |
| sit down | sätta sig | saette sig | gaan zitten | sich setzen |
| skate | åka skridskor | løbe paa Skøjter | schaatsen rijden | Schlittschuh laufen |
| slander | baktala | bagtale | lasteren | verleumden |
| sleep | sova | sove | slapen | schlafen |
| slip | halka | glide ud | uitglijden | ausgleiten |
| smear | smörja | smøre | smeren | schmieren |
| smell | lukta | lugte | ruiken | riechen |
| smell of | lukta av | lugte ai | rieken naar | riechen nach |
| smile | småle | smile | glimlachen | lächeln |
| smoke | röka | ryge | rooken | rauchen |
| sneeze | nysa | nyse | niezen | niesen |
| snore | snarka | snorke | snorken | schnarchen |
| snow | snöa | sne | sneeuwen | schneien |
| soak | blöta | bløde | weeken | einweichen |
| sob | snypa | hulke | snikken | schluchzen |
| soil | smutsa | tilsøle | bezoedelen | beschmutzen |
| solve | (upp)lösa | løse | oplossen | lösen |
| sow | så | saa | zaaien | säen |
| speak | tala | tale | spreken | sprechen |
| spell | stava | stave | spellen | buchstabieren |
| spend (money) | kasta ut | give ud | uitgeven | ausgeben |
| spend (time) | tillbringa | tillbringe | besteden | verbringen |
| spit | spotta | spytte | doorbrengen spuwen | zubringen spucken |
| split | klyva | spalte | splijten | speien |
| spread out | utbreda | spalde | uitspreiden | spalten |
| squeeze out | pressa | trykke ud | uitpersen | ausbreiten |
| stand | stå | staa | staan | auspressen |
| stay (reside with) | bo hos | bo | logeeren | stehen |
| steal | stjåla | stjaale | stelen | wohnen bei |
| stick (glue) | klibba | klaebe | kleven | stehlen |
| stimulate | stimulera | stimulere | aansporen | kleben |
| sting | sticka | stikke | steken | anregen |
| stink | stinka | stinke | stinken | stimulieren |
| stop (cause to stop) | stoppa | stoppe | aanhouden | stechen |
| stop (make a halt) | stanna | standse | stoppen | stinken |
| strike (be on strike) | strejka | strejke | staken | anhalten |
| stroke (caress) | stryka | stryge | streelen | streichen |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|----------------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| struggle | kämpa | kaempe | vechten | ringen |
| study | studera | studere | studeeren | studieren |
| subtract | avdraga | fradrage | afrekken | abziehen |
| | subtrahera | subtrahere | | subtrahieren |
| succeed (be successful in doing) | lyckas | lykkes | gelukken | gelingen glücken |
| suck | suga | suge | zuigen | saugen |
| suffer (from) | lida (av) | lide (af) | lijden (aan) | leiden (an) |
| suit (be fitting) | passa | passé | passen | passen |
| support (back up) | understödjä | understøtte | ondersteunen | unterstützen |
| support (prop up) | stötta | støtte | steunen | stützen |
| suppose (assume) | antaga | antage | aannemen | annehmen |
| surprise (take by surprise) | örraskä | örraskä | verrassen | ürrasken |
| surpass | örrträffa | örrgåä | örrtreffen | ürrtreffen |
| surround | ömgiva | ömgive | ömringen | ömgöben |
| swear (take oath) | svär(j)a | sværge | zweren | schwören |
| swear (curse) | svära | bande | vloeken | fluchen |
| sweat | svettas | svede | zweeten | schwitzen |
| sweep | söpa | fejé | vegen | fege kehren |
| swell | svullna | svulme | opzwellen | anschwellen |
| swim | simma | svømme | zwemmen | schwimmen |
| swing | svänga | svinge | schoommelen | schwingen |
| sympathize | sympatisera | sympatisere | medevoelen | mitfühlen |
| take | taga | tage | nemen | nehmen |
| take away (remove) | taga bort | tage bort | wegnemen | wegnehmen |
| talk (chat) | prata | snakke | praten | plaudern |
| | | | babbelen | schwätzen |
| taste | smaka | smage | proeven | kosten |
| | | | | schmecken |
| taste of | smaka av | smage af | smaken naar | schmecken nach |
| reach | lära | undervise | önderwijzen | lehren |
| tear | riva sönder | rive itu | scheuren | zerreissen |
| tell (narrate) | berätta | fortælle | vertellen | erzählen |
| test | prova | pröve | beproeven | prüfen |
| thank | tacka | takke | danken | danken |
| think (believe) | tro | taenke | denken | glauben |
| think (ponder) | tänka (efter) | taenke efter | nadenken | nachdenken |
| threaten | hota | true | bedreigen | bedrohen |
| throw | kasta | kaste | gooien | werfen |
| thunder | åska | tordne | donderen | donnern |
| tickle | kittla | kilde | kietelen | kitzeln |
| tie (bind) | binda | binde | binden | binden |
| tolerate (endure) | tåla | taale | dulden | dulden leiden |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|------------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| touch | vidröra | berøre | (aan)raken | berühren |
| trade | handla | handle | handelen | handeln |
| translate | översätta | översætte | vertalen | übersetzen |
| travel | resa | rejse | reizen | reisen |
| tread on | trampa på | traede paa | treden op | treten auf |
| treat | behandla | behandle | behandelen | behandeln |
| tremble | darra | ryste | beven | zittern |
| turn over | vända | vende | omkeeren | wenden |
| type | maskinskriva | maskinskrive | tikken | tippen |
| underline | understryka | understrege | onderstreepen | unterstreichen |
| understand | förstå | forstaa | verstaan | verstehen |
| (comprehend) | | | begrijpen | begreifen |
| undertake | företaga (sig) | foretage | ondernemen | unternehmen |
| undress | kläda av sig | klæde sig af | ontkleeden | sich ausziehen |
| unpack | packa upp | pakke ud | uitpakken | auspacken |
| upset | stöta omkull | støde om | omvergooiën | umstossen |
| urinate | kasta vatten | lade Vandet | urineeren | urinieren |
| | | | | das Wasser |
| | | | | abschlagen |
| use (employ) | bruka | bruge | gebruiken | gebrauchen |
| vaccinate | vaccinera | vaccinere | inenten | impfen |
| | | pode | vaccineeren | |
| visit | besöka | besøge | bezoeken | besuchen |
| vomit | kräkas | kaste op | braken | sich erbrechen |
| vote | rösta | stemme | stemmen | stimmen |
| wait (for) | vänta (på) | vente (paa) | wachten (op) | warten (auf) |
| wake | väcka | vaække | wekken | wecken |
| wake | vakna | ontwaken op | ontwaken | erwachen |
| go for a walk | promenera | spadsere | wandelen | spazieren gehen |
| | | | | bummeln |
| wander about | vandra omkring | strefje om | rond dwalen | umherschweif- |
| | | | | fen |
| want to | vilja | ville | willen | wollen |
| warn | varna | advare | waarschuwen | warnen |
| wash | tvätta | vaske | wasschen | waschen |
| wash | tvätta sig | vaske sig | zich wasschen | sich waschen |
| waste (food, money, etc.) | slösa | spilde | verkwisten | vergeuden |
| | | | | verschwenden |
| wave (hand) | vinka | vinke | wuiven | winken |
| wear (clothes) | bära | have paa | dragen | tragen |
| weave | väva | vaeve | weven | weben |
| weep | gråta | græde | hullen | weinen |
| weigh } | väga | veje | wegen | wiegen |
| weigh } | | | | |
| whisper | viska | hviske | fluisteren | flüstern |
| whistle | vissla | fløjte | fluiten | pfeifen |
| win | vinna | vinde | winnen | gewinnen |
| wind around | vinda, vira | vinde | winden | winden |
| wind up (spring) | draga upp | trække op | opwinden | aufziehen |
| wish | önska | ønske | wenschen | wünschen |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---|--|---|---|--|
| wonder | undra | undre sig | zich verwonderen | sich wundern |
| work | arbeta | arbejde | werken arbeiden | arbeiten |
| worship be worth wrap up write be wrong | dyrka vara värd packa (slå) in skriva ha(va) orätt | dyrke være vaerd pakke ind skrive have Uret | vereeren waard zijn inpakken schrijven ongelijk hebben | verehren wert sein einpacken schreiben Unrecht haben |
| yawn yield (give way) | gäspa giva efter för | gabe give efter | gapen toegeven | gähnen nachgeben |

6. ADVERBS

(a) PLACE AND MOTION

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| above, upstairs away | ovanför bort | ovenpaa bort | boven weg | oben weg fort |
| back behind below, down- stairs down (wards) | tillbaka bakom nedanfö ned | tilbage bagefter nedenunder nedad | terug achter beneden naar beneden | zurück hinten unten hinab |
| elsewhere everywhere far forward hence here hither home (wards) at home inside near nowhere out outside past somewhere thence there thither through to the left to the right underneath upwards | annorstädes öfverallt lång framåt härifrån här hit hem hemma innanför nära ingenstädes ut utanför förbi någonstädes därifrån där dit igenom till vänster till höger inunder uppå | andesteds overalt langt tremad herfra her hid hjem hjemme indenfor naer intetsteds ud udenfor forbi nogensteds derfra der derhen igennem til venstre til højre derunder opad | elders overal ver voorwaarts van hier hier hierheen naar huis thuis binnen dichtbij nergens uit buiten voorbij ergens vandaag daar daarheen door links rechts daaronder op naar boven | anderswo überall weit vorwärts von hier hier hierher nach Hause zu Hause drinnen nah nirgends aus draussen vorbei irgendwo von dor dort dorthin hindurch links rechts darunter hinauf nach oben |

(b) *TIME*

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| afterwards | efteråt | derefter | naderhand | nachher |
| again | igen | igen | weder | wieder |
| ago | för . . . sedan | för . . . siden | geleden | vor |
| already | redan | allerede | reeds | schon |
| | | | | bereits |
| always | alltid | altid | altijd | immer |
| | | | | stets |
| as soon as | så snart som | saa snart som | zoodra als | so bald als |
| at first | först | först | vooreerst | zuerst |
| at last | äntligen | endelig | eindelijk | endlich |
| at once | genas | straks | terstond | sofort |
| | | | opeens | sogleich |
| at present | för närvarande | nu for Tiden | tegenwoordig | zur Zeit |
| constantly | beständigt | bestandig | voortdurend | beständig |
| | | | | fortwährend |
| early | tidigt | tidligt | vroeg | früh |
| | | | | zeitig |
| eve. | någonsin | nogensinde | ooit | ie |
| formerly | förlom | forhen | vroeger | früher |
| from time to time | tid efter annan | fra Tid til anden | nu en dan | von Zeit zu Zeit |
| in future | framdeles | i Fremtiden | toekomstig | künftig |
| in the evening | påkvällen | om Aftenen | 's avonds | abends |
| | | | | am Abend |
| in the morning | på morgonen | om Morgen | 's morgens | morgens |
| | | | | am Morgen |
| in time | i tid | i Tide | op tijd | rechtzeitig |
| | | | | beizeiten |
| last night | i går kväl. | sidste Nat | gisteravond | gestern abend |
| last week | förra veckan | sidste Uge | verleden week | letzte Woche |
| late | sent | sent | laat | spät |
| meanwhile | under tiden | imidlertid | intusschen | inzwischen |
| | | | | unterdessen |
| monthly | månatligen | maanedlig | maandelijk | monatlich |
| never | aldrig | aldrig | nooit | nie |
| next week | nästa vecka | naeste Uge | aanstaande week | nächste Woche |
| not yet | icke ännu | endnu ikke | nog niet | noch nicht |
| now | nu | nu | nu | nun |
| nowadays | nu för tiden | nu til dags | tegenwoordig | heutzutage |
| often | ofta | ofte | dikwijls | oft |
| once | engång | en Gang | eens | einst |
| | | | | einmal |
| recently | nyligen | nylig | onlangs | neulich |
| | | | | kürzlich |
| repeatedly | gång på gång | gentagne Gange | herhaaldelijk | wiederholt |
| seldom | sällan | sjælden | zelden | selten |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|--|
| sometimes | ibland | undertiden | soms | manchmal |
| soon | snart | snart | spoedig | baldest |
| still, yet | ännu | endnu | nog | noch |
| the day before yesterday | i förrgår | iforgaars | eergisteren | vorgestern |
| the day after to-morrow | i överborgon | ioverborgen | overmorgen | übermorgen |
| then (at that time) | då | da | toen | dann |
| thereafter | därpå | derpaa | daarop | darauf |
| this afternoon | i eftermiddag | i Eftermiddag | vanmiddag | heute nach- mittag |
| this evening | i afton i kväll | iaften | vanavond | heute abend |
| this morning | i morse | imorges | vanochtend | heute morgen |
| to-day | idag | idag | heden vandaag | heute |
| to-morrow | i morgon | imorgen | morgen | morgen |
| to-morrow evening | i morgon kväll | i Morgen Aften | morgen avond | morgen abend |
| to-morrow morning | morgon bitti | Morgen tidlig | morgen ochtend | morgen früh |
| to-night | i natt (kväll) | i nat | vannacht | heute nacht |
| weekly | engång i veckan | ugentlig | wekelijks | wöchentlich |
| yearly | årligen | aarlig | jaarlijks | jährlich |
| yesterday | igår | igaar | gisteren | gestern |
| what is the time? | vad är klockan? | hvad er Klokken? | hoe laat is het? | wie spät ist es? wieviel Uhr ist es? |
| it is five o'clock | klockan är fem | Klokken er fem | het is vijf uur | es ist fünf Uhr |
| it is half past five | klockan är halv sex | Klokken er halv seks | het is half zes | es ist halb sechs Uhr |
| it is a quarter to five | klockan är en kvart i fem | Klokken er et kvarter i fem | het is kwart voor vijf | es ist ein Vier- tel vor fünf Uhr (or: drei Viertel auf fünf) |
| it is a quarter past five | klockan är en kvart över fem | Klokken er et kvarter over fem | het is kwart over vijf | es ist ein Vier- tel nach fünf Uhr (or: ein Viertel auf sechs) |
| it is twenty minutes to five | klockan är tjugo minu- ter i fem | Klokken er tyve minuter i fem | het is twintig minuten voor vijf | es ist zwanzig Minuten vor fünf Uhr |
| it is twenty minutes pas- five | klockan är tjugo minu- ter över fem | Klokken er tyve minu- ter over fem | het is twintig minuten over vijf | es ist zwanzig Minuten nach fünf Uhr |

ENGLISH SWEDISH DANISH DUTCH GERMAN

(c) MANNER, QUANTITY, AFFIRMATION AND NEGATION

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| about | omkring | omtrent | ongeveer | ungefähr |
| a little | en smula | lidt | een beetje | etwa |
| almost | nåstan | naesten | bijna | ein bisschen |
| also, too | också | ogsaa | ook | fast |
| apparently | synbarligen | tilsyneladende | schijnbaar | beinah |
| as a matter of fact | faktiskt | i Virkeligheden | teitelijk | auch |
| as much | så mycket | ligesaa meget | zooveel | scheinbar |
| at least | åtminstone | i det mindste | ten minste | anscheinend |
| at most | högst | i det højeste | hoogstens | in Wirklichkeit |
| badly | dåligt | daarligt | slecht | |
| besides | dessutom | desuden | bovendien | zudem |
| by chance | tilfældigtvis | tilfældigvis | toevallig | zufällig |
| by heart | utan till | udenad | van buiten | auswendig |
| by no means | ingalunda | ingenlunde | geenszins | keineswegs |
| by the way | i förbigående | apropos | à propos | beiläufig ge- |
| chiefly | huvudsakligen | hovedsagelig | voornamelijk | sagt |
| completely | fullständigt | fulstændigt | volkomen | hauptsächlich |
| deliberately | avsiktligt | forsætligt | opzettelijk | vollkommen |
| directly | direkt | direkte | direct | vollständig |
| easily | lätt | let | gemakkelijk | absichtlich |
| enough | nog | nok | genöcg | bewusst |
| even | till och med | selv | zelfs | direkt |
| exactly | precis | akkurat | precies | leicht |
| exclusively | uteslutande | udelukkende | uitsluitend | genug |
| extraordinarily | utomordentligt | overordentlig | buitengewoon | selbst |
| extremely | ytterst | yderst | uiterst | genau |
| fortunately | lyckligtvis | lykkeligvis | gelukkig | ausschliesslich |
| | | | | ungewöhnlich |
| | | | | höchst |
| | | | | äusserst |
| | | | | glücklicher- |
| | | | | weise |
| | | | | zum Glück |
| gradually | småningom | gradvis | geleidelijk | allmählich |
| gratis | gratis | gratis | gratis | nach und nach |
| hardly | knappast | naeppe | nauwelijks | gratis |
| indeed | faktiskt | faktiskt | inderdaad | umsonst |
| | | | | kaum |
| in vain | förgäves | iorgæves | tevergeets | tatsächlich |
| less and less | mindre och mindre | mindre og mindre | steeds minder | in der That |
| | | | | vergebens |
| | | | | immer weniger |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| loud | högt | højt | hard | laut |
| more and more | mer och mer | mer og mer | meer en meer | immer mehr |
| no | nej | nej | neen | nein |
| not | inte | ikke | niet | nicht |
| not at all | inte alls | slet ikke | in't geheel niet | durchaus nicht |
| not even | inte ens | ikke engang | niet eens | nicht einmal |
| obviously | påtagligt | øjensynlig | blijgbaar | offensichtlich |
| | | | | augenscheinlich |
| of course | naturligtvis | naturligvis | natuurlijk | nattürlich |
| only | bara | kun | slechts | nur |
| on the contrary | tvärtom | tvaertimod | integendeel | im Gegenteil |
| partly | delvis | delvis | deels | teilweise |
| | | | | teils |
| perhaps | kanske | maaske | misschien | vielleicht |
| preferably | hellre | hellere | liever | lieber |
| probably | sannolikt | sandsynligvis | waarschijnlijk | wahrscheinlich |
| quickly | raskt | hurtigt | gauw | schnell |
| | fort | | spoedig | rasch |
| quietly | lugnt | rolig | rustig | ruhig |
| really | verkligen | virkelig | werkelijk | wirklich |
| slowly | långsamt | langsomt | langzaam | langsam |
| so, thus | så | saa | zoo | so |
| so much the better | så mycket bättre | saa meget des bedre | des te beter | um so besser |
| so to speak | så att säga | saa at sige | om zoo te zeggen | so zu sagen |
| | | | bijzonder | besonders |
| specially | särskilt | saerskilt | plotseling | plötzlich |
| suddenly | plötsligt | pludseligt | samen | zusammen |
| together | tillsammans | tilsammen | tegelijk | |
| | | | te | zu |
| too, too much | (allt)för | for | ongetwijfeld | ohne Zweifel |
| undoubtedly | utan tvivel | uden Tvivl | ongelukkig- erwijs | zum Unglück |
| unfortunately | olyckligtvis | ulykkeligvis | | unglücklich- erweise |
| | | | gewoonlijk | gewöhnlich |
| usually | vanligtvis | saedvanligvis | zeer | sehr |
| very | mycket | meget | namelijk | nämlich |
| viz. | nämligen | nemlig | te weten | das heisst |
| voluntarily | frivillig | trivillig | vrijwillig | freiwillig |
| well | bra | godt | goed | gut |
| willingly | gärna | gerne | gaarne | gern |
| yes | ja | ja | ja | ja |
| | jo | jo | | |

7. SOCIAL USAGE

| | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Good morning! | God morgon! | God Morgen! | Goeden mor- gen! | Guten Mor- gen! |
| Good evening! | God afton! | God Aften! | Goeden avond! | Guten Abend! |

| ENGLISH | SWEDISH | DANISH | DUTCH | GERMAN |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Good night! | God natt! | God Nat! | Goeden nacht! | Gute Nacht! |
| Good day! | God dag! | God Dag! | Goeden dag! | Guten Tag! |
| Good-bye! | Adjö! | Farvell! | Tot ziens! | Leben Sie wohl! |
| Good health! | Skåll! | Skaall! | Proost! | Prosit! |
| Thank you! (accepting offer) | Ja, tack! | Ja, Tak! | Alstublieft! | Bitte! |
| No, thank you! (refusing offer) | Nej, tack! | Nej, Tak! | Graag! | Bitte schön! |
| Thanks! (for favour done) | Tack! | Tak! | Dank U! | Danke! |
| Don't mention it! | Ingen orsak! | Aa jeg beder! | Niet tedanken! | Danke schön! |
| Excuse me! | Ursäkta! | Undskyld mig! | Pardon! | Entschuldigen Sie! |
| I beg your pardon! | Förlåt! | Omforladelse! | Pardon! | Verzeihung! |
| Please, show me . . . | Var god och visa mig . . . ! | Vaer saa god at vise mig . . . ! | Wijs mij . . . alstublieft! | Bitte, zeigen Sie mir . . . ! |
| How are you? | Hur står det till? | Hvordan har De det? | Hoe gaat het? | Wie geht's (Ihnen)? |
| Very well, thank you | Tack, utmärkt! | Tak, udmaerket | Goed, dank U | Gut, danke |
| Come in! | Stig in! | Kom ind! | Binnen! | Herein! |

II. ROMANCE WORD LIST

1. NOUNS

(a) CLIMATE AND SCENERY

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| air | l'air (m) | el aire | o ar | l'aria |
| bank (of river) | la rive | la orilla | a margem | la riva |
| bay | la baie | la bahía | a baía | la baia |
| beach | la plage | la playa | a praia | la spiaggia |
| cape | le cap | el cabo | o cabo | il capo |
| cave | la caverne | la cueva | a caverna | la caverna |
| climate | le climat | el clima | o clima | il clima |
| cloud | le nuage | la nube | a nuvem | la nube |
| coast | la côte | la costa | a costa | la costa |
| country (not town) | la campagne | el campo | o campo | la campagna |
| current | le courant | la corriente | a corrente | la corrente |
| darkness | l'obscurité (f) | la oscuridad | a escuridão | l'oscurità (f) |
| desert | le désert | el desierto | o deserto | il deserto |
| dew | la rosée | el rocío | o orvalho | la rugiada |
| dust | la poussière | el polvo | o pó | la polvere |
| earth | la terre | la tierra | a terra | la terra |
| east | l'est (m) | el este | o leste | l'est (m) |
| field | le champ | el campo | o campo | il campo |
| foam | l'écume (f) | la espuma | a espuma | la schiuma |
| forest | la forêt | el bosque | a floresta | il bosco |
| frost | la gelée | la helada | a geada | il gelo |
| grass | l'herbe (f) | la hierba | a erva | l'erba |
| hail | la grêle | el granizo | o granizo | la grandine |
| hay | le foin | el heno | o feno | il fieno |
| hill | la colline | la colina | a colina | la collina |
| horizon | l'horizon (m) | el horizonte | o horizonte | l'orizzonte (m) |
| ice | la glace | el hielo | o gelo | il ghiaccio |
| island | l'île (f) | la isla | a ilha | l'isola |
| lake | le lac | el lago | o lago | il lago |
| light | la lumière | la luz | a luz | la luce |
| lightning | l'éclair (m) | el relámpago | o relâmpago | il baleno |
| meadow | le pré | el prado | o prado | il prato |
| mist | le brouillard | la niebla | a neblina | la nebbia |
| moon | la lune | la luna | a lua | la luna |
| full moon | la pleine lune | la luna llena | a lua cheia | il plenilunio |
| mountain | la montagne | la montaña | a montanha | la montagna |
| mouth (river) | l'embouchure (f) | la desemboca- dura | a foz | l'imboccatura |
| mud (river, etc.) | la vase | el barro | o lodo | il fango |
| north | le nord | el norte | o norte | il nord |
| peninsula | la péninsule | la península | a península | la penisola |
| plain | la plaine | el llano | a planície | il piano |
| pond | l'étang (m) | el estanque | a lagôa | lo stagno |
| rain | la pluie | la lluvia | a chuva | la pioggia |
| rainbow | l'arc-en-ciel (m) | el arco iris | o arco iris | l'arcobaleno |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|----------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| river (large) | le fleuve | el río | o rio | il fiume |
| rock | le rocher | la roca | a rocha | lo scoglio |
| sand | le sable | la arena | a areia | la sabbia |
| sea | la mer | el mar | o mar | il mare |
| shadow | l'ombre (f) | la sombra | a sombra | l'ombra |
| sky | le ciel | el cielo | o céu | il cielo |
| snow | la neige | la nieve | a neve | la neve |
| south | le sud | el sur | o sul | il sud |
| spring (water) | la source | la fuente | a nascente | la sorgente |
| star | l'étoile (f) | la estrella | a estréla | la stella |
| storm | la tempête | la tormenta | a tempestade | il temporale |
| straits | le détroit | el estrecho | o estreito | lo stretto |
| stream | le ruisseau | el arroyo | o riacho | il ruscello |
| sun | le soleil | el sol | o sol | il sole |
| thunder | le tonnerre | el trueno | o trovão | il tuono |
| tide | la marée | la marea | a maré | la marea |
| high tide | la marée haute | la pleamar | a preamar | l'alta marea |
| low tide | la marée basse | la bajamar | a baixamar | la bassa marea |
| town | la ville | la ciudad | a cidade | la città |
| valley | la vallée | el valle | o vale | la valle |
| view | la vue | la vista | a vista | la vista |
| village | le village | la aldea | a aldeia | il villaggio |
| vineyard | le vignoble | la viña | a vinha | la vigna |
| water | l'eau (f) | el agua (f) | a água | l'acqua |
| waterfall | la cascade | la cascada | a cascata | la cascata |
| wave | la vague | la ola | a onda | l'onda |
| weather | le temps | el tiempo | o tempo | il tempo |
| west | l'ouest (m) | el oeste | o oeste | l'ovest (m) |

(b) HUMAN BODY

| | | | | |
|------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| ankle | la cheville | el tobillo | o tornozelo | la caviglia |
| arm | le bras | el brazo | o braço | il braccio |
| | | | | le braccia (pl) |
| artery | l'artère (f) | la arteria | a artéria | l'arteria |
| back | le dos | la espalda | o dorso | il dorso |
| beard | la barbe | la barba | a barba | la barba |
| belly | le ventre | el vientre | o ventre | il ventre |
| bladder | la vessie | la vejiga | a bexiga | la vescica |
| blood | le sang | la sangre | o sangue | il sangue |
| body | le corps | el cuerpo | o corpo | il corpo |
| bone | l'os (m) | el hueso | o osso | l'osso |
| | | | | le ossa (pl) |
| brain | la cervelle | el cerebro | o cérebro | il cervello |
| breast | le sein | el seno | o seio | il seno |
| calf | le mollet | la pantorrilla | a barriga | il polpaccio |
| cheek | la joue | la mejilla | a face | la guancia |
| chest | la poitrine | el pecho | o peito | il petto |
| chin | le menton | la barba | a barba | il mento |
| cold | le rhume | el resfriado | a constipação | il raffreddore |
| complexion | le teint | la tez | a tez | la carnagione |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|----------------|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| cough | la toux | la tos | a tosse | la tosse |
| disease | la maladie | la enfermedad | a enfermidade | la malattia |
| ear | l'oreille (f) | la oreja | a orelha | l'orecchio |
| elbow | le coude | el codo | o cotovelo | il gomito |
| eye | l'œil (m) | el ojo | o olho | l'occhio |
| | les yeux (pl) | | | gli occhi (pl) |
| eyebrow | le sourcil | la ceja | a sobrançella | il sopracciglio |
| eyelid | la paupière | el párpado | a palpebra | la palpebra |
| face | le visage | la cara | a cara | la faccia |
| fever | la fièvre | la fiebre | a febre | la febbre |
| finger | le doigt | el dedo | o dedo | il dito |
| | | | | le dita (pl) |
| fist | le poing | el puño | o punho | il pugno |
| flesh | la chair | la carne | a carne | la carne |
| foot | le pied | el pie | o pé | il piede |
| forehead | le front | la frente | a testa | la fronte |
| gum | la gencive | la encía | a gengiva | la gengiva |
| hair (of head) | les cheveux | el cabello | o cabelo | i capelli |
| hand | la main | la mano | a mão | la mano |
| head | la tête | la cabeza | a cabeça | la testa |
| health | la santé | la salud | a saúde | la salute |
| heart | le cœur | el corazón | o calcanhar | il cuore |
| heel | le talon | el talón | o talão | il tallone |
| hip | la hanche | la cadera | o quadril | l'anca |
| jaw | la mâchoire | la quijada | a queixada | la mascella |
| kidney | le rein | el riñón | o rim | il rene |
| knee | le genou | la rodilla | o joelho | il ginocchio |
| | | | | le ginocchia(pl) |
| leg | la jambe | la pierna | a perna | la gamba |
| lip | la lèvre | el labio | o lábio | il labbro |
| | | | | le labbra (pl) |
| liver | e foie | el hígado | o fígado | il fegato |
| lung | le poumon | el pulmón | o pulmão | il polmone |
| moustache | la moustache | el bigote | o bigode | i baffi |
| mouth | la bouche | la boca | a boca | la bocca |
| muscle | le muscle | el músculo | o músculo | il muscolo |
| nail | l'ongle (m) | la uña | a unha | l'unghia |
| neck | le cou | el cuello | o pescoço | il collo |
| nerve | le nerf | el nervio | o nervo | il nervo |
| nose | le nez | la nariz | o nariz | il naso |
| palm | la paume | la palma | a palma | la palma |
| pulse | le pouls | el pulso | o pulso | il polso |
| rib | la côte | la costilla | a costella | la costola |
| shoulder | l'épaule (f) | el hombro | o hombro | la spalla |
| skeleton | le squelette | el esqueleto | o esqueleto | lo scheletro |
| skin | la peau | la piel | a pele | la pelle |
| skull | le crâne | el cráneo | o crânio | il cranio |
| sole | la plante | la planta | a pianta | la pianta |
| spine | l'épine dorsale (f) | la espina dorsal | a espinha dorsal | la spina dorsale |
| stomach | l'estomac (m) | el estómago | o estômago | lo stomaco |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| tear | la larme | la lágrima | a lágrima | la lagrima |
| temple | la tempe | la sien | a fonte | la tempia |
| thigh | la cuisse | el muslo | a coxa | la coscia |
| throat (internal) | la gorge | la garganta | a garganta | la gola |
| thumb | le pouce | el pulgar | o polegar | il pollice |
| toe | le doigt du pied | el dedo del pie | o dedo do pé | il dito del piede |
| tongue | la langue | la lengua | a língua | la lingua |
| tooth | la dent | el diente | o dente | il dente |
| vein | la veine | la vena | a veia | la vena |
| wound | la blessure | la herida | a ferida | la ferita |
| wrist | le poignet | la muñeca | o pulso | il polso |

(c) ANIMALS

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| animal | l'animal (m) | el animal | o animal | l'animale (m) |
| ant | la fourmi | la hormiga | a formiga | la formica |
| beak | le bec | el pico | o bico | il becco |
| bear | l'ours (m) | el oso | o urso | l'orso |
| bee | l'abeille (f) | la abeja | a abelha | l'ape (f) |
| bird | l'oiseau (m) | el pájaro | o pássaro | l'uccello |
| blackbird | le merle | el mirlo | o melro | il merlo |
| bull | le taureau | el toro | o touro | il toro |
| butterfly | le papillon | la mariposa | a borboleta | la farfalla |
| calf | le veau | el ternero | a vitela | il vitello |
| cat | le chat | el gato | o gato | il gatto |
| caterpillar | la chenille | la oruga | a lagarta | il bruco |
| claw (cat, etc.) | la griffe | la garra | a garra | l'artiglio |
| cock | le coq | el gallo | o galo | il gallo |
| cockroach | le cafard | la cucaracha | la barata | lo scarafaggio |
| cod | la morue | el bacalao | o bacalhau | il merluzzo |
| cow | la vache | la vaca | a vaca | la vacca |
| crayfish | l'écrevisse (f) | el cangrejo | o caranguejo | il gambero |
| crow | le corbeau | el cuervo | o corvo | il corvo |
| dog | le chien | el perro | o cão | il cane |
| donkey | l'âne (m) | el burro | o burro | il ciuco |
| duck | le canard | el pato | o pato | l'anitra |
| eagle | l'aigle (m) | el águila (f) | a águia | l'aquila |
| eel | l'anguille (f) | la anguila | a enguia | l'anguilla |
| elephant | l'éléphant (m) | el elefante | o elefante | l'elefante (m) |
| feather | la plume | la pluma | a pena | la penna |
| fin | la nageoire | la aleta | a barbatana | la pinna |
| fish | le poisson | el pez | o peixe | il pesce |
| flea | la puce | la pulga | a pulga | la pulce |
| fly | la mouche | la mosca | a mosca | la mosca |
| fox | le renard | el zorro | a raposa | la volpe |
| frog | la grenouille | la rana | a rã | il ranocchio |
| gill | la branchie | la branquia | o barranco | la branchia |
| goat | la chèvre | la cabra | a cabra | la capra |
| goose | l'oie (f) | el ganso | o ganso | l'oca |
| grasshopper | la sauterelle | el saltamontes | o gafanhoto | la cavaletta |
| hare | le lièvre | la liebre | a lebre | la lepore |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| hen | la poule | la gallina | a galhina | la gallina |
| herring | le hareng | el arenque | o arenque | l'aringa |
| hoof | le sabot | la pezuña | o casco | lo zoccolo |
| horn | la corne | el cuerno | o corno | il corno |
| horse | le cheval | el caballo | o cavalo | il cavallo |
| insect | l'insecte (m) | el insecto | o insecto | l'insetto |
| lamb | l'agneau (m) | el cordero | o cordeiro | l'agnello |
| lark | l'alouette (f) | la alondra | a cotovia | l'allodola |
| lion | le lion | el león | o leão | il leone |
| lobster (spiny) | la langouste | la langosta | a lagosta | l'aragosta |
| louse | le pou | el piojo | o piolho | il pidocchio |
| mackerel | le maquereau | el escombro | a cavala | lo sgombro |
| monkey | le singe | el mono | o macaco | la scimmia |
| mosquito | le moustique | el mosquito | o mosquito | la zanzara |
| mouse | la souris | el ratón | o rato | il sorcio |
| mule | le mulet | el mulo | a mula | il mulo |
| mussel | la moule | la almeja | o mexilhão | la gongola |
| nightingale | le rossignol | el ruiseñor | o rouxinol | l'usignuolo |
| octopus | la pieuvre | el pulpo | o polvo | il polpo |
| owl | le hibou | el buho | o mocho | il gufo |
| ox | le bœuf | el buey | o boi | il bue |
| oyster | l'huître (f) | la ostra | a ostra | l'ostrica |
| parrot | le perroquet | el loro | o papagaio | il pappagallo |
| partridge | la perdrix | la perdiz | a perdiz | la pernice |
| pig | le cochon | el cerdo | o porco | il porco |
| pigeon | le pigeon | el pichón | o pombo | il piccione |
| pike | le brochet | el sollo | o lúcio | il luccio |
| rabbit | le lapin | el conejo | o coelho | il coniglio |
| rat | le rat | la rata | o rato | il topo |
| salmon | le saumon | el salmón | o salmão | il salmone |
| scale | l'écaille (f) | la escama | a escama | la squama |
| seagull | la mouette | la gaviota | a gaivota | il gabbiano |
| seal | le phoque | la foca | a foca | la foca |
| shark | le requin | el tiburón | o tubarão | il pescecane |
| sheep | le mouton | la oveja | a ovelha | la pecora |
| skin (fur) | la peau | la piel | a pele | la pelle |
| slug | la limace | la babosa | a lesma | la lumaca |
| snail | le limaçon | el caracol | o caracol | la chiocciola |
| snake | le serpent | la serpiente | a serpente | il serpente |
| | la couleuvre | la culebra | a cobra | la biscia |
| sole | la sole | el lenguado | o linguado | la sogliola |
| sparrow | le moineau | el gorrión | o pardal | il passero |
| spider | l'araignée | la araña | a aranha | il ragno |
| squirrel | l'écureuil (m) | la ardilla | o esquilo | lo scoiattolo |
| swallow | l'hirondelle (f) | la golondrina | a andorinha | la rondine |
| tail | la queue | la cola | a cauda | la coda |
| tiger | le tigre | el tigre | o tigre | la tigre |
| toad | le crapaud | el sapo | o sapo | il rospo |
| trout | la truite | la trucha | a truta | la trota |
| tunny | le thon | el atún | o atum | il tonno |
| wasp | la guêpe | la avispa | a vespa | la vespa |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| whale | la baleine | la ballena | a baleia | la balena |
| wing | l'aile (f) | el ala (f) | a asa | l'ala |
| wolf | le loup | el lobo | o lobo | il lupo |
| worm | le ver | el gusano | o bicho | il verme |

(d) FRUIT AND TREES

| | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| almond | l'amande (f) | la almendra | a amêndoa | la mandorla |
| apple | la pomme | la manzana | a maçã | la mela |
| apple-tree | le pommier | el manzano | a macieira | il melo |
| apricot | l'abricot (m) | el albaricoque | o damasco | l'albicocca |
| ash | le frêne | el fresno | o freixo | il frassino |
| bark | l'écorce (f) | la corteza | a casca | la corteccia |
| beech | le hêtre | el haya (f) | a faia | il faggio |
| berry | la baie | la baya | a baga | la bacca |
| birch | le bouleau | el abedul | o vidoeiro | la betulla |
| branch | la branche | la rama | o ramo | il ramo |
| cherry | la cerise | la cereza | a cereja | la ciliegia |
| cherry-tree | le cerisier | el cerezo | a cerejeira | il ciliègio |
| chestnut | la châtaigne | la castaña | a castanha | la castagna |
| | le marron | | | |
| chestnut-tree | le châtaignier | el castaño | o castanheiro | il castagno |
| currant | la groseille | la grosella | a groselha | il ribes |
| cypress | le cyprés | el ciprés | o cipreste | il cipresso |
| date | la datte | el dátíl | a tâmara | il dattero |
| elm | l'orme (m) | el olmo | o olmo | l'olmo |
| fig | la figue | el higo | o figo | il fico |
| fig-tree | le figuier | la higuera | a figueira | il fico |
| fir | le sapin | el abeto | o abeto | l'abete (m) |
| fruit | le fruit | la fruta | a fruta | la frutta |
| grapes | le raisin | la uva | a uva | l'uva |
| hazelnut | la noisette | la avellana | a avelã | la nocciuola |
| laurel | le laurier | el laurel | o loureiro | l'alloro |
| leaf | la feuille | la hoja | a fôlha | la foglia |
| lemon | le citron | el limón | o limão | il limone |
| lime-tree | le tilleul | el tilo | a tília | il tiglio |
| melon | le melon | el melón | o melão | il melone |
| mulberry-tree | le mûrier | la morera | a amoreira | il gelso |
| oak | le chêne | el robie | o carvalho | la quercia |
| olive | l'olive (f) | la aceituna | a azeitona | l'oliva |
| olive-tree | l'olivier (m) | el olivo | a oliveira | l'olivo |
| orange | l'orange (f) | la naranja | a laranja | l'arancia |
| orange-tree | l'oranger (m) | el naranjo | a laranjeira | l'arancio |
| peach | la pêche | el melocotón | o pêssego | la pesca |
| pear | la poire | la pera | a pera | la pera |
| pear-tree | le poirier | el peral | a pereira | il pero |
| pine | le pin | el pino | o pinheiro | il pino |
| pine-apple | l'ananas (m) | la piña | o ananás | l'ananasso |
| plum | la prune | la ciruela | a ameixa | la susina |
| poplar | le peuplier | el álamo | o álamo | il pioppo |
| raspberry | la framboise | la frambuesa | a framboesa | il lampone |
| root | la racine | la raíz | a raíz | la radice |
| strawberry | la fraise | la fresa | o morango | la fragola |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| tree | l'arbre (m) | el árbol | a árvore | l'albero |
| tree-trunk | le tronc | el tronco | o tronco | il tronco |
| vine | la vigne | la parra | a videira | la vite |
| walnut | la noix | la nuez | a noz | la noce |
| walnut-tree | le noyer | el nogal | a nogueira | il noce |
| willow | le saule | el sauce | o salgueiro | il salcio |

(e) CEREALS AND VEGETABLES

| | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| artichoke | P'artichaut (m) | la alcachofa | a alcachofa | il carciofo |
| asparagus | l'asperge (f) | el espárrago | o aspargo | l'asparago |
| barley | l'orge (f) | la cebada | a cevada | l'orzo |
| bean (broad) | la fève | el haba (f) | a fava | la fava |
| bean (kidney) | le haricot | la judía | o feijão | il fagiuolo |
| cabbage | le choux | la col | a couve | il cavolo |
| carrot | la carotte | la zanahoria | a cenoura | la carota |
| cauliflower | le chou-fleur | la coliflor | a couve flor | il cavolfiore |
| celery | le céleri | el apio | o aipo | il sedano |
| chives | la ciboulette | la cebollana | o cebolinho | la cipollina |
| cucumber | le concombre | el pepino | o pepino | il cetriolo |
| egg-plant | l'aubergine (f) | la berenjena | a beringela | la melanzana |
| garlic | l'ail (m) | el ajo | o alho | l'aglio |
| herb | l'herbe (f) | la hierba | a erva | l'erba |
| horse-radish | le raifort | el rábano picante | o rabo de cavalo | la barbaforfe |
| lentil | la lentille | la lenteja | a lentilha | la lenticchia |
| lettuce | la laitue | la lechuga | a alface | la lattuga |
| maize | le maïs | el maíz | o milho | il granturco |
| mint | la menthe | la menta | a hortelã | la menta |
| mushroom | le champignon | la seta | o cogumelo | il fungo |
| oats | l'avoine (f) | la avena | a aveia | l'avena |
| onion | l'oignon (m) | la cebolla | a cebola | la cipolla |
| parsley | le persil | el perejil | a salsa | il prezzemolo |
| pea | le pois | el guisante | a ervilha | il pisello |
| potato | la pomme de terre | la patata | a batata | la patata |
| pumpkin | le potiron | la calabaza | a abóbora | la zucca |
| radish | le radis | el rábano | o rábano | il ravanello |
| rice | le riz | el arroz | o arroz | il riso |
| rye | le seigle | el centeno | o centeio | la segale |
| sage | la sauge | la salvia | a salva | la salvia |
| seed | la graine | la semilla | a semente | il seme |
| spinach | les épinards (m) | la espinaca | o espinafre | gli spinacci |
| tomato | la tomate | el tomate | o tomate | il pomodoro |
| turnip | le naver | el nabo | o nabo | la rapa |
| wheat | le froment | el trigo | o trigo | il frumento |

(f) MATERIALS

| | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------------|----------|--------------|
| brass | le laiton | el latón | o latão | l'ottone (m) |
| brick | la brique | el ladrillo | o tijolo | il mattone |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| chalk | la craie | la greda | a greda | la creta |
| clay | l'argile (f) | la arcilla | a argila | l'argilla |
| concrete | le béton | el hormigón | o formigão | il calcestruzzo |
| copper | le cuivre | el cobre | o cobre | il rame |
| cork | le liège | el corcho | a cortiça | il sughero |
| glass | le verre | el vidrio | o vidro | il vetro |
| gold | l'or (m) | el oro | o ouro | l'oro |
| iron | le fer | el hierro | o ferro | il ferro |
| lead | le plomb | el plomo | o chumbo | il piombo |
| leather | le cuir | el cuero | o couro | il cuoio |
| lime | la chaux | la cal | a cal | la calce |
| marble | le marbre | el mármol | o mármore | il marmo |
| metal | le métal | el metal | o metal | il metallo |
| rubber | le caoutchouc | el caucho | a borracha | la gomma |
| silver | l'argent (m) | la plata | a prata | l'argento |
| steel | l'acier (m) | el acero | o aço | l'acciaio |
| stone | la pierre | la piedra | a pedra | la pietra |
| tar | le goudron | el alquitrán | o alcatrão | il catrame |
| tin (metal) | l'étain (m) | el estaño | o estanho | lo stagno |
| tin (sheet) | le fer-blanc | la hojalata | a folha de lata | la latta |
| wood | le bois | la madera | a madeira | il legno |

(g) BUILDINGS.

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| barn | la grange | el granero | o celeiro | il granaio |
| barracks | la caserne | el cuartel | o quartel | la caserma |
| bridge | le pont | el puente | a ponte | il ponte |
| building | le bâtiment | el edificio | o edificio | l'edificio |
| castle | le château | el castillo | o castelo | il castello |
| cathedral | la cathédrale | la catedral | a catedral | il duomo |
| cemetery | le cimetière | el cementerio | o cemitério | il cimitero |
| church | l'église (f) | la iglesia | a igreja | la chiesa |
| consulate | le consulat | el consulado | o consulado | il consolato |
| corner (street) | le coin | la esquina | a esquina | il canto |
| courtyard | la cour | el patio | o pátio | il cortile |
| dock | le bassin | la dársena | a doca | il bacino |
| embassy | l'ambassade (f) | la embajada | a embaixada | l'ambasciata |
| factory | l'usine (f) | la fábrica | a fábrica | la fabbrica |
| farm | la ferme | la granja | a granja | la fattoria |
| fountain | la fontaine | la fuente | a fonte | la fontana |
| hospital | l'hôpital (m) | el hospital | o hospital | l'ospedale (m) |
| hut | la hutte | la cabaña | a cabana | la capanna |
| inn | l'auberge (f) | la posada | a estalagem | l'osteria |
| lane (town) | la ruelle | la calleja | o beco | il vicolo |
| library | la bibliothèque | la biblioteca | a biblioteca | la biblioteca |
| market | le marché | el mercado | o mercado | il mercato |
| ministry | le ministère | el ministerio | o ministério | il ministero |
| museum | le musée | el museo | o museu | il museo |
| palace | le palais | el palacio | o palácio | il palazzo |
| path (country) | le sentier | la senda | a caminho | il sentiero |
| pavement | le trottoir | la acera | o passeio | il marciapiede |
| pier | la jetée | el muelle | o molhe | il molo |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| police-station | le commissariat le poste | la comisaría | a esquadra da polícia | la questura |
| port | le port | el puerto | o porto | il porto |
| prison | la prison | la prisión | a prisão | la prigione |
| road (highway) | le chemin la route | la carretera la vía | a estrada a via | il cammino la strada |
| school | l'école (f) | la escuela | a escola | la scuola |
| square | la place | la plaza | a praça | la piazza |
| stable (cattle) | l'étable (f) | la cuadra | o estábulo | la stalla |
| street | la rue | la calle | a rua | la via |
| theatre | le théâtre | el teatro | o teatro | il teatro |
| tower | la tour | la torre | a torre | la torre |
| town-hall | l'hôtel de ville la mairie | el ayuntamiento | a câmara municipal | il municipio |
| university | l'université (f) | la universidad | a universidade | l'università (f) |

(h) THE FAMILY

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| aunt | la tante | la tía | a tia | la zia |
| boy | le garçon | el muchacho | o rapaz | il ragazzo |
| brother | le frère | el hermano | o irmão | il fratello |
| child | l'enfant (m.f.) | el (la) niño(a) | o (a) menino(a) | il (la) fanciullo (a) |
| Christian name | le prénom | el nombre de pila | o nome de baptismo | il nome di battesimo |
| cousin | le (la) cousin(e) | el (la) primo(a) | o (a) primo(a) | il (la) cugino(a) |
| daughter | la fille | la hija | a filha | la figlia |
| divorce | le divorce | el divorcio | o divórcio | il divorzio |
| family | la famille | la familia | a família | la famiglia |
| father | le père | el padre | o pai | il padre |
| gentleman | le monsieur | el señor | o senhor | il signore |
| girl | la fille* | la muchacha | a rapariga | la ragazza |
| | la jeune fille | la chica | | |
| grandfather | le grand-père | el abuelo | o avô | il nonno |
| grandmother | la grand-mère | la abuela | a avó | la nonna |
| husband | le mari | el marido | o marido | il marito |
| | l'époux | el esposo | o espôso | lo sposo |
| lady | la dame | la señora | a senhora | la signora |
| man | l'homme | el hombre | o homem | l'uomo |
| marriage | le mariage | el matrimonio | o matrimónio | il matrimonio |
| mother | la mère | la madre | a mãe | la madre |
| parents | père et mère | padre y madre | pai e mãe | padre e madre |
| | les parents | los padres | os pais | i genitori |
| relation | le (la) parent(e) | el (la) pariente | o (a) parente | il (la) parente |
| sister | la sœur | la hermana | a irmã | la sorella |
| son | le fils | el hijo | o filho | il figlio |
| surname | le nom | el apellido | o apelido | il cognome |

* *une fille* (a girl) may only be used in contrast to *un garçon* (a boy). In other situations use *une jeune fille*. *Fille* without the adjective signifies a prostitute.

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------|
| twins | les jumeaux | los gemelos | os gémeos | i gemelli |
| uncle | l'oncle | el tío | o tio | lo zio |
| wife | la femme | la mujer | a mulher | la moglie |
| | l'épouse | la esposa | a esposa | |
| woman | la femme | la mujer | a mulher | la donna |

(i) DRESS AND TOILET

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| apron | le tablier | el delantal | o avental | il grembiato |
| boot | la botte | la bota | a bota | lo stivale |
| braces | les bretelles (f) | los tirantes | os suspensorios | le bretelle |
| brush | la brosse | el cepillo | a escóva | la spazzola |
| button | le bouton | el botón | o botão | il bottone |
| cigar | le cigare | el puro | o charuto | il sigaro |
| cigarette | la cigarette | el cigarillo | o cigarro | la sigaretta |
| cloth | l'étoffe (f) | la tela | a fazenda | la stoffa |
| clothes | les vêtements (m) | la ropa | as roupas | gli abiti |
| collar | le faux-col | el cuello | o colarinho | il colletto |
| comb | le peigne | el peine | o pente | il pettine |
| cotton | le coton | el algodón | o algodão | il cotone |
| drawers (men's) | le caleçon | los calzoncillos | as ceroulas | le mutande |
| dress | la robe | el vestido | o vestido | l'abito |
| fashion | la mode | la moda | a moda | la moda |
| glove | le gant | el guante | a luva | il guanto |
| handbag | la sacoche | el bolso | a bolsa | la borsa |
| handkerchief | le mouchoir | el pañuelo | o lenço | il fazzoletto |
| hat | le chapeau | el sombrero | o chapéu | il cappello |
| jacket | le veston | la chaqueta | a jaqueta | la giacchetta |
| match | l'allumette (f) | la cerilla | o fósforo | il fiammifero |
| needle | l'aiguille (f) | la aguja | a agulha | l'ago |
| overcoat | le pardessus | el abrigo | o sobretudo | il soprabito |
| pin | l'épingle (f) | el alfiler | o alfinete | lo spillo |
| pipe | la pipe | la pipa | o cachimbo | la pipa |
| pocket | la poche | el bolsillo | a algibeira | la tasca |
| powder | la poudre | los polvos | o pó | la cipria |
| rain-coat | l'imperméable (m) | el impermeable | o impermeável | l'impermeabile (m) |
| razor-blade | la lame | la hoja de afeitar | a lamina | la lama |
| shirt | la chemise | la camisa | a camisa | la camicia |
| shoe | le soulier | el zapato | o sapato | la scarpa |
| shoe-lace | le lacer | el cordón | o atacador | il laccio |
| silk | la soie | la seda | a seda | la seta |
| skirt | la jupe | la falda | a saia | la gonna |
| sleeve | la manche | la manga | a manga | la manica |
| soap | le savon | el abón | o sabão | il sapone |
| sock | la chaussette | el calcetín | a pérga | il calzettino |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| spectacles | les lunettes (f) | las gafas | os óculos | gli occhiali |
| sponge | l'éponge (f) | la esponja | a esponja | la spugna |
| stick | la canne | el bastón | a bengala | il bastone |
| stocking | le bas | la media | a meia | la calza |
| suit | le complet | el traje | o fato | l'abito completo |
| tie | la cravate | la corbata | a gravata | la cravatta |
| tooth-brush | la brosse à dents | el cepillo de dientes | a escóva dos dentes | la spazzolina da denti |
| trousers | le pantalon | los pantalones | as calças | i pantaloni |
| umbrella | le parapluie | el paraguas | o guarda-chuva | l'ombrello |
| waistcoat | le gilet | el chaleco | o colete | il panciotto |
| watch | la montre | el reloj | o relógio | l'orologio |
| wool | la laine | la lana | a lã | la lana |

(1) THE HOME

| | | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| alarm-clock | le réveil | el despertador | o despertador | la sveglia |
| arm-chair | le fauteuil | el sillón | a poltrona | la poltrona |
| ash | la cendre | la ceniza | a cinza | la cenere |
| ash-tray | le cendrier | el cenicero | o cinzeiro | il portacenere |
| balcony | le balcon | el balcón | o balcão | il balcone |
| basement | le sous-sol | el sótano | a cave | il sottosuolo |
| basket | le panier | el cesto | o cesto | il panier |
| bath | le bain | el baño | o banho | il bagno |
| bed | le lit | la cama | a cama | il letto |
| bedroom | la chambre à coucher | la alcoba | o quarto de dormir | la camera da letto |
| bell (door) | la sonnette | la campanilla | a campainha | il campanello |
| blanket | la couverture | la manta | o cobertor | la coperta |
| blind | le store | la persiana | a persiana | la persiana |
| box | la boîte | la caja | a caixa | la scatola |
| broom | le balai | la escoba | a vassoura | la scopa |
| bucket | le seau | el balde | o balde | il secchio |
| candle | la bougie | la vela | a vela | la candela |
| carpet | le tapis | la alfombra | o tapete | il tappeto |
| ceiling | le plafond | el techo | o teto | il soffitto |
| chair | la chaise | la silla | a cadeira | la sedia |
| chamber-pot | le vase de nuit | el vaso de noche | a bacia de cama | il vaso da notte |
| chimney | la cheminée | la chimenea | a chaminé | il camino |
| coal | le charbon | el carbón | o carvão | il carbone |
| corner | le coin | el rincón | o canto | l'angolo |
| cupboard | l'armoire (f) | el armario | o armário | l'armadio |
| curtain | le rideau | la cortina | a cortina | a cortina |
| cushion | le coussin | el cojín | a almofada | il cuscino |
| door | la porte | la puerta | a porta | la porta |
| drawer | le tiroir | el cajón | a gaveta | il cassetto |
| flame | la flamme | la llama | a chama | la fiamma |
| flat | l'appartement | el piso | o aposento | l'appartamento |

(m)

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| floor | le plancher | el suelo | o soalho | il pavimento |
| flower | la fleur | la flor | a flor | il fiore |
| furniture | les meubles | los muebles | os móveis | i mobili |
| garden | le jardin | el jardín | o jardim | il giardino |
| ground-floor | le rez-de-chaussée | la planta baja | o rés-do-chão | il pianterreno |
| hook | le crochet | el gancho | o gancho | l'uncino |
| house | la maison | la casa | a casa | la casa |
| iron (flat) | le fer à repasser | la plancha | o ferro de engomar | il ferro da stirare |
| key | la clef | a llave | a chave | la chiave |
| kitchen | la cuisine | la cocina | a cozinha | la cucina |
| ladder | l'échelle (f) | la escalera | a escada | la scala |
| lamp | la lampe | la lámpara | o candieiro | la lampada |
| lock | la serrure | la cerradura | a fechadura | la serratura |
| mattress | le matelas | el colchón | o colchão | il materasso |
| methyiated spirit | l'alcool dénaturé (m) | el alcohol metílico | o alcool desnatado | l'alcool denaturato |
| mirror | le miroir | el espejo | o espelho | lo specchio |
| pantry | l'office (f) | la despensa | a despensa | la dispensa |
| paraffin | le pétrole | el petróleo | o petróleo | il petrolio |
| picture | le tableau | el cuadro | o quadro | il quadro |
| pillow | l'oreiller (m) | la almohada | a almofada | il guanciale |
| pipe (water, etc.) | le tuyau | el tubo | o cano | il condotto |
| poker | le tisonnier | el atizador | o atizador | l'attizzatore |
| record (gramophone) | le disque | el disco | o disco | il disco |
| roof | le toit | el techado | o telhado | il tetto |
| room | la chambre | el cuarto | o quarto | la camera |
| sheet | la pièce | la habitación | a camara | la stanza |
| shovel | le drap | la sábana | o lençol | il lenzuolo |
| side-board | la pelle | la pala | a pá | la pala |
| sitting-room | le buffet | el aparador | o aparador | la credenza |
| smoke | le salon | la sala | a sala | il salotto |
| stairs | la fumée | el humo | o fumo | il fumo |
| storey | l'escalier (m) | la escalera | a escada | la scala |
| stove | l'étage (m) | el piso | o andar | il piano |
| switch (electric) | le poêle | la estufa | a estufa | la stufa |
| | le commutateur | el conmutador | o comutador | l'interruttore |
| table | a table | la mesa | a mesa | la tavola |
| tap | le robinet | el grifo | a torneira | il rubinetto |
| toilet (W.C.) | le cabinet | el retrete | o retrete | il gabinetto |
| towel | la serviette | la toalla | a toalha | l'asciugamano |
| vacuum cleaner | l'aspirateur (m) | el aspirador | o aspirador | l'aspiratore (m) |
| wall (house) | le mur | el muro | o muro | il muro |
| wall (room) | la paroi | la pared | a parede | la parete |
| window | la fenêtre | la ventana | a janela | la finestra |

(k) FOOD AND DRINK

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| bacon | le lard | el tocino | o toucinho | il lardo |
| beef | le bœuf | la carne de vaca | a carne de vaca | il manzo |
| beer | la bière | la cerveza | a cerveja | la birra |
| beverage | la boisson | la bebida | a bebida | la bevanda |
| biscuit | le biscuit | el bizcocho | o biscoito | il biscotto |
| bread | le pain | el pan | o pão | il pane |
| breakfast | le petit déjeuner | el desayuno | o pequeno almoço | la prima colazione |
| brandy | le cognac | el coñac | a aguardente | il cognac |
| butter | le beurre | la mantequilla | a manteiga | il burro |
| cake | le gâteau | el pastel | o bolo | la torta |
| cheese | le fromage | el queso | o queijo | il formaggio |
| chicken | le poulet | el pollo | o frango | il pollo |
| chop | la côtelette | la chuleta | a costeleta | la costoletta |
| coffee | le café | el café | o café | il caffè |
| cream | la crème | la crema | a nata | la panna |
| dessert | le dessert | el postre | a sobremesa | la frutta |
| dinner | le dîner | la comida | o jantar | il pranzo |
| egg | l'œuf (m) | el huevo | o ovo | l'uovo |
| fried eggs | des œufs sur le plat | huevos fritos | óvos assados | uova al piatto |
| soft-boiled eggs | des œufs à la coque | huevos pasados por agua | óvos quentes | uova sode |
| fat | la graisse | la grasa | a gordura | il grasso |
| flour | la farine | la harina | a farinha | la farina |
| ham | le jambon | el jamón | o presunto | il prosciutto |
| honey | le miel | la miel | o mel | il miele |
| jam | la confiture | la jalea | a compota | la marmellata |
| lunch | le déjeuner | el almuerzo | o almoço | la colazione |
| meal | le repas | la comida | a refeição | il pasto |
| meat | la viande | la carne | a carne | la carne |
| milk | le lait | la leche | o leite | il latte |
| mustard | la moutarde | la mostaza | a mostarda | la mostarda |
| mutton | le mouton | la carne de camero | a carne de carneiro | la carne di montone |
| oil | l'huile (f) | el aceite | o azeite | l'olio |
| omelet | l'omelette (f) | la tortilla | a omeleta | la frittata |
| pepper | le poivre | la pimienta | a pimenta | il pepe |
| pork | le porc | la carne de cerdo | a carne de porco | il maiale |
| roast | le rôti | el asado | o assado | l'arrosto |
| roll | le petit pain | el panecillo | o pãozinho | il panino |
| salad | la salade | la ensalada | a salada | l'insalata |
| salt | le sel | la sal | o sal | il sale |
| sauce | la sauce | la salsa | o molho | la salsa |
| sausage | la saucisse | la salchicha | a salchicha | la salsiccia |
| soda-water | l'eau de Seltz | el agua de Seltz | a soda | l'acqua minerale |
| soup | la soupe | la sopa | a sopa | la minestra |
| stew | le ragoût | el guisado | o guisado | lo stufato |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| sugar | le sucre | el azúcar | o açúcar | lo zucchero |
| supper | le souper | la cena | a ceia | la cena |
| tea | le thé | el té | o chá | il tè |
| veal | le veau | la ternera | a carne de vitela | la carne de vitello |
| vegetable | la légume | la legumbre | o legume | il legume |
| vinegar | le vinaigre | el vinagre | o vinagre | l'aceto |
| wine | le vin | el vino | o vinho | il vino |

(1) EATING AND COOKING UTENSILS

| | | | | |
|------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| basin | le bol | el tazón | a tejela | la catinella |
| bottle | la bouteille | la botella | a garrafa | la bottiglia |
| coffee-pot | la cafetière | la cafetera | a cafeteira | la caffettiera |
| colander | la passoire | el colador | o passador | il passino |
| cork-screw | le tire-bouchon | el sacacorchos | o saca-rólhas | il cavatappi |
| cup | la tasse | la taza | a chávena | la tazza |
| dish | le plat | el plato | o prato | il piatto |
| fork | la fourchette | el tenedor | o garfo | la forchetta |
| frying-pan | la poêle | la sartén | a frigideira | la padella |
| glass | le verre | el vaso | o copo | il bicchiere |
| jug | la cruche | la jarra | o jarro | la brocca |
| kettle | la bouilloire | la caldera | a chaleira | il calderotto |
| knife | le couteau | el cuchillo | a faca | il coltello |
| lid | le couvercle | la tapa | a tampa | il coperchio |
| napkin | la serviette | la servilleta | o guardanapo | il tovagliolo |
| plate | l'assiette (f) | el plato | o prato | il piatto |
| saucer | la soucoupe | el platillo | o pires | il piattino |
| saucepan | la casserole | la cacerola | a caçarola | la casseruola |
| spoon | la cuiller | la cuchara | a colher | il cucchiaino |
| tablecloth | la nappe | el mantel | a toalha | la tovaglia |
| teapot | la théière | la tetera | o bule | la teiera |

(m) TOOLS

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| axe | la hache | el hacha (f) | o machado | l'ascia |
| board | la planche | la tabla | a tábua | la tavola |
| chisel | le ciseau | el cincel | o cinzel | lo scalpello |
| cord | la corde | la cuerda | a corda | la corda |
| file | la lime | la lima | a lima | la lima |
| gimlet | la vrille | la barrená | a verruma | il succhiello |
| gun | le fusil | la escopeta | a espingarda | il fucile |
| hammer | le marteau | el martillo | o martelo | il martello |
| hoe | la houe | la azada | a enxada | la zappa |
| hook (fishing) | le hameçon | el anzuelo | o anzol | l'amo |
| line (fishing) | la ligne | el cordel | o fio | la lenza |
| nail | le clou | el clavo | o prego | il chiodo |
| net | le filet | la red | a rede | la rete |
| nut | l'écrou (m) | la tuerca | a porca | la madrevite |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| pincers | les tenailles (f) | las tenazas | as tenazes | le tenaglie |
| plane | le rabot | el cepillo | a pleina | la pialla |
| pliers | les pincés (f) | los alicates | o alicate | le pinzette |
| plough | la charrue | el arado | o arado | l'aratro |
| rod (fishing) | la canne | la caña | a cana | la canna |
| saw | la scie | la sierra | a serra | la sega |
| scissors | les ciseaux (m) | las tijeras | as tesouras | le forbici |
| screw | la vis | el tornillo | o parafuso | la vite |
| screw-driver | le tournevis | el destornillador | a chave de parafusos | il cacciavite |
| scythe | la faux | la guadaña | a foice | la falce |
| spade | la bêche | la pala | a pá | la pala |
| spanner | la clef | la llave | a chave | la chiave |
| tool | l'outil (m) | la herramienta | a ferramenta | l'arnese (m) |
| wire | le fil de fer | el alambre | o arame | il filo 'di ferro |

(n) VOCATIONS AND SHOPS

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| actor | l'acteur | el actor | o actor | l'attore |
| actress | l'actrice | la actriz | a actriz | l'attrice |
| author | l'auteur | el autor | o autor | l'autore |
| baker | le boulanger | el panadero | o padeiro | il fornaio |
| baker's shop | la boulangerie | la panadería | a padaria | la panetteria |
| bank | la banque | el banco | o banco | la banca |
| boarding-house | la pension | la casa de huéspedes | a pensão | la pensione |
| bookseller | le libraire | el librero | o livreiro | il libraio |
| bookshop | la librairie | la librería | a livraria | la libreria |
| business man | le commercant | el comerciante | o comerciante | il commerciante |
| butcher | le boucher | el carnicero | o carneiro | il macellaio |
| butcher's shop | la boucherie | la carnicería | o talho | la macelleria |
| chemist (chemistry) | le chimiste | el químico | o químico | il chimico |
| chemist (pharmacy) | le pharmacien | el farmacéutico | o farmacéutico | il farmacista |
| cook (female) | la cuisinière | la cocinera | a cozinheira | la cuoca |
| dairy | la crèmerie | la lechería | a leitaria | la latteria |
| dentist | le dentiste | el dentista | o dentista | il dentista |
| doctor | le docteur | el doctor | o doutor | il dottore |
| | le médecin | el médico | o médico | il medico |
| employee | l'employé | el empleado | o empregado | l'impiiegato |
| engineer | l'ingénieur | el ingeniero | o engenheiro | l'ingegnere |
| fisherman | le pêcheur | el pescador | o pescador | il pescatore |
| gardener | le jardinier | el jardinero | o jardineiro | il giardiniere |
| hairdresser | le coiffeur | el peluquero | o cabeleireiro | il parrucchiere |
| | la coiffeuse | la peluquera | a cabeleireira | la parrucchiera |
| jeweller | le bijoutier | el joyero | o joalheiro | il gioielliere |
| journalist | le (la) journaliste | el (la) periodista | o (a) jornalista | il (la) giornalista |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| judge | le juge | el juez | o juiz | il giudice |
| laundry | la blanchisserie | el lavadero | a lavandaria | la lavanderia |
| lawyer | l'avocat | el abogado | o advogado | l'avvocato |
| mechanic | le mécanicien | el mecánico | o mecânico | il meccanico |
| milliner | la modiste | la modista | a modista | la modista |
| musician | le musicien | el músico | o músico | il musicista |
| notary | le notaire | el notario | o notário | il notaio |
| nurse (hospital) | l'infirmière | la enfermera | a enfermeira | l'infermiera |
| official | le fonctionnaire | el funcionario | o funcionário | l'ufficiale |
| optician | l'opticien | el óptico | o oculista | l'ottico |
| painter | le peintre | el pintor | o pintor | il pittore |
| peasant | le paysan | el labrador | o lavrador | il contadino |
| photographer | le photographe | el fotógrafo | o fotógrafo | il fotografo |
| policeman | l'agent | el policía | o polícia | la guardia |
| postman | le facteur | el cartero | o carteiro | il portaletterre |
| priest (parish) | le curé | el cura | o cura | il prete |
| publisher | l'éditeur | el editor | o editor | l'editore |
| scientist | l'homme de science | el hombre de ciencia | o scienista | lo scierziato |
| servant | le (la) domestique | el (la) criado(a) | o (a) criado(a) | il (la) domestico(a) |
| shoemaker | le cordonnier | el zapatero | o sapateiro | il calzolaio |
| shop | le magasin | la tienda | a loja | il negozio |
| singer | le chanteur | el cantor | o cantor | il (la) cantante |
| | la chanteuse | la cantora | a cantora | |
| stationer's shop | la papeterie | la papelería | a papelaria | la cartoleria |
| student | l'étudiant | el estudiante | o estudante | lo studente |
| surgeon | le chirurgien | el cirujano | o cirurgião | il chirurgo |
| tailor | le tailleur | el sastre | o alfaiate | il sarto |
| teacher | l'instituteur | el maestro | o mestre | il maestro |
| | (m) | la maestra | a mestra | la maestra |
| | Pinstitutrice (f) | | | |
| typist | la (le) dactylographe | la (el) mecanógrafa (o) | a (o) dactilógrafa (o) | la (il) dattilograf(a) (o) |
| watchmaker | l'horloger | el relojero | o relojero | l'orologiaio |
| workman | l'ouvrier | el obrero | o obreiro | l'operaio |

(o) COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Africa | l'Afrique (f) | el África (f) | a África | l'Africa |
| America | l'Amérique (f) | la América | a América | l'America |
| an American | un Américain | un americano | um americano | un Americano |
| Argentine | l'Argentine (f) | la Argentina | a Argentina | l'Argentina |
| an Argentine | un Argentin | un argentino | um argentino | un Argentino |
| Asia | l'Asie (f) | el Asia (f) | a Ásia | l'Asia |
| Austria | l'Autriche (f) | el Austria (f) | a Austria | l'Austria |
| Belgium | la Belgique | la Bélgica | a Bélgica | il Belgio |
| a Belgian | un Belge | un belga | um belga | un Belga |
| Brazil | le Brésil | el Brasil | o Brasil | il Brasile |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| a Brazilian | un Brésilien | un brasileiro | um brasileiro | un Brasiliano |
| China | la Chine | la China | a China | la Cina |
| a Chinese | un Chinois | un chino | um chinês | un Cinese |
| a Dane | un Danois | un dina- marqués | um dina- marqués | un Danese |
| Denmark | le Danemark | la Dinamarca | a Dinamarca | la Danimarca |
| Egypt | l'Égypte (f) | el Egipto | Egipto | l'Egitto |
| empire | l'empire (m) | el imperio | o império | l'impero |
| England | l'Angleterre (f) | la Inglaterra | a Inglaterra | l'Inghilterra |
| an Englishman | un Anglais | un inglés | um inglês | un Inglese |
| Europe | l'Europe (f) | la Europa | a Europa | l'Europa |
| a European | un Européen | un europeo | um europeo | un Europeo |
| Finland | la Finlande | la Finlandia | a Finlândia | la Finlandia |
| a Finn | un Finnois | un finlandés | um finlandês | un Finlandese |
| a foreigner | un étranger | un extranjero | o estrangeiro | un forestiere |
| France | la France | la Francia | a França | la Francia |
| a Frenchman | un Français | un francés | um francês | un Francese |
| a German | un Allemand | un alemán | um alemão | il Tedesco |
| Germany | l'Allemagne (f) | la Alemania | a Alemanha | la Germania |
| Great Britain | la Grande- Bretagne | la Gran Bretaña | Grã-Bretanha | la Gran- Bretagna |
| Greece | la Grèce | la Grecia | a Grécia | la Grecia |
| a Greek | un Grec | un griego | um grego | il Greco |
| Holland | la Hollande | la Holanda | a Holanda | l'Olanda |
| a Dutchman | un Hollandais | un holandés | um holandês | un Olandese |
| a Hungarian | un Hongrois | un húngaro | um húngaro | un Ungherese |
| Hungary | la Hongrie | la Hungría | a Hungria | l'Ungheria |
| Ireland | l'Irlande (f) | la Irlanda | a Irlanda | l'Irlanda |
| an Irishman | un Irlandais | un irlandés | um irlandês | un Irlandese |
| Italy | l'Italie (f) | la Italia | a Itália | l'Italia |
| an Italian | un Italien | un italiano | um italiano | un Italiano |
| Japan | le Japon | el Japón | o Japão | il Giappone |
| a Japanese | le Japonais | un japonés | um japonês | un Giapponese |
| kingdom | le royaume | el reino | o reino | il regno |
| Norway | la Norvège | la Noruega | a Noruega | la Norvegia |
| a Norwegian | un Norvégien | un noruego | um norueguês | un Norvegese |
| Poland | la Pologne | la Polonia | a Polónia | la Polonia |
| a Pole | le Polonais | un polaco | um polaco | un Polacco |
| Portugal | le Portugal | el Portugal | Portugal | il Portogallo |
| a Portuguese | le Portugais | un portugués | um português | un Portoghese |
| republic | la république | la república | a república | la repubblica |
| Russia | la Russie | la Rusia | a Russia | la Russia |
| a Russian | un Russe | un ruso | um russo | un Russo |
| Scotland | l'Ecosse (f) | la Escocia | a Escócia | la Scozia |
| a Scotsman | un Écossais | un escocés | um escocês | uno Scozzese |
| Spain | l'Espagne (f) | España | a Espanha | la Spagna |
| a Spaniard | un Espagnol | un español | um espanhol | uno Spagnuolo |
| Sweden | la Suède | la Suecia | a Suécia | la Svezia |
| a Swede | un Suédois | un sueco | um sueco | uno Svedese |
| a Swiss | un Suisse | un suizo | um suíço | uno Svizzero |
| Switzerland | la Suisse | la Suiza | a Suíça | la Svizzera |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| a Turk | un Turc | un turco | um turco | un Turco |
| Turkey | la Turquie | la Turquía | a Turquia | la Turchia |
| U.S.A. | les États-Unis | los Estados Unidos | os Estados Unidos | gli Stati Uniti |

(p) *READING AND WRITING*

| | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| address | l'adresse (f) | las señas | o enderêço | l'indirizzo |
| addressee | le destinataire | el destinatario | o destinatário | il destinatario |
| blotting-paper | le papier buvard | el papel secante | o mataborrão | la carta sugante |
| book | le livre | el libro | o livro | il libro |
| date | la date | la fecha | a data | la data |
| dictionary | le dictionnaire | el diccionario | o dicionário | il dizionario |
| envelope | l'enveloppe (f) | el sobre | o envelope | la busta |
| fountain-pen | le stylo (graphe) | la pluma estilográfica | a caneta de tinta permanente | la penna stilo-grafica |
| ink | l'encre (f) | la tinta | a tinta | l'inchiostro |
| letter | la lettre | la carta | a carta | la lettera |
| letter-box | la boîte aux lettres | el buzón | a caixa do correio | la buca da lettere |
| mail | le courrier | el correo | o correio | il corriere |
| map | la carte | el mapa | o mapa | la carta |
| news | les nouvelles (f) | las noticias | as notícias | le notizie |
| newspaper | le journal | el periódico | o jornal | il giornale |
| novel | le roman | la novela | a novela | il romanzo |
| page | la page | la página | a página | la pagina |
| paper | le papier | el papel | o papel | la carta |
| parcel | le paquet | el paquete | o pacote | il pacco |
| pen | la plume | la pluma | a pena | la penna |
| pencil | le crayon | el lápiz | o lápis | la matita |
| periodical | la revue | la revista | a revista | la rivista |
| postage | le port | el franqueo | o porte | l'affrancatura |
| post-card | la carte postale | la tarjeta postal | o bilhete postal | la cartolina postale |
| post-office | le bureau de poste | la oficina de correos | o correio | l'ufficio postale |
| reading | la lecture | la lectura | a leitura | la lettura |
| rubber (eraser) | la gomme | la goma | o apagador | la gomma |
| sender | l'expéditeur (m) | el remitente | o remetente | il mittente |
| signature | la signature | la firma | a assinatura | la firma |
| stamp | le timbre-poste | el sello | o selo | il francobollo |
| typewriter | la machine à écrire | la máquina de escribir | a máquina de escrever | la macchina da scrivere |

(q) *HOTEL AND RESTAURANT*

| | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| bath-room | la salle de bain | el cuarto de baño | o quarto de banho | la sala da bagno |
|-----------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-------------|---|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| bill | l'addition (restaurant) la note (hotel) | la cuenta | a conta | il conto |
| chambermaid | la femme de chambre | la criada | a criada | la cameriera |
| change | la monnaie | el cambio | o trôco | gli spiccioli |
| chef | le chef | el jefe | o chefe | il capocuoco |
| cloak-room | le vestiaire | el vestuario | o guarda-roupa | la guardaroba |
| dining-room | la salle à manger | el comedor | a sala de jantar | la sala da pranzo |
| hotel | l'hôtel (m) | el hotel | o hotel | l'albergo |
| lift | l'ascenseur (m) | el ascensor | o ascensor | l'ascensore |
| manager | le directeur | el director | o director | il direttore |
| | le gérant | el gerente | o gerente | il gerente |
| menu | la carte | la lista | a lista | la lista |
| office | le bureau | las oficinas | o escritório | l'ufficio |
| restaurant | le restaurant | el restaurant | o restaurante | il ristorante |
| staff | le personnel | el personal | o pessoal | il personale |
| tip | le pourboire | la propina | a gorgeta | la mancia |
| waiter | le garçon | el camarero | o criado | il cameriere |

(r) TRAIN

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| arrival | l'arrivée (f) | la llegada | a chegada | l'arrivo |
| booking-office | le guichet | la taquilla | a bilheteira | lo sportello |
| cloak-room | la consigne | la sala de equipajes | a sala de bagagem | il deposito |
| coach | la voiture | el coche | a carruagem | la vettura |
| | le wagon | el vagón | o vagão | il vagone |
| compartment | le compartiment | el departamento | o compartimento | lo scompartimento |
| connection | la correspondance | el empalme | a ligação | la coincidenza |
| customs | la douane | la aduana | a alfândega | la dogana |
| delay | le retard | el retraso | o atraso | il ritardo |
| departure | le départ | la partida | a partida | la partenza |
| dining-car | le wagon-restaurant | el coche comedor | o vagão-restaurante | il vagone ristorante |
| engine | la locomotive | la locomotora | a locomotiva | la locomotiva |
| | la machine | | | |
| entrance | l'entrée (f) | la entrada | a entrada | l'entrata |
| exit | la sortie | la salida | a saída | l'uscita |
| guard | le conducteur | el guarda | o condutor | il capotreno |
| inquiry office | le bureau de renseignements | la oficina de información | o escritório de informações | l'ufficio informazioni |
| avatory | le cabinet | el retrete | a retrete | la ritirata |
| luggage | les baggages (m) | el equipaje | a bagagem | il bagaglio |
| luggage-van | le fourgon | el furgón | o furgão | il bagagliaio |
| passenger | le voyageur | el pasajero | o passageiro | il passeggero |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| passport | le passeport | el pasaporte | o passaporte | il passaporto |
| platform | le quai | el andén | a plataforma | la piattaforma |
| porter | le porteur | el mozo | o porteiro | il facchino |
| railway | le chemin de fer | el ferrocarril | o caminho de ferro | la ferrovia |
| seat | la place | el asiento | o lugar | il posto |
| sleeping-car | le wagon-lit | el coche cama | o vagão leito | la vettura letto |
| smoking | fumeurs | fumadores | fumadores | fumatori |
| station | la gare | la estación | a estação | la stazione |
| station-master | le chef de gare | el jefe de estación | o chefe da estação | il capo-stazione |
| stop | l'arrêt (m) | la parada | a paragem | la fermata |
| suit-case | la valise | la maleta | a mala de mão | la valigia |
| ticket | le billet | el billete | o bilhete | il biglietto |
| return ticket | le billet d'aller et retour | el billete de ida y vuelta | o bilhete de ida e volta | il biglietto d'andata e ritorno |
| ticket-collector | le contrôleur | el revisor | o revisor | il controllore |
| time-table | l'indicateur (m) | el horario | o horário | l'orario |
| train | le train | el tren | o combóio | il treno |
| fast train | le rapide | el rápido | o rápido | il treno rapido |
| | l'express (m) | el expreso | o expreso | |
| slow train | le train omnibus | el mixto | o mixto | il treno omnibus |
| trunk | la malle | el baúl | o baú | il baule |
| waiting-room | la salle d'attente | la sala de espera | a sala de espera | la sala d'aspetto |

(s) SHIP

| | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------|
| anchor | l'ancre (f) | el ancla (f) | a âncora | l'ancora |
| boat (small) | le bateau | la barca | o barco | la barca |
| boiler | la chaudière | la caldera | a caldeira | la caldaia |
| bows | l'avant (m) | la proa | a proa | la prua |
| bridge | la passerelle | el puente | a ponte | il ponte di comando |
| cabin | la cabine | el camarote | o camarote | la cabina |
| captain | le capitaine | el capitán | o capitão | il capitano |
| compass | la boussole | la brújula | a bússola | la bussola |
| crew | l'équipage (m) | la tripulación | a equipagem | l'equipaggio |
| deck | le pont | la cubierta | a coberta | il ponte |
| flag | le pavillon | el pabellón | a bandeira | la bandiera |
| funnel | la cheminée | la chimenea | a chaminé | il fumaiolo |
| hold | la cale | la cala | o porão | la stiva |
| hull | la coque | el casco | o casco | lo scafo |
| keel | la quille | la quilla | a quilha | la chiglia |
| lighthouse | le phare | el faro | o farol | il faro |
| mast | le mât | el mástil | o mastro | l'albero |
| oar | la rame | el remo | o remo | il remo |
| propeller | la hélice | la hélice | a hélice | l'elice (f) |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|
| purser | le commissaire | el contador | o comissário | il commissario |
| rudder | le gouvernail | el timón | o leme | il timone |
| sail | la voile | la vela | a vela | la vela |
| seaman | le marin | el marino | o marinheiro | il marinaio |
| sea-sickness | le mal de mer | el mareo | o enjôo | il mal di mare |
| ship | le bateau | el barco | o navio | il bastimento |
| stern | l'arrière (m) | la popa | a pôpa | la poppa |
| rug | le remorqueur | el remolcador | o rebocador | il rimorchiatore |

(t) MOTOR AND BICYCLE

| | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| aeroplane | l'avion (m) | el avión | o avião | l'aeroplano |
| axle | l'essieu (m) | el eje | o eixo | l'asse (f) |
| bearing | le coussinet | el cojinete | a chumaceira | il cuscinetto |
| bend (road) | le virage | la curva | a curva | la svolta |
| bicycle | la bicyclette | la bicicleta | a bicicleta | la bicicletta |
| brake | le frein | el freno | o travão | il freno |
| bulb | l'ampoule (f) | la ampolleta | a lâmpada | l'ampolla |
| bumper | le pare-chocs | el tope | o para-choques | il paraurti |
| chain | la chaîne | la cadena | a cadeia | la catena |
| clutch | l'embrayage (m) | el embrague | a embraiagem | la frizione |
| damage | le dommage | el daño | o dano | il danno |
| engine | le moteur | el motor | o motor | il motore |
| fine | l'amende (f) | la multa | a multa | la contravvenzione |
| gears | l'engrenage (m) | el engranaie | a engrenagem | l'ingranaggio |
| head-lamp | le phare | el faro | a lanterna | il faro |
| hood | la capote | la capota | a capota | la cappotta |
| hooter | le claxon | la bocina | a buzina | la tromba |
| horse-power | le cheval vapeur | el caballo de fuerza | a força de cavalo | il cavallo vapore |
| ignition | l'allumage (m) | el encendido | a ignição | l'accensione (f) |
| jack | le cric | el cric | o macaco | il cricco |
| level-crossing | le passage à niveau | el paso a nivel | a passagem de nível | il passaggio a livello |
| lever | le levier | la palanca | a alavanca | la leva |
| lorry | le camion | el camión | o camião | l'autocarro |
| motor-car | l'auto(mobile) (f) | el auto(móvil) | o auto(móvel) | l'auto(mobile) (f) |
| motor-cycle | la moto-cyclette | la motocicleta | a motocicleta | la motocicletta |
| mudguard | l'aile (f) | el guarda barro | o guarda-lama | il parafrango |
| one way | sens unique | dirección única | direcção obrigatória | senso unico |
| petrol | l'essence (f) | la gasolina | a gasolina | la benzina |
| pump | la pompe | la bomba | a bomba | la pompa |
| puncture | la crevaion | el pinchazo | o furo | a bucatura |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| spark | l'étincelle (f) | la chispa | a faísca | la scintilla |
| sparkling-plug | la bougie | la bujía | a vela | la candela |
| spring | le ressort | el muelle | a mola | la molla |
| starter | le démarreur | el arranque | o arranque | l'avviamento |
| steering-wheel | le volant | el volante | o volante | il volante |
| tram | le tramway | el tranvía | o carro eléctrico | il tranvai |
| tube | la chambre à air | la cámara de aire | a câmara | la camera d'aria |
| tyre | le boyau | | | |
| valve | le pneu | el neumático | o pneumático | la gomma |
| wheel | la soupape | la válvula | a válvula | la valvola |
| | la roue | la rueda | a roda | la ruota |

(u) GENERAL

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| accident (chance event) | l'accident (m) | el acaso | o acaso | il caso |
| accident (mishap) | l'accident (m) | la desgracia | o accidente | la disgrazia |
| account (bill) | le compte | la cuenta | a conta | il conto |
| action | l'action (f) | la acción | a acção | l'azione |

The correspondence English *-tion*, French *-tion*, Spanish *-ción*, Portuguese *-ção*, Italian *-zione* also occurs in the Romance equivalents to *ambition*, *association*, *attention*, *condition*, *direction*, *imitation*, *nation*, *relation*, etc.

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| advantage | l'avantage (m) | la ventaja | a vantagem | il vantaggio |
| advertisement | l'annonce (f) | el anuncio | o anúncio | l'annunzio |
| advice (counsel) | le conseil | el consejo | o conselho | il consiglio |
| age (length of life) | l'âge (m) | la edad | a idade | l'età (f) |
| amusement | l'amusement (m) | la diversión | o divertimento | il divertimento |
| anger | la colère | la cólera | o enfado | la collera |
| angle | l'angle (m) | el ángulo | o ângulo | l'angolo |
| answer | la réponse | la respuesta | a resposta | la risposta |
| apology | l'excuse (f) | la disculpa | a satisfação | la scusa |
| apparatus | l'appareil (m) | el aparato | o aparelho | l'apparecchio |
| appetite | l'appétit (m) | el apetito | o apetite | l'appetito |
| army | l'armée (f) | el ejército | o exército | l'esercito |
| art | l'art (m) | el arte (m) | a arte | l'arte (f) |
| assistance | l'aide (f) | la ayuda | a ajuda | l'aiuto |
| attack | l'attaque (f) | el ataque | o ataque | l'attacco |
| authority | l'autorité | la autoridad | a autoridade | l'autorità (f) |

The correspondence English *-ty*, French *-té*, Spanish *-dad*, Portuguese *-dade*, Italian *-tà*, also occurs in the Romance equivalents to *difficulty*, *liberty*, *quality*, *society*, *tranquillity*, etc.

| | | | | |
|---------|-------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|
| average | la moyenne | el término medio | o termo médio | la media |
| bag | le sac | el saco | o saco | il sacco |
| ball | la boule | la bola | a bola | la palla |
| battle | la bataille | la batalla | a batalha | la battaglia |
| beauty | la beauté | la belleza | a beleza | la bellezza |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| beginning | le commence- ment | el principio | o principio | il principio |
| birth | la naissance | el nacimiento | o nascimento | la nascita |
| blot | la tache | el borrrón | o borrrão | lo sgorbio |
| blow (hit) | le coup | el golpe | o golpe | il colpo |
| bottom | le fond | el fondo | o fundo | il fondo |
| burn | la brûlure | la quemadura | a queimadura | la bruciatura |
| business (trade) | les affaires (f) | los negocios | os negócios | gli affari |
| care | le soin | el cuidado | o cuidado | la cura |
| case (instance) | le cas | el caso | o caso | il caso |
| cause (grounds) | la cause | la causa | a causa | la causa |
| change (altera- tion) | le changement | el cambio | a mudança | il cambia- mento |
| chemistry | la chimie | la química | a química | la chimica |
| choice | le choix | la elección | a escolha | la scelta |
| circle | le cercle | el círculo | o círculo | il circolo |
| cleanliness | la propreté | la limpieza | a limpeza | la pulizia |
| colour | la couleur | el color | a cor | il colore |
| committee | le comité | el comité | o comité | il comitato |
| company | la compagnie | la compañía | a companhia | la compagnia |
| competition (commercial) | la concurrence | la competencia | a concorrência | la concorrenza |
| competition (sport, etc.) | le concours | el concurso | o concurso | il concorso |
| compromise | le compromis | el compromiso | o compromisso | il compromesso |
| conclusion (end) | la fin | el fin | o fim | la fine |
| conduct | la conduite | la conducta | a conduta | la condotta |
| confidence (trust) | la confiance | la confianza | a confiança | la fiducia |
| conquest | la conquête | la conquista | a conquista | la conquista |
| contact | le contact | el contacto | o contacto | il contatto |
| contempt | le mépris | el desprecio | o desprezo | lo sprezzo |
| contents | le contenu | el contenido | o conteúdo | il contenuto |
| country (nation) | le pays | el país | o país | il paese |
| courage | le courage | el valor | a coragem | il coraggio |
| cowardice | la lâcheté | la cobardía | a cobardia | la codardia |
| crack (fissure) | la fente | la hendedura | a fenda | la fessura |
| crime | le crime | el crimen | o crime | il delitto |
| crisis | la crise | la crisis | a crise | la crisi |
| criticism | la critique | la crítica | a critica | la critica |
| cross | la croix | la cruz | a cruz | la croce |
| crowd | la foule | la muche- dumbre | a multidão | la folla |
| cruelty | la cruauté | la crueldad | a crueldade | la crudeltà |
| cry | le cri | el grito | o grito | il grido |
| cube | le cube | el cubo | o cubo | il cubo |
| curve | la courbe | la curva | a curva | la curva |
| custom (habit) | la coutume | la costumbre | o costume | il costume |
| cut | la coupure | el corte | o corte | il taglio |
| damage | le dommage | el daño | o dano | il danno |
| dance | la danse | el baile | o baile | il ballo |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| danger | le danger | el peligro | o perigo | il pericolo |
| death | la mort | la muerte | a morte | la morte |
| debt | la dette | la deuda | a dívida | il debito |
| defeat | la défaite | la derrota | a derrota | la disfatta |
| defect | le défaut | el defecto | o defeito | il difetto |
| defence | la défense | la defensa | a defesa | la difesa |
| degree | le degré | el grado | o grau | il grado |
| depth | la profondeur | la profundidad | a profundidade | la profondità |
| design (sketch) | le dessin | el diseño | o desenho | il disegno |
| desire | le désir | el deseo | o desejo | il desiderio |
| detail | le détail | el detalle | o detalhe | il dettaglio |
| development | le développe- ment | el desarrollo | o desenvolvi- mento | lo sviluppo |
| disaster | le désastre | el desastre | o desastre | il disastro |
| discovery | la découverte | el descubri- miento | o descobri- mento | la scoperta |
| disgust | le dégoût | la repugnancia | o desgosto | lo schifo |
| distance | la distance | la distancia | a distância | la distanza |
| doubt | le doute | la duda | a dúvida | il dubbio |
| dream | le rêve | el sueño | o sonho | il sogno |
| drop (water, etc.) | la goutte | la gota | a gota | la goccia |
| duration | la durée | la duración | a duração | la durata |
| duty | le devoir | el deber | o dever | il dovere |
| edge (border) | le bord | el borde | a borda | l'orlo |
| effort | l'effort (m) | el esfuerzo | o esforço | lo sforzo |
| electricity | l'électricité (f) | la electricidad | a electricidade | l'elettricità |
| employment | l'emploi (m) | el empleo | o emprêgo | l'impiego |
| encounter (meeting) | la rencontre | el encuentro | o encontro | l'incontro |
| end (extremity) | le bout | el extremo | a extremidade | l'estremità |
| enemy | l'ennemi (m) | el enemigo | o inimigo | il nemico |
| enterprise | l'entreprise (f) | la empresa | a empresa | l'impresa |
| entrance | l'entrée (f) | la entrada | a entrada | l'entrata |
| environment | le milieu | el ambiente | o ambiente | l'ambiente (m) |
| envy | l'envie (f) | la envidia | a inveja | l'invidia |
| equality | l'égalité (f) | la igualdad | a igualdade | l'eguaglianza |
| error | l'erreur (f) | el error | o erro | l'errore (m) |
| event | l'événement (m) | el aconteci- miento | o aconteci- mento | l'avvenimento |
| examination | l'examen (m) | el examen | o exame | l'esame (m) |
| example | l'exemple (m) | el ejemplo | o exemplo | l'esempio |
| exchange | l'échange (m) | el cambio | a troca | il cambio |
| exhibition | l'exposition (f) | la exposición | a exposição | l'esposizione |
| existence | l'existence (f) | la existencia | a existência | l'esistenza |

The correspondence English *-ence*, French *-ence*, Spanish *-encia*, Portuguese *-ência*, Italian *-enza* also occurs in the Romance equivalents to *experience*, *impudence*, *indifference*, *patience*, etc.

| | | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| expense | les frais (m) | los gastos | os gastos | le spese |
| explanation | l'explication (f) | la explicación | a explicação | la spiegazione |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| fact | le fait | el hecho | o facto | il fatto |
| fall (of price, temperature, etc.) | la baisse | la baja | a baixa | la caduta |
| fear | la peur | el temor | o receio | la paura |
| | la crainte | el miedo | o medo | |
| flight (air) | le vol | el vuelo | o vôo | il volo |
| fold | le pli | el pliegue | a dobra | la piega |
| food | la nourriture | el alimento | o alimento | il cibo |
| force | la force | la fuerza | a força | la forza |
| friend | l'ami (e) | el(la) amigo(a) | o(a) amigo(a) | l'amico(a) |
| friendship | l'amitié (f) | la amistad | a amizade | l'amicizia |
| front | le front | el frente | a frente | il fronte |
| frontier | la frontière | la frontera | a fronteira | la frontiera |
| fuel | le combustible | el combustible | o combustível | il combustibile |
| future | l'avenir (m) | el porvenir | o porvir | l'avvenire (m) |
| game (play) | le jeu | el juego | o jogo | il giuoco |
| gesture | le geste | el gesto | o gesto | il gesto |
| gland | la glande | la glándula | a glândula | la glandola |
| government | le gouvernement | el gobierno | o govêrno | il governo |
| gratitude | la reconnaissance | la gratitud | a gratidão | la gratitudine |
| group | le groupe | el grupo | o grupo | il gruppo |
| growth | la croissance | el crecimiento | o crescimento | il crecimiento |
| half | la moitié | la mitad | a metade | la metà |
| happiness | le bonheur | la felicidad | a felicidade | la felicità |
| haste | la hâte | la prisa | a pressa | la fretta |
| hate | la haine | el odio | o ódio | l'odio |
| health | la santé | la salud | a saúde | la salute |
| heap | le tas | el montón | o montão | il mucchio |
| hearing (sense of) | l'ouïe (f) | el oído | o ouvido | l'udito |
| heat | la chaleur | el calor | o calor | il calore |
| height | la hauteur | la altura | a altura | l'altura |
| history | l'histoire (f) | la historia | a história | la storia |
| hole | le trou | el agujero | o buraco | il buco |
| honour | l'honneur (m) | el honor | a honra | l'onore (m) |
| hope | l'espoir (m) | la esperanza | a esperança | la speranza |
| hunger | la faim | el hambre | a fome | la fame |
| idea | l'idée (f) | la idea | a ideia | l'idea |
| improvement | l'amélioration (f) | el mejoramiento | o melhoramento | il miglioramento |
| impulse | l'impulsion (f) | el impulso | o impulso | l'impulso |
| inhabitant | l'habitant (m) | el habitante | o habitante | l'abitante |
| instrument | l'instrument (m) | el instrumento | o instrumento | lo strumento |

The correspondence English *-ment*, French *-ment*, Spanish *-mento*, Portuguese *-mento*, Italian *-mento* also occurs in the Romance equivalents to *argument*, *document*, *element*, *fragment*, *moment*, etc.

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------|----------|---------------------|
| insurance | l'assurance (f) | el seguro | o seguro | l'assicurazione (f) |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------|----------|---------------------|

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| interest (atten- tion) | l'intérêt (m) | el interés | o interesse | l'interesse (m) |
| interest (return) | l'intérêt (m) | el rédito | o juro | l'interesse (m) |
| jealousy | la jalousie | los celos | o ciúme | la gelosia |
| joke (jest) | la plaisanterie | la broma | o gracejo | lo scherzo |
| journey | le voyage | el viaje | a viagem | il viaggio |
| joy | la joie | la alegría | a alegria | la gioia |
| judgment | le jugement | el juicio | o juízo | il giudizio |
| jump | le saut | el salto | o salto | il salto |
| kind (species) | l'espèce (f) | la especie | a espécie | la specie |
| | le genre | el género | o género | il genere |
| kiss | le baiser | el beso | o beijo | il bacio |
| knot | le nœud | el nudo | o nó | il nodo |
| knowledge | la connais- sance | el conoci- miento | o conheci- mento | la conoscenza |
| language (tongue of a community) | la langue | la lengua | a língua | la lingua |
| language (style of expression) | le langage | el idioma el lenguaje | o idioma a linguagem | il linguaggio |
| laughter | le rire | la risa | o riso | il riso |
| laziness | la paresse | la pereza | a preguiça | la pigrizia |
| law | la loi | la ley | a lei | la legge |
| lecture | la conférence | la conferencia | a conferência | la conferenza |
| length (space) | la longueur | la longitud | o comprimento | la lunghezza |
| lesson | la leçon | la lección | a lição | la lezione |
| level | le niveau | el nivel | o nível | il livello |
| lie | le mensonge | la mentira | a mentira | la bugia |
| life | la vie | la vida | a vida | la vita |
| line | la ligne | la línea | a linha | la linea |
| liquid | le liquide | el líquido | o líquido | il liquido |
| list | la liste | la lista | a lista | la lista |
| load | la charge | la carga | a carga | il carico |
| look (glance) | le regard | la mirada | a olhadela | lo sguardo |
| loss | la perte | la pérdida | a perda | la perdita |
| love | l'amour (m) | el amor | o amor | l'amore (m) |
| luxury | le luxe | el lujo | o luxo | il lusso |
| machine | la machine | la máquina | a máquina | la macchina |
| majority | la majorité | la mayoría | a maioria | la maggioranza |
| manager | le directeur | el director | o director | il direttore |
| manner | la manière | la manera | a maneira | la maniera |
| | la façon | el modo | o modo | il modo |
| mark | la marque | la marca | a marca | la marca |
| mass | la masse | la masa | a massa | la massa |
| material | le matériel | el material | o material | il materiale |
| matter | la matière | la materia | a matéria | la materia |
| means | le moyen | el medio | o meio | il mezzo |
| measure | la mesure | la medida | a medida | la misura |
| meeting (assem- bly) | la réunion | el mitin | a reunião | la riunione |
| member | le membre | el miembro | o membro | il membro |
| memory | la mémoire | la memoria | a memória | la memoria |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| method | la méthode | el método | o método | il metodo |
| middle | le centre | el centro | o centro | il centro |
| | le milieu | el medio | o meio | il mezzo |
| minority | la minorité | la minoría | a menoridade | la minorità |
| mixture | le mélange | la mezcla | a mistura | la mistura |
| money | l'argent (m) | el dinero | o dinheiro | il denaro |
| mood (temper) | l'humeur (f) | el humor | o humor | l'umore (m) |
| movement | le mouvement | el movimiento | o movimento | il movimento |
| native land | la patrie | la patria | a pátria | la patria |
| nature | la nature | la naturaleza | a natureza | la natura |
| navy | la marine | la marina | a marinha | la marins |
| noise | le bruit | el ruido | o ruído | il rumore |
| notice (warning) | l'avis (m) | el aviso | o aviso | l'avviso |
| number | le nombre | el número | o número | il numero |
| (amount) | | | | |
| number (No.) | le numéro | el número | o número | il numero |
| object | l'objet (m) | el objeto | o objecto | l'oggetto |
| offer | l'offre (f) | la oferta | a oferta | l'offerta |
| order (arrange- ment) | l'ordre (m) | el orden | a ordem | l'ordine (m) |
| order (command) | l'ordre (m) | la orden | a ordem | l'ordine (m) |
| order (goods) | la commande | el pedido | a encomenda | l'ordinazione(f) |
| origin | l'origine (f) | el origen | a origem | l'origine (f) |
| owner | le propriétaire | el propietario | o proprietário | il proprietario |
| pain (suffering) | la douleur | el dolor | a dor | il dolore |
| painting | la peinture | la pintura | a pintura | la pittura |
| part (of whole) | la partie | la parte | a parte | la parte |
| party (faction) | le parti | el partido | o partido | il partito |
| past | le passé | el pasado | o passado | il passato |
| peace | la paix | la paz | a paz | la pace |
| people (persons) | les gens | la gente | a gente | la gente |
| people (com- munity) | le peuple | el pueblo | o povo | il popolo |
| person | la personne | la persona | a pessoa | la persona |
| piece (fragment) | le morceau | el pedazo | a peça | il pezzo |
| place (spot) | l'endroit (m) | el lugar | o lugar | il luogo |
| plant | la plante | la planta | a planta | la pianta |
| pleasure | le plaisir | el placer | o prazer | il piacere |
| poetry | la poésie | la poesia | a poesia | la poesia |
| point (dot) | le point | el punto | o ponto | il punto |
| point (sharp end) | la pointe | la punta | a ponta | la punta |
| poison | le poison | el veneno | o veneno | il veleno |
| politeness | la politesse | la cortesía | a cortesia | la cortesia |
| politics | la politique | la política | a política | la politica |
| population | la population | la población | a população | la popolazione |
| poverty | la pauvreté | la pobreza | a pobreza | la povertà |
| power | le pouvoir | el poder | o poder | il potere |
| practice (exer- cise) | l'exercice (f) | el ejercicio | o exercício | l'esercizio |
| prejudice | le préjugé | el perjuicio | o prejuízo | il pregiudizio |
| present (gift) | le cadeau | el regalo | o presente | il regalo |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| present (gift) | le présent | el obsequio | a dádiva | la pressione |
| pressure | la pression | la presión | a pressão | il prezzo |
| price | le prix | el precio | o preço | il premio |
| prize | le prix | el prêmio | o prêmio | il problema |
| problem | le problème | el problema | o problema | il prodotto |
| product | le produit | el producto | o produto | il profitto |
| profit | le profit | el provecho | o lucro | il progresso |
| progress | le progrès | el progreso | o progresso | la prova |
| proof | la preuve | la prueba | a prova | la proprietà |
| property | la propriété | la propiedad | a propriedade | la protesta |
| protest | la protestation | la protesta | o protesto | la punizione |
| punishment | la punition | el castigo | o castigo | la compera |
| purchase | l'achat (m) | la compra | a compra | il proposito |
| purpose | le but | el objeto | o propósito | la domanda |
| question | la question | la pregunta | a pergunta | la razza |
| race (breed) | la race | la raza | a raça | il raggio |
| ray | le rayon | el rayo | o raio | la ragione |
| reason | la raison | la razón | a razão | la ricevuta |
| receipt (paper) | le reçu | el recibo | o recibo | il ricordo |
| recollection | le souvenir | el recuerdo | a lembrança | il rifiuto |
| refusal | le refus | la negativa | a recusa | il resto |
| remainder | le reste | el resto | o resto | il remedio |
| remedy | le remède | el remedio | o remédio | il rapporto |
| report (account) | le rapport | el informe | a relação | la richiesta |
| request | la demande | la petición | a petição | il rispetto |
| respect | le respect | el respeto | o respeito | il riposo |
| rest (repose) | le repos | el descanso | o descanso | il risultato |
| result | le résultat | el resultado | o resultado | la vendetta |
| revenge | la vengeance | la venganza | a vingança | la ricompensa |
| reward | la récompense | la recompensa | a recompensa | il diritto |
| right (just claim) | le droit | el derecho | o direito | il rischio |
| risk | le risque | el riesgo | o risco | la regola |
| rule (regulation) | la règle | la regla | a regra | la tristezza |
| sadness | la tristesse | la tristeza | a tristeza | la sicurezza |
| safety | la sûreté | la seguridad | a segurança | la vendita |
| sale | la vente | la venta | a venda | il campione |
| sample | l'échantillon (m) | la muestra | a amostra | |
| scale (measure) | l'échelle (f) | la escala | a escala | la scala |
| science | la science | la ciencia | a ciência | il lato |
| sense (meaning) | le sens | el sentido | o sentido | la vista |
| sentence (group of words) | la phrase | la frase | a frase | il segno |
| sex | le sexe | el sexo | o sexo | la grandezza |
| shame | la honte | la vergüenza | a vergonha | il sonno |
| side | le côté | el lado | o lado | l'odore (m) |
| sight (sense of) | la vue | la vista | a vista | |
| sign | le signe | la señal | o sinal | |
| size | la grandeur | el tamaño | o tamanho | |
| sleep | le sommeil | el sueño | o sono | |
| smell | l'odeur (f) | el olor | o cheiro | |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| smile | le sourire | la sonrisa | o sorriso | il sorriso |
| song | la chanson | la canción | a canção | la canzone |
| sound | le son | el sonido | o som | il suono |
| space | l'espace (m) | el espacio | o espaço | lo spazio |
| speech (power of) | la parole | el habla (f) | a fala | la parola |
| speech (dis- course) | le discours | el discurso | o discurso | il discorso |
| speed | la vitesse | la velocidad | a velocidade | la velocità |
| sport | le sport | el deporte | o desporto | lo sport |
| square (geo- metrical | le carré | el cuadrado | o quadrado | il quadrato |
| state (govern- ment) | l'état (m) | el estado | o estado | lo stato |
| step | le pas | el paso | o passo | il passo |
| strike | la grève | la huelga | a greve | lo sciopero |
| struggle | la lutte | la lucha | a luta | la lotta |
| study | l'étude (f) | el estudio | o estudo | lo studio |
| success | le succès | el éxito | o êxito | il successo |
| suggestion | la suggestion | la sugestión | a sugestão | il suggerimento |
| sum | la somme | la suma | a soma | la somma |
| summary | le résumé | el resumen | o sumário | il sommario |
| summit | le sommet | la cumbre | o cume | la cima |
| surface | la surface | la superficie | a superficie | la superficie |
| surprise | la surprise | la sorpresa | a surpresa | la sorpresa |
| suspicion | le soupçon | la sospecha | a suspeita | il sospetto |
| swindle (fraud) | l'escroquerie (f) | la estafa | a burla | lo scrocco |
| system | le système | el sistema | o sistema | il sistema |
| task | la tâche | la tarea | a tarefa | il compito |
| taste | le goût | el gusto | o gosto | il gusto |
| tax | l'impôt (m) | el impuesto | o imposto | la tassa |
| test | l'épreuve (f) | la prueba | a prova | la prova |
| thanks | les remercie- ments (m) | las gracias | as graças | le grazie |
| theft | le vol | el robo | o furto | il furto |
| thing | la chose | la cosa | a coisa | la cosa |
| thirst | la soif | la sed | a sede | la sete |
| tone | le ton | el tono | o tom | il tono |
| touch (sense of) | le toucher | el tacto | o toque | il tatto |
| toy | le jouet | el juguete | o brinquedo | il giuocattolo |
| trade | le commerce | el comercio | o comércio | il commercio |
| translation | la traduction | la traducción | a tradução | la traduzione |
| transport | le transport | el transporte | o transporte | il trasporto |
| treatment | le traitement | el tratamiento | o tratamento | il trattamento |
| treaty | le traité | el tratado | o tratado | il trattato |
| trial (law) | le procès | el proceso | o processo | il processo |
| truth | la vérité | la verdad | a verdade | la verità |
| use (employ- ment) | l'emploi (m) | el uso | o uso | l'uso |
| value | la valeur | el valor | o valor | il valore |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| vessel (receptacle) | le vaisseau | la vasija | o vaso | il vaso |
| victory | la victoire | la victoria | a vitória | la vittoria |
| voice | la voix | la voz | a voz | la voce |
| wages | le salaire | el salario | o salário | il salario |
| walk (stroll) | la promenade | el paseo | o passeio | la passeggiata |
| want (lack) | le manque | la falta | a falta | la mancanza |
| war | la guerre | la guerra | a guerra | la guerra |
| wealth | la richesse | la riqueza | a riqueza | la ricchezza |
| weapon | l'arme (f) | el arma (f) | a arma | l'arma |
| weight | le poids | el peso | o peso | il peso |
| width | la largeur | la anchura | a largura | la larghezza |
| will | la volonté | la voluntad | a vontade | la volontà |
| word | le mot | la palabra | a palavra | la parola |
| work (achievement) | l'œuvre (f) | la obra | a obra | l'opera |
| work (exertion) | le travail | el trabajo | o trabalho | il lavoro |
| world | le monde | el mundo | o mundo | il mondo |
| youth (early life) | la jeunesse | la juventud | a juventude | la gioventù |
| zeal | le zèle | el celo | o zelo | lo zelo |

2. DIVISION OF TIME

(a) GENERAL TERMS

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| afternoon | l'après-midi (m) | la tarde | a tarde | il pomeriggio |
| antiquity | l'antiquité (f) | la antigüedad | a antigüidade | l'antichità (f) |
| century | le siècle | el siglo | o século | il secolo |
| Christmas | Noël (m) | Navidad (f) | Natal (m) | il Natale |
| day | le jour | el día | o dia | il giorno |
| daybreak | le point du jour | el amanecer | a madrugada | lo spuntar del giorno |
| dusk | la tombée de la nuit | el anoecer | o anoitecer | il far della notte |
| Easter | Pâques (m.pl) | Pascua | Páscoa | la Pasqua |
| evening | le soir | la tarde | a tarde | la sera |
| fortnight | quinze jours | quince días | quinze dias | quindici giorni |
| hour | la quinzaine | la quincena | a quincena | la quindicina |
| half an hour | l'heure (f) | la hora | a hora | l'ora |
| leap-year | une demi- heure | media hora | meia hora | una mezz' ora |
| a quarter of an hour | un quart d'heure | un cuarto de hora | um quarto de hora | un quarto d'ora |
| an hour and a half | une heure et demi | hora y media | uma hora e meia | un' ora e mezzo |
| | l'année bis- sextile | el año bi- siesto | o ano bissexto | l'anno bi- sestile |
| Middle Ages | le moyen âge | la edad media | a idade média | il medio evo |
| midnight | le minuit | medianoche | meia noite | la mezzanotte |
| minute | la minute | el minuto | o minuto | il minuto |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|----------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| month | le mois | el mes | o mês | ii mese |
| morning | le matin | la mañana | a manhã | la mattina |
| night | la nuit | la noche | a noute | la notte |
| noon | le midi | mediodía | o meio dia | mezzodi |
| season | la saison | la estación | a estação | la stagione |
| second | la seconde | el segundo | o segundo | il secondo |
| New Year | le nouvel an | el año nuevo | o ano novo | il capo d'anno |
| sunrise | le lever du soleil | la salida del sol | o nascer do sol | il levar del sole |
| sunset | le coucher du soleil | la puesta del sol | o pôr do sol | il tramonto |
| time | le temps | el tiempo | o tempo | il tempo |
| week | a semaine | la semana | a semana | la settimana |
| | huit jours | ocho días | oito dias | otto giorni |
| year | l'an (m) | el año | o ano | l'anno |

(b) SEASONS, MONTHS, AND DAYS

| | | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| spring | le printemps | la primavera | a primavera | la primavera |
| summer | l'été (m) | el verano | o verão | l'estate (f) |
| autumn | l'automne (m) | el otoño | o outono | l'autunno |
| winter | l'hiver (m) | el invierno | o inverno | l'inverno |

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| January | janvier | enero | janeiro | Gennaio |
| February | février | febrero | fevereiro | Febbraio |
| March | mars | marzo | março | Marzo |
| April | avril | abril | abril | Aprile |
| May | mai | mayo | maio | Maggio |
| June | juin | junio | junho | Giugno |
| July | juillet | julio | julho | Luglio |
| August | août | agosto | agosto | Agosto |
| September | septembre | septiembre | setembro | Settembre |
| October | octobre | octubre | outubro | Ottobre |
| November | novembre | noviembre | novembro | Novembre |
| December | décembre | diciembre | dezembro | Dicembre |

| | | | | |
|-----------|----------|--------------|---------------|-----------|
| Monday | lundi | el lunes | segunda-feira | Lunedì |
| Tuesday | mardi | el martes | terça-feira | Martedì |
| Wednesday | mercredi | el miércoles | quarta-feira | Mercoledì |
| Thursday | jeudi | el jueves | quinta-feira | Giovedì |
| Friday | vendredi | el viernes | sexta-feira | Venerdì |
| Saturday | samedi | sábado | el sábado | Sabato |
| Sunday | dimanche | domingo | el domingo | Domenica |

3. NUMERALS

| | | | | |
|-------|---------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| one | un, une | uno, un, una | um, uma | uno, un, una |
| two | deux | dos | dois, duas | due |
| three | trois | tres | três | tre |
| four | quatre | cuatro | quatro | quattro |
| five | cinq | cinco | cinco | cinque |
| six | six | seis | seis | sei |
| seven | sept | siete | sete | sette |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|-------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| eight | huit | ocho | oito | otto |
| nine | neuf | nueve | nove | nove |
| ten | dix | diez | dez | dieci |
| eleven | onze | once | onze | undici |
| twelve | douze | doce | doze | dodici |
| thirteen | treize | trece | treze | treddici |
| fourteen | quatorze | catorce | catorze | quattordici |
| fifteen | quinze | quinze | quinze | quindici |
| sixteen | seize | diez y seis | dezasseis | sedici |
| seventeen | dix-sept | diez y siete | dezassete | diciassette |
| eighteen | dix-huit | diez y ocho | dezóito | diciotto |
| nineteen | dix-neuf | diez y nueve | dezanove | diciannove |
| twenty | vingt | veinte | vinte | venti |
| twenty-one | vingt et un | veinte y uno | vinte e um | ventuno |
| twenty-two | vingt-deux | veinte y dos | vinte e dois | ventidue |
| thirty | trente | treinta | trinta | trenta |
| forty | quarante | cuarenta | quarenta | quaranta |
| fifty | cinquante | cincuenta | cinqüenta | cinquanta |
| sixty | soixante | sesenta | sessenta | sessanta |
| seventy | soixante-dix | setenta | setenta | settanta |
| eighty | quatre-vingts | ochenta | oitenta | ottanta |
| ninety | quatre-vingt-dix | noventa | noventa | novanta |
| hundred | cent | ciento, cien | cem | cento |
| thousand | mille | mil | mil | mille |
| million | un million | un millón | um milhão | un milione |
| first | premier | primero | primeiro | primo |
| second | second deuxième | segundo | segundo | secondo |
| third | troisième | tercero | terceiro | terzo |
| fourth | quatrième | cuarto | quarto | quarto |
| fifth | cinquième | quinto | quinto | quinto |
| sixth | sixième | sexto | sexto | sesto |
| seventh | septième | séptimo | sétimo | settimo |
| eighth | huitième | octavo | oitavo | ottavo |
| half | un demi | un medio | um meio | un mezzo |
| one-third | un tiers | un tercio | um tērço | un terzo |
| one-fourth | un quart | un cuarto | um quarto | un quarto |
| one-fifth | un cinquième | un quinto | um quinto | un quinto |
| once | une fois | una vez | uma vez | una volta |
| twice | deux fois | dos veces | duas vezes | due volte |
| three times | trois fois | tres veces | três vezes | tre volte |

4. ADJECTIVES

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
| able (capable) | capable | capaz | capaz | capace |
| absent | absent, e | ausente | ausente | assente |
| acid | acide | ácido | ácido | acido |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---|------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| The correspondence English <i>-id</i> , French <i>-ide</i> , Spanish, Portuguese, Italian <i>-ido</i> , also occurs in the Romance equivalents to <i>liquid, rapid, solid, timid</i> , etc. | | | | |
| admirable | admirable | admirable | admirável | ammirabile |
| aerial | aérien,ne | aéreo | aéreo | aereo |
| agreeable | agréable | agradable | agradável | gradevole |
| alone | seul,e | solo | só | solo |
| ambiguous | ambigu,e | ambiguo | ambíguo | ambiguo |
| amusing | amusant,e | divertido | divertido | divertente |
| ancient | ancien, ne | antiguo | antigo | antico |
| angry | fâché,e | enfadado | enfadado | adirato |
| annual | annuel,le | anual | anual | annuale |

The correspondence English *-al*, French *-el*, Spanish *-al*, Portuguese *-al*, Italian *-ale*, also occurs in the Romance equivalents to *artificial, gradual, material, natural, universal, usual, sexual*, etc.

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| astonished | étonné,e | atónito | surpreendido | sorpreso |
| avaricious | avare | avaro | avaro | avaro |
| bad | mauvais,e | malo | mau | cattivo |
| beautiful | beau, belle | bello | belo | bello |
| | | hermoso | formoso | |
| bent (curved) | courbé,e | curvo | curvo | curvo |
| bitter (in taste) | amer, ère | amargo | amargo | amaro |
| black | noir,e | negro | prêto | nero |
| blind | aveugle | ciego | cego | cieco |
| blue | bleu,e | azul | azul | azzurro |
| blunt (not sharp) | émoussé,e | embotado | desafiado | smussato |
| boiling | bouillant,e | hirviente | fervente | bollente |
| bright (shining) | brillant,e | brillante | brilhante | brillante |
| brown | brun,e | moreno | moreno | marrone |
| busy | occupé,e | ocupado | ocupado | occupato |
| cautious | prudent,e | cauto | cauto | cauto |
| cheap | bon-marché | barato | barato | a buon mercato |
| | | | | poco caro |
| cheerful | gai,e | alegre | alegre | allegro |
| chemical | chimique | químico | químico | chimico |
| circular | circulaire | circular | circular | circolare |

The correspondence English *-ular*, French *-ulaire*, Spanish, Portuguese *-ular*, Italian *-olare* also occurs in the Romance equivalents to *molecular, muscular, perpendicular, popular, secular*, etc.

| | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|---------|---------|--------|
| clean | propre | limpio | limpo | pulito |
| clear | clair,e | claro | claro | chiaro |
| closed | fermé,e | cerrado | fechado | chiuso |
| cold | froid,e | frío | frio | freddo |
| comfortable | confortable | cómodo | cómodo | comodo |
| comic | comique | cómico | cómico | comico |

The correspondence English *-ic*, French *-ique*, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian *-ico* also occurs in the Romance equivalents to *domestic, elastic, electric, energetic, scientific*, etc.

| | | | | |
|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| commercial | commercial,e | comercial | comercial | commerciale |
| common | commun,e | común | comum | comune |
| (general) | | | | |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------|------------|------------|
| complete | complet,ète | completo | completo | completo |
| complicated | compliqué,e | complicado | complicado | complicato |
| content | content,e | contento | contente | contento |
| continuous | continu,e | continuo | continuo | continuo |
| cooked | cuit,e | cocido | cozinhado | cotto |
| cool | fraîs, fraîche | fresco | fresco | fresco |
| correct | correct,e | correcto | correcto | corretto |
| covered | couvert,e | cubierto | coberto | coperto |
| cruel | cruel,le | cruel | cruel | crudele |
| cunning | rusé, e | astuto | astuto | astuto |
| curious (inquisitive) | curieux,se | curioso | curioso | curioso |

The correspondence English *-ous*, French *-eux*, Spanish *-oso*, Portuguese *-oso*, Italian *-oso*, also occurs in the Romance equivalents to *delicious*, *famous*, *furious*, *generous*, *industrious*, etc.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| daily | quotidien, ne | diario | diário | quotidiano |
| damp | humide | húmedo | húmido | umido |
| dangerous | dangereux,se | peligroso | perigoso | pericoloso |
| dark | obscur,e | oscuro | escuro | oscuro |
| dead | mort,e | muerto | morto | morto |
| deaf | sourd,e | sordo | surdo | sordo |
| dear (beloved) | cher,ère | querido | querido | caro |
| deep | profond,e | profundo | profundo | profondo |
| delicate (easily damaged) | délicat,e | delicado | delicado | delicato |
| dense (thick) | épais,se | denso | denso | denso |
| different | différent,e | diferente | diferente | differente |

The correspondence English *-ent*, French *-ent*, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian *-ente* also occurs in the Romance equivalents to *excellent*, *frequent*, *innocent*, *intelligent*, *patient*, *permanent*, *transparent*, *urgent*, etc.

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| difficult | difficile | difícil | diffícil | difficile |
| direct | direct,e | directo | directo | diretto |
| dirty | sale | sucio | sujo | sporco |
| disagreeable | désagréable | desagradable | desagradável | sgradevole |
| discreet | discret,ète | discreto | discreto | discreto |
| dishonest | malhonnête | deshonesto | deshonesto | disonesto |
| distant | lointain,e | lejano | distante | lontano |
| distinct | distinct,e | distinto | distinto | distinto |
| double | double | doble | dobre | doppio |
| doubtful | douteux,se | dudoso | duvidoso | dubbioso |
| drunk | ivre | borracho | embriagado | ubbbriaco |
| | soûl,e | ebrio | ébrio | brillo |
| dry | sec, sèche | seco | sêco | secco |
| dumb | muêt,te | mudo | mudo | muto |
| easy | facile | fácil | fácil | facile |
| edible | comestible | comestible | comestivei | commestibile |
| educated | instruit,e | instruído | instruído | istruito |
| elegant | élégant,e | elegante | elegante | elegante |
| employed | employé,e | empleado | empregado | impiegato |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|--------------------------|----------------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| empty | vide | vacío | vazio | vuoto |
| energetic | énergique | enérgico | energico | energico |
| enormous | énorme | enorme | enorme | enorme |
| entire | entier,ère | entero | inteiro | intiero |
| equal | égal,e | igual | igual | eguale |
| exact | exact,e | exacto | exacto | esatto |
| expensive | cher,ère | caro | caro | caro |
| external | externe | externo | externo | esterno |
| extreme | extrême | extremo | extremo | estremo |
| fair (blond) | blond,e | rubio | loiro | biondo |
| faithful | fidèle | fiel | fiel | fedele |
| false | faux,sse | falso | falso | falso |
| fat | gras,se | gordo | gordo | grasso |
| feeble (weak) | faible | débil | débil | debole |
| female (sex) | femelle | hembra | fêmea | femmina |
| fertile | fécond,e | fecundo | fecundo | fecondo |
| firm (fixed) | ferme | firme | firme | fermo |
| flat | plat,e | llano | plano | piano |
| following | suivant,e | siguiente | seguinte | segunte |
| foolish | sot,te | tonto | tolo | sciocco |
| | bête | estúpido | estúpido | stupido |
| | stupide | | | |
| forbidden | défendu,e | prohibido | proibido | vietato |
| foreign | étranger,ère | extranjero | estrangeiro | straniero |
| frank | franc,che | franco | franco | franco |
| free | libre | libre | livre | libero |
| fresh (new) | frais, fraîche | fresco | fresco | fresco |
| fried | frit,e | frito | frito | fritto |
| friendly | aimable | amigable | amigável | amichevole |
| full | plein,e | lleno | cheio | pieno |
| future | futur,e | futuro | futuro | futuro |
| general | général,e | general | geral | generale |
| good | bon,ne | bueno | bom | buono |
| grateful | reconnais- sant,e | agradecido | agradecido | riconoscen |
| | | | | grato |
| grave | grave | grave | grave | grave |
| green | vert,e | verde | verde | verde |
| grey | gris,e | gris | cinzento | grigio |
| | | pardo | pardo | bigio |
| guilty | coupable | culpable | culpável | colpevole |
| half | demi,e | medio | meio | mezzo |
| happy | heureux,se | feliz | feliz | felice |
| hard | dur,e | duro | duro | duro |
| harmful | nuisible | nocivo | nocivo | nocivo |
| healthy (whole- some) | sain,e | sano | são | sano |
| heavy | lourd,e | pesado | pesado | pesante |
| high | haut,e | alto | alto | alto |
| high up | élevé,e | elevado | elevado | elevato |
| historical | historiqu | histórico | histórico | storico |
| hollow | creux,se | hueco | ôco | cavo |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| honest | honnête | honrado | honesto | onesto |
| human <i>or</i> humane | humain,e | humano | humano | umano |
| humble | humble | humilde | humilde | umile |
| ill | malade | enfermo | enfermo | ammalato |
| important | important,e | importante | importante | importante |
| impossible | impossible | imposible | impossível | impossibile |
| inclined (dis- posed) | disposé,e | dispuesto | disposto | disposto |
| inconvenient | incommodé | incómodo | incómodo | incomodo |
| incredible | incroyable | increíble | incrível | incredibile |
| inferior | inférieur,e | inferior | inferior | inferiore |
| ingenuous | ingénu,e | ingenuo | ingênuo | ingenuo |
| intact | intact,e | intacto | intacto | intatto |
| interesting | intéressant,e | interessante | interessante | interessante |
| internal | interne | interno | interno | interno |
| just (fair) | juste | justo | justo | giusto |
| kind | bon,ne | bondadoso | bondoso | buono |
| | aimable | amable | benévolo | amabile |
| known | connu,e | conocido | conhecido | conosciuto |
| large | grand,e | grande | grande | grande |
| | gros,se | | | |
| last | dernier,ère | último | último | ultimo |
| late (tardy) | tardif,ve | tardío | tardío | tardo |
| lazy | paresseux,se | perezoso | mandrião | pigro |
| lean | maigre | magro | magro | magro |
| left | gauche | izquierdo | esquerdo | sinistro |
| light (in weight) | léger,ère | ligero | ligeiro | leggero |
| light (in colour) | clair,e | claro | claro | chiaro |
| living | vivant,e | vivo | vivo | vivo |
| long | long,ue | largo | comprido | lungo |
| loose (slack) | lâche | flojo | frouxo | sciolto |
| lost | perdu,e | perdido | perdido | perduto |
| low | bas,se | bajo | baixo | basso |
| mad | fou, folle | loco | louco | pazzo |
| male (sex) | mâle | macho | macho | maschio |
| married | marié,e | casado | casado | sposato |
| maximum | maximal,e | máximo | máximo | massimo |
| mean (average) | moyen,ne | medio | médio | medio |
| mild | doux,ce | suave | suave | mite |
| minimum | minimal,e | mínimo | mínimo | minimo |
| mixed | mêlé,e | mezclado | misturado | misto |
| mobile | mobile | móvil | móvil | mobile |
| monthly | mensuel,le | mensual | mensal | mensile |
| naked | nu,e | desnudo | nu | nudo |
| narrow | étroit,e | estrecho | estrito | stretto |
| national | national,e | nacional | nacional | nazionale |
| near | proche | cercano | próximo | prossimo |
| necessary | nécessaire | necesario | necessário | necessario |
| | | preciso | preciso | |
| neighbouring | voisin,e | vecino | vizinho | vicine |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| new | nouveau, nou- velle | nuevo | novo | nuovo |
| nice (of people) | gentil,le sympathique | amable simpático | amável simpático | gentile simpático |
| numerous | nombreux,se | numeroso | numeroso | numeroso |
| obstinate | obstiné,e | obstinato | obstinado | ostinato |
| official | officiel, le | oficial | oficial | ufficiale |
| old | vieux, vieille | viejo | velho | vecchio |
| only (sole) | seul,e unique | único solo | único | solo unico |
| open | ouvert,e | abierto | aberto | aperto |
| opposite (con- trary) | opposé,e contraire | opuesto contrario | oposto contrário | opposto contrario |
| other | autre | otro | outro | altro |
| own (one's) | propre | propio | próprio | proprio |
| painful | douloureux,se | doloroso | doloroso | doloroso |
| pale | pâle | pálido | pálido | pallido |
| parallel | parallèle | paralelo | paralelo | parallelo |
| past | passé,e | pasado | passado | passato |
| perfect | parfait,e | perfecto | perfeito | perfetto |
| personal | personel,le | personal | pessoal | personale |
| physical | physique | físico | físico | físico |
| pink | rose | rosado | côr de rosa | rosa |
| pointed | pointu,e | puntiagudo | ponteagudo | appuntato |
| poisonous | vénéneux | venenoso | venenoso | velenoso |
| polite | poli,e | cortés | cortês | cortese |
| political | politique | político | político | politico |
| poor | pauvre | pobre | pobre | povero |
| possible | possible | posible | possível | possibile |
| pregnant | enceinte | encinta | grávida | incinta |
| present (of time) | actuel,le | actual | actual | attuale |
| present (of place) | présent,e | presente | presente | presente |
| pretty | joli,e gentil,le | lindo | lindo | grazioso bellino |
| previous | précédent,e préalable | bonito previo | bonito prévio | previo precedente |
| private (not public) | particulier,ère privé,e | precedente particular | precedente particular | particolare privato |
| probable | probable | privado | privado | probabile |
| proud | fier,ère | probable | provável | orgoglioso |
| public | public,que | orgullosa | orgulhoso | pubblico |
| pure | público | público | público | puro |
| quiet (calm) | pur,e tranquille | puro | puro | tranquillo |
| rare | tranquillo | raro | tranquilo | raro |
| raw | rare | crudo | raro | crudo |
| ready | cru,e | crudo | cru | pronto |
| real | prêt,e | listo | pronto | reale |
| reasonable | réel,le | real | real | ragionevole |
| recent | raisonnable | razonable | razoável | recente |
| | récent,e | reciente | recente | |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|
| red | rouge | rojo | vermelho | rosso |
| regular | régulier, ère | regular | regular | regolare |
| responsible | responsable | responsable | responsável | responsabile |
| rich | riche | rico | rico | ricco |
| ridiculous | ridicule | ridículo | ridículo | ridicolo |
| rigid | raide | rigido | rigido | rigido |
| right (not left) | droit, e | derecho | direito | destro |
| ripe | mûr, e | maduro | maduro | maturato |
| rough (not smooth) | raboteux, se | áspero | áspero | ruvido |
| round | rond, e | redondo | redondo | rotondo |
| rude | grossier, ère | grosero | grosseiro | rozzo |
| | impoli, e | descortés | descortês | scortese |
| rusty | rouillé, e | oxidado | ferrugento | arrugginito |
| sad | triste | triste | triste | triste |
| safe (secure) | sauf, ve | seguro | seguro | sicuro |
| salt (salty) | salé, e | salado | salgado | salato |
| same | même | misimo | mesmo | stesso |
| satisfied | satisfait, e | satisfecho | satisfeito | soddisfatto |
| seated | assis, e | sentado | sentado | seduto |
| secret | secret, ète | segreto | segreto | segreto |
| sensible | sensé, e | sensato | sensato | sensato |
| sensitive | sensible | sensibile | sensível | sensibile |
| separate | séparé, e | separado | separado | separato |
| serious (earnest) | sérieux, se | serio | sério | serio |
| severe | sévère | severo | severo | severo |
| shallow | peu profond, e | somero | baixo | basso |
| sharp (keen edge) | tranchant, e | afilado | afiado | affilato |
| short | court, e | corto | curto | corto |
| silent (mute) | silencieux, se | silencioso | silencioso | silenzioso |
| similar | semblable | semejante | semelhante | simile |
| simple | simple | sencillo | simples | semplice |
| sincere | sincère | sincero | sincero | sincero |
| slow | lent, e | lento | vagaroso | lento |
| small, little | petit, e | pequeño | pequeno | piccolo |
| smooth | lisse | liso | liso | liscio |
| sober | sobre | sobrio | sóbrio | sobrio |
| social | social, e | social | social | sociale |
| soft (not hard) | mou, molle | blando | brando | molle |
| sour | aigre | agrio | azêdo | agro |
| special | spécial, e | especial | especial | speciale |
| square | carré, e | cuadrado | quadrado | quadrato |
| steep | escarpé, e | escarpado | escarpado | ripido |
| sticky | collant, e | pegajoso | pegajoso | appiccica- ticcio |
| straight | droit, e | derecho | direito | diritto |
| strange (peculiar) | étrange | extraño | raro | strano |
| strong | fort, e | fuerte | forte | forte |
| sudden | soudain, e | repentino | repentino | subitaneo |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| sufficient | suffisant,e | suficiente | suficiente | sufficiente |
| suitable (appropriate) | convenable | apropiado | apropriado | conveniente |
| superior | supérieur,e | superior | superior | superiore |
| supreme | suprême | supremo | supremo | supremo |
| sure (certain) | sûr,e | cierto | certo | certo |
| sweet | doux,ce | dulce | doce | dolce |
| tender | tendre | tierno | tenro | tenero |
| tepid | tiède | tibio | tépido | tiepido |
| terrible | terrible | terrible | terrível | terribile |
| thick (not thin) | épais,se | espeso | espesso | spesso |
| | gros,se | grueso | grosso | grosso |
| thin | mince | delgado | delgado | sottile |
| tight (close fitting) | serré,e | cerrado | apertado | stretto |
| tired | fatigué,e | cansado | cansado | stanco |
| true | vrai,e | verdadero | verdadeiro | vero |
| ugly | laid,e | feo | feio | brutto |
| uneasy | inquiet,ète | inquieto | inquieto | inquieto |
| unequal | inégal,e | desigual | desigual | ineguale |
| unfaithful | infidèle | infiel | infiel | infedele |
| unfortunate | infortuné,e | desgraciado | desgraçado | sfortunato |
| ungrateful | ingrat,e | ingrato | ingrato | ingrato |
| unhappy | malheureux,se | infeliz | infeliz | infelice |
| unjust | injuste | ingiusto | ingiusto | ingiusto |
| unknown | inconnu,e | desconocido | desconhecido | sconosciuto |
| useful | utile | útil | útil | utile |
| useless | inutile | inútil | inútil | inutile |
| usual | usuel,le | usual | usual | usuale |
| vain (persons) | vaniteux,se | vanidoso | vaidoso | vanitoso |
| violent | violent,e | violento | violento | violento |
| vulgar | vulgaire | vulgar | vulgar | volgare |
| warm | chaud,e | caliente | quente | caldo |
| wet (of persons and objects) | mouillé,e | mojado | molhado | baguato |
| white | blanc,che | blanco | branco | bianco |
| wicked | méchant,e | malo | malvado | cattivo |
| wide (broad) | large | ancho | largo | largo |
| wild (not domesticated) | sauvage | salvaje | selvagem | selvaggio |
| wise | sage | sabio | sábio | saggio |
| wrong | faux,sse | falso | errado | falso |
| yellow | jaune | amarillo | amarelo | giallo |
| young | jeune | joven | novo | giovane |

5. VERBS

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| be able to | pouvoir | poder | poder | potere |
| absorb | absorber | absorber | absorver | assorbire |
| abuse (revile) | injurier | injuriar | injuriar | ingiuriare |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| accept | accepter | aceptar | aceitar | accettare |
| accompany | accompagner | acompañar | acompanhar | accompagnare |
| accuse (of) | accuser (de) | acusar (de) | acusar (de) | accusare (di) |
| get accustomed (to) | s'accoutumer (à) | acostumbrarse (a) | acostumar-se (a) | avvezarsi (a) |
| add (to) | ajouter (à) | añadir (a) | juntar (a) | aggiungere (a) |
| add up | additionner | sumar | somar | sommare |
| admire | admirer | admirar | admirar | ammirare |
| advance | avancer | adelantar | adiantar | avanzare |
| advertise (goods) | annoncer | anunciar | anunciar | annunziare |
| advise (counsel) | conseiller | aconsejar | aconselhar | consigliare |
| be afraid (of) | avoir peur (de) | temer miedo (de) | ter medo (de) | aver paura (di) |
| | craindre | temer | temer | temere |
| be in agreement (with) | être d'accord (avec) | concordar (con) | concordar (com) | essere d'accordo (con) |
| alight (from) | descendre (de) | apearse (de) | apear-se (de) | scendere (da) |
| allow (to) | permettre (de) | permitir | permitir | permettere (di) |
| amuse | divertir | divertir | divertir | divertire |
| amuse oneself | s'amuser | divertirse | divertir-se | divertirsi |
| apologize | s'excuser | disculparse | desculpar-se | scusarsi |
| appear | apparaître | aparecer | aparecer | apparire |
| approach | s'approcher (de) | acercarse (a) | aproximar-se (de) | avvicinarsi (a) |
| arm | armer | armar | armar | armare |
| arrest (seize) | arrêter | arrestar | prender | arrestare |
| arrive | arriver | llegar | chegar | arrivare |
| ascend (go up) | monter | subir | subir | salire |
| be ashamed (of) | avoir honte (de) | avergonzarse (de) | envergonhar-se (de) | aver vergogna (di) |
| ask (a question) | demander | preguntar | perguntar | domandare |
| ask for | demander | pedir | pedir | chiedere |
| astonish (amaze) | étonner | asombrar | assombrar | sbalordire |
| be astonished | s'étonner | asombrarse | assombrar-se | stupirsi |
| attack | attaquer | atacar | atacar | attaccare |
| attempt (to) | essayer (de) | tratar (de) | tentar (de) | tentare |
| attract | attirer | atraer | atrair | attirare |
| avoid | éviter | evitar | evitar | evitare |
| bathe | baigner | bañar | banhar | bagnare |
| bathe, take bath | se baigner | bañarse | banhar-se | bagnarsi |
| beat (thrash) | battre | golpear | bater | battere |
| become | devenir | hacerse | fazer-se | divenire |
| begin | commencer | empezar | começar | cominciare |
| begin (to) | commencer (à) | ponerse (a) | pôr-se (a) | mettersi (a) |
| | se mettre à | | | |
| behave | se conduire | conducirse | conduzir-se | condursi |
| believe | croire | creer | crer | credere |
| belong to | appartenir à | pertenecer a | pertenecer a | appartenere a |
| bend | courber | curvar | curvar | curvare |
| bend | se courber | encorvarse | curvar-se | curvarsi |
| bet | parier | apostar | apostar | scommettere |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------|
| bite | mordre | morder | morder | mordere |
| blame | blâmer | culpar | culpar | incolpare |
| blossom | fleurir | florecer | florescer | fiorire |
| blow | souffler | soplar | soprar | soffiare |
| blow one's nose | se moucher | sonarse | assoar-se | soffiarsi |
| boast (of) | se vanter (de) | jactarse (de) | gabarse (de) | vantarsi (di) |
| boil | faire bouillir | hacer hervir | fazer ferver | far bollire |
| <i>boil</i> | bouillir | hervir | ferver | bollire |
| bore (tire) | ennuyer | aburrir | enfastiar | annoiare |
| be born | naître | nacer | nacer | nascere |
| borrow | emprunter | pedir prestado | pedir emprestado | prendere a prestito |
| brake | treiner | enfrenar | travar | frenare |
| break | briser | romper | romper | rompere |
| | casser | quebrar | quebrar | spezzare |
| | rompre | | | |
| <i>break</i> | se casser | romperse | romper-se | rompersi |
| breathe | respirer | respirar | respirar | respiare |
| breed or bring up | élever | criar | criar | allevare |
| <i>breed</i> | se multiplier | multiplicarse | multiplicar-se | moltiplicarsi |
| bring | apporter | traer | trazer | portare |
| broadcast | diffuser | difundir | difundir | radio diffondere |
| brush | brosser | cepillar | escovar | spazzolare |
| build | bâtir | edificar | edificar | costruire |
| burn | brûler | quemar | queimar | bruciare |
| <i>burn</i> | brûler | arder | arder | ardere |
| <i>burst</i> | crever | reventar | rebentar | scoppiare |
| bury (inter) | enterrer | enterrar | enterrar | sotterrare |
| busy oneself with | s'occuper de | ocuparse de | ocupar-se de | occuparsi di |
| buy | acheter | comprar | comprar | comprare |
| calculate | calculer | calcular | calcular | calcolare |
| call (give name) | appeler | llamar | chamar | chiamare |
| | nommer | | | |
| be called | s'appeler | llamarse | chamar-se | chiamarsi |
| call (cry to) | appeler | llamar | chamar | chiamare |
| caress | caresser | acariciar | acariciar | accarezzare |
| carry | porter | llevar | levar | portare |
| catch (animal) | attraper | coger | apanhar | prendere |
| catch cold | s'enrhumer | resfriarse | constipar-se | raffreddarsi |
| cause | causer | causar | causar | causare |
| <i>cease</i> (to) | cesser (de) | cesar (de) | cessar | cessare (di) |
| celebrate | célébrer | celebrar | celebrar | celebrare |
| change (alter) | changer | cambiar | alterar | cambiare |
| <i>change</i> | changer | mudar | mudar | cambiarsi |
| chase away | chasser | echar | enxotar | scacciare |
| chew | mâcher | masticar | mastigar | masticare |
| choke (suffocate) | suffoquer | sofocar | sufocar | soffocare |
| choose | choisir | escoger | escolher | scegliere |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| clean | nettoyer | limpiar | limpar | pulire |
| close or shut | fermer | cerrar | fechar | chiudere |
| collect (gather) | rassembler | recoger | colher | raccogliere |
| comb | peigner | peinar | pentear | pettinare |
| <i>comb</i> | se peigner | peinarse | pentear-se | pettinarsi |
| come | venir | venir | vir | venire |
| come back | revenir | volver | voltar | rivenire |
| compare (with) | comparer (à) | comparar (a) | comparar (com) | confrontare (con) |
| compel (to) | obliger (à) forcer (à) | obligar (a) forzar (a) | obrigar (a) forçar (a) | obbligare (a) forzare (a) |
| complain (about) | se plaindre (de) | quejarse (de) | queixar-se (de) | lagnarsi (di) |
| concern (be im- portant to) | regarder | concernir | concernar | riguardare |
| condemn (to) | condamner (à) | condenar (a) | condenar (a) | condannare (a) |
| confess | avouer | confesar | confessar | confessare |
| confuse | confondre | confundir | confundir | confondere |
| congratulate | féliciter | felicitar | felicitar | felicitare |
| conquer (take by force) | conquérir | conquistar | conquistar | conquistare |
| console | consoler | consolar | consolar | consolare |
| contain | contenir | contener | conter | contenere |
| <i>continue</i> (to) | continuer (à) | continuar | continuar (a) | continuare (a) |
| contradict | contredire | contradecir | contradizer | contraddire |
| convince | convaincre | convencer | convencer | convincere |
| cook | faire cuire | cocinar | cozinhar | cucinare |
| copy | copier | copiar | copiar | copiare |
| correct | corriger | corregir | corrigir | correggere |
| correspond to | correspondre à | corresponder a | corresponder a | corrispondere a |
| <i>cost</i> | coûter | costar | custar | costare |
| cough | tousser | toser | tossir | tossire |
| count | compter | contar | contar | contare |
| cover (with) | couvrir (de) | cubrir (con) | cobrir (de) | coprire (con) |
| criticize | critiquer | criticar | criticar | criticare |
| cross (street, etc.) | traverser | atravesar | atravessar | attraversare |
| crush | écraser | quebrantar | esmagar | schiacciare |
| cure (heal) | guérir | curar | curar | guarire |
| cut | couper | cortar | cortar | tagliare |
| dance | danser | bailar | dançar | ballare |
| <i>dare</i> (venture) | oser | atreverse (a) | atrever-se (a) | osare |
| deceive | tromper | engañar | enganar | ingannare |
| <i>decide</i> (to) | se décider (à) | decidirse (a) | decidir-se (a) | decidersi (a) |
| decorate | décorer | decorar | decorar | decorare |
| deduce (infer) | déduire | deducir | deduzir | dedurre |
| defend | défendre | defender | defender | difendere |
| define | définir | definir | definir | definire |
| demand (insist upon) | exiger | exigir | exigir | esigere |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| deny (say that thing is untrue) | nier | negar | negar | negare |
| depart (leave) | partir | partir | partir | partire |
| depend upon | dépendre de | depender de | depender de | dipendere da |
| deprive of | priver de | privar de | privar de | privare di |
| descend | descendre | descender | descer | discendere |
| describe | décrire | describir | descrever | descrivere |
| desert | abandonner | abandonar | abandonar | abbandonare |
| deserve | mériter | merecer | merecer | meritare |
| desire | désirer | desear | desejar | desiderare |
| despair (of) | désespérer (de) | desesperar (de) | desesperar (de) | disperare (di) |
| despise | mépriser | despreciar | desprezar | disprezzare |
| destroy | détruire | destruir | destruir | distruggere |
| determine | déterminer | determinar | determinar | determinare |
| detest | détester | detestar | detestar | detestare |
| develop (grow) | se développer | desarrollarse | desenvolver-se | svilupparsi |
| die (from) | mourir (de) | morir (de) | morir (de) | morire (di) |
| digest | digérer | digerir | digerir | digerire |
| diminish | diminuer | diminuir | diminuir | diminuire |
| dine | dîner | comer | jantar | pranzare |
| dip (plunge) | plonger | sumergir | mergulhar | immergere |
| disappear | disparaître | desaparecer | desaperecer | sparire |
| discover | découvrir | descubrir | descobrir | scoprire |
| discuss | discuter | discutir | discutir | discutere |
| disguise oneself | se déguiser | disfrazarse | disfarçar-se | travestirsi |
| disinfect | désinfecter | desinfectar | desinfetar | disinfettare |
| dismiss (sack) | congédier | despedir | despedir | licenziare |
| | saquer (fam.) | | | |
| displease | déplaître | desagradar | desagradar | dispiacere |
| dissolve | dissoudre | dissolver | dissolver | dissolvere |
| distinguish | distinguer | distinguir | distinguir | distinguere |
| distribute (deal out) | distribuer | distribuir | distribuir | distribuire |
| disturb | déranger | incomodar | encomodar | disturbare |
| diverge | diverger (de) | divergir (de) | divergir (de) | divergere (di) |
| divide (into) | diviser (en) | dividir (en) | dividir (em) | dividere (in) |
| do or make | faire | hacer | fazer | fare |
| do without | se passer de | pasarse sin | passar sem | fare a meno d. |
| doubt | douter | dudar | duvidar | dubitare |
| draw (sketch) | dessiner | dibujar | debuxar | disegnare |
| dream | rêver | soñar | sonhar | sognare |
| dress | habiller | vestir | vestir | vestire |
| dress | s'habiller | vestirse | vestir-se | vestirsi |
| drink | boire | beber | beber | bere |
| drive (vehicle) | conduire | conducir | guiar | guidare |
| drop (let fall) | laisser tomber | dejar caer | deixar cair | lasciar cadere |
| drown | se noyer | ahogarse | afogar-se | annegarsi |
| dry | sécher | secar | secar | seccare |
| dye | teindre | teñir | tingir | tingere |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|
| earn | gagner | ganar | ganhar | guadagnare |
| eat | manger | comer | comer | mangiare |
| educate (instruct) | instruire | instruir | instruir | istruire |
| elect | élire | elegir | eleger | eleggere |
| embrace | embrasser | abrazar | abraçar | abbracciare |
| emphasize | souligner | recalcar | acentuar | accentuare |
| employ (labour) | employer | emplear | empregar | impiegare |
| empty | vider | vaciar | despejar | votare |
| enter | entrer dans | entrar en | entrar em | entrare in |
| envy | envier | envidiar | invejar | invidiare |
| erase (cancel) | biffer | borrar | cancelar | cancellare |
| evaporate | s'évaporer | evaporarse | evaporar-se | svaporarsi |
| exaggerate | exagérer | exagerar | exagerar | esagerare |
| examine (investigate) | examiner | examinar | examinar | esaminare |
| exclude | exclure | excluir | excluir | escludere |
| exhibit | exposer | exhibir | exibir | esporre |
| exist | exister | existir | existir | esistere |
| expect | attendre | esperar | esperar | aspettare |
| explain | expliquer | explicar | explicar | spiegare |
| exploit | exploiter | explorar | explorar | sfruttare |
| extend | s'étendre | extenderse | estender-se | stendersi |
| extinguish | éteindre | apagar | apagar | spegnere |
| faint | s'évanouir | desmayarse | desmaiar | svenirsi |
| fall | tomber | caer | cair | cadere |
| fall asleep | s'endormir | dormirse | adormecer | addormentarsi |
| fall ill | tomber malade | caer enfermo | cair enfermo | ammalarsi |
| fall in love | tomber | enamorarse | enamorar-se | innamorarsi |
| (with) | amoureux (de) | (de) | (de) | (di) |
| fasten (fix) | fixer | fijar | fechar | fissare |
| feed | nourir | alimentar | alimentar | alimentare |
| feel (well, etc.) | se sentir | sentirse | sentir-se | sentirsi |
| fill (with) | remplir (de) | llenar (de) | encher (de) | riempire (di) |
| find | trouver | hallar | achar | trovare |
| finish | finir | acabar | acabar | finire |
| fish | pêcher | pescar | pescar | pescare |
| fit (adjust) | ajuster | ajustar | ajustar | aggiustare |
| flatter | flatter | adular | lisonjear | lusingare |
| flee (run away) | s'enfuir | huir | fugir | fuggire |
| flow (of liquid) | couler | correr | correr | colare |
| fly | voler | volar | voar | volare |
| fold | plier | doblar | dobrar | piegare |
| follow | suiivre | seguir | seguir | seguire |
| forbid | défendre | prohibir | proibir | vietare |
| forecast (predict) | prédire | predecir | predizer | proibire |
| foresee | prévoir | prever | prever | predire |
| forget | oublier | olvidar | esquecer | prevedere |
| forgive | pardonner | perdonar | perdoar | dimenticare |
| found (establish) | fonder | fundar | fundar | perdonare |
| | | | | fondare |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| freeze } freeze } | | | | |
| frighten | geler | helar | gelar | gelare |
| furnish | effrayer | asustar | assustar | spaventare |
| gather (pick) | meubler | amueblar | mobilar | ammobigliare |
| get rid of | cueillir | recoger | colher | cogliere |
| | se débarrasser | librarse de | desembaraçar- | sbarazzarsi di |
| | de | | se de | |
| give | donner | dar | dar | dare |
| go | aller | ir | ir | andare |
| | | andar | andar | |
| go away | s'en aller | irse | ir-se | andar via |
| go out | sortir | salir | sair | uscire |
| go to bed | se coucher | acostarse | deitar-se | coricarsi |
| govern | gouverner | gobernar | governar | governare |
| greet | saluer | saludar | saudar | salutare |
| grind (reduce to powder) | moudre | moler | moer | macinare |
| groan | gémir | gemir | gemer | gemere |
| grow | cultiver | cultivar | cultivar | coltivare |
| grow (of plants, etc.) | croître | crecer | crescer | crescere |
| guess | deviner | adivinar | adivinhar | indovinare |
| guide | guider | guiar | guiar | guidare |
| handle (tool, etc.) | manier | manejar | manejar | maneggiare |
| hang (person) | pendre | ahorcar | enforcar | impiccare |
| hang up | suspendre | colgar | pendurar | sospendere |
| hang down | pendre | colgar | colgar | penzolare |
| happen | arriver | acontecer | acontecer | avvenire |
| hate | hair | odiar | odiar | odiare |
| have (own, hold) | avoir | tener | ter | avere |
| hear | entendre | oir | ouvir | udire |
| | | | | sentire |
| heat | chauffer | calentar | aquecer | riscaldare |
| help | aider | ayudar | ajudar | aiutare |
| hesitate | hésiter | vacilar | vacilar | esitare |
| hide | cacher | ocultar | esconder | nascondere |
| hide | se cacher | ocultarse | esconder-se | nascondersi |
| hinder | empêcher | impedir | impedir | impedire |
| hire | louer | arrendar | alugar | prendere a nolo |
| hit (strike) | frapper | acertar | acertar | colpire |
| hold | tenir | tener | ter | tenere |
| hope | espérer | esperar | esperar | sperare |
| hunt | chasser | cazar | caçar | cacciare |
| hurry | se dépêcher | apresurarse | apressar-se | affrettarsi |
| hurt (injure) | blessar | herir | ferir | ferire |
| hurt (ache) | faire mal | doler | doer | far male |
| imagine (figure) | se figurer | figurarse | imaginar | figurarsi |
| imitate | imiter | imitar | imitar | imitare |
| increase | augmenter | aumentar | aumentar | aumentare |
| indicate | indiquer | indicar | indicar | indicare |
| infect | infecter | infectar | infectar | infettare |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|--|--------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| inflate | gonfler | inflar | encher | gonfiare |
| inform | informer | informar | informar | informare |
| inhabit | habiter | habitar | habitar | abitare |
| inherit | hériter | heredar | herdar | ereditare |
| inquire (ask about) | s'informar | informarse | informar-se | informarsi |
| insult | insulter | insultar | insultar | insultare |
| insure | assurer | asegurar | assegurar | assicurare |
| interest | intéresser | interesar | interessar | interessare |
| interfere with | se mêler de | meterse en | meter-se em | immischarsi in |
| interrupt | interrompre | interrumpir | interromper | interrompere |
| introduce (per- son) | présenter | presentar | apresentar | presentare |
| invent | inventer | inventar | inventar | inventare |
| invite | inviter | invitar | convidar | invitare |
| irritate | irriter | irritar | irritar | irritare |
| join (put together) | joindre | juntar | juntar | giungere |
| joke (jest) | plaisanter | bromear | gracejar | scherzare |
| judge | juger | juzgar | julgar | giudicare |
| jump | sauter | saltar | saltar | saltare |
| keep (retain) | garder | guardar | guardar | guardare |
| keep (maintain) | maintenir | mantener | manter | mantenere |
| kick (of humans) | donner des coups de pied | dar puntapié | dar pontapés | dar dei calc |
| kill | tuer | matar | matar | uccidere |
| kiss | embrasser | besar | beijar | baciare |
| kneel | s'agenouiller | arrodillarse | ajoelhar | inginocchiarsi |
| knock (at door) | frapper | llamar | tocar | toccare |
| know | connaître | conocer | conhecer | conoscere |
| | savoir | saber | saber | sapere |
| last | durer | durar | durar | durare |
| laugh | rire | reír | rir | ridere |
| laugh at | se moquer de | mofarse de | mofar-se de | burlarsi di |
| | se rire de | reirse de | rir-se de | ridere di |
| lean (against) | s'appuyer (contre) | apoyarse (contra) | apoiar-se (em) | appoggiarsi (contro) |
| learn (to) | apprendre (à) | aprender (a) | aprender a | imparare (a) |
| leave (behind or in certain state allow) | laisser | dejar | deixar | lasciare |
| lend | prêter | prestar | empréstar | prestare |
| let (house) | louer | alquilar | alugar | affittare |
| lie (tell untruth) | mentir | mentir | mentir | mentire |
| light (set fire to) | allumer | encender | acender | accendere |
| light (illuminate) | éclairer | alumbrar | iluminar | illuminare |
| like or love | aimer | gustar* | gostar de | piacere* |
| limp | boîter | cojear | coxear | zoppicare |

With change of subject, e.g. Sp. *me gustan los pasteles* (I like pies).

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| listen | écouter | escuchar | escutar | ascoltare |
| live (be alive) | vivre | vivir | viver | vivere |
| live (dwell) | demeurer | morar | morar | abitare |
| | habiter | habitar | habitar | dimorare |
| load (put on vehicle, etc.) | charger | cargar | carregar | caricare |
| lock | fermer à clef | cerrar con llave | fechar à chave | serrare à chiave |
| look (appear) | avoir l'air | parecer | parecer | parere |
| look after (take care of) | s'occuper de | cuidar de | cuidar de | attendere |
| look at | regarder | mirar | olhar para | guardare |
| look for | chercher | buscar | buscar | cercare |
| lose | perdre | perder | perder | perdere |
| love (person) | aimer | amar | amar | amare |
| | | querer | querer bem | |
| lowest | baissé | bajar | baixar | abbassare |
| make a mistake | se tromper | equivocarse | enganar-se | sbagliarsi |
| make sure (of) | s'assurer (de) | asegurarse (de) | assegurar-se (de) | accertarsi (di) |
| manage (direct) | diriger | dirigir | dirigir | dirigere |
| manufacture | fabriquer | fabricar | fabricar | fabbricare |
| marry (take in marriage) | épouser | casarse con | casar-se com | sposare |
| get married | se marier | casarse | casar-se | ammogliarsi (of man) |
| | | | | maritarsi (of woman) |
| measure | mesurer | medir | medir | misurare |
| meet | rencontrer | encontrar | encontrar | incontrare |
| meet (assemble) | se réunir | reunirse | reunir-se | riunirsi |
| melt | fondre | derretir | derreter | fondere |
| melt | se fondre | derretirse | derreter-se | fondersi |
| mend | réparer | reparar | reparar | riparare |
| mention | mentionner | mentcionar | mentcionar | menzionare |
| mix | mêler | mezclar | misturar | mescolare |
| move (shift) | remuer | mover | mover | movere |
| move (budge) | bouger | moverse | mover-se | moversi |
| move (into new place) | déménager | mudarse de casa | mudar de casa | cambiar di casa |
| multiply | multiplier | multiplicar | multiplicar | moltiplicare |
| need | avoir besoin de | necesitar | necessitar | aver bisogno di |
| | | | | abbisognare |
| neglect | négliger | descuidar | descuidar | trascurare |
| nurse (sick) | soigner | cuidar | cuidar | curare |
| obey | obéir à | obedecer a | obedecer a | ubbidire a |
| object (to) | s'opposer (à) | oponerse (a) | opôr-se (a) | opporsi (a) |
| observe (watch) | observer | observar | observar | osservare |
| obtain | obtenir | obtener | obter | ottenere |
| offend | offenser | ofender | ofender | offendere |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| offer | offrir | ofrecer | oferecer | offerire |
| omit | omettre | omitir | omitir | ommettere |
| open | ouvrir | abrir | abrir | aprire |
| oppose (with- stand) | résister (à) | resistir (a) | resistir (a) | resistere (a) |
| oppress | opprimer | oprimir | oprimir | opprimere |
| order (goods) | commander | pedir | ordenar | ordinare |
| owe | devoir | deber | dever | dovere |
| pain | peindre | pintar | pintar | dipingere |
| pardon | pardonnez | perdonar | perdoar | perdonare |
| pass (close to) | passer (à côté de) | pasar (al lado de) | passar (ao lado de) | passar (da- vanti a) |
| pawn | engager | empeñar | empenhar | impegnare |
| pay | payer | pagar | pagar | pagare |
| perforate | perforer | perforar | perforar | perforare |
| permit | permettre | permitir | permitir | permettere |
| persecute | persécuter | perseguir | perseguir | perseguitare |
| pick up | ramasser | recoger | apanhar | raccogliere |
| plan | projeter | proyectar | projetar | progettare |
| plant | planter | plantar | plantar | piantare |
| play (game) | jouer (à) | jugar (a) | jogar (a) | giocare (a) |
| play (instrument) | jouer (de) | tocar | tocar | suonare |
| poison | empoisonner | envenenar | envenenar | avvelenare |
| possess | posséder | poseer | possuir | possedere |
| pour out | verser | derramar | derramar | versare |
| praise | louer | alabar | louvar | lodare |
| pray | prier | rezar | rezar | pregare |
| precede | précéder | preceder | preceder | precedere |
| prefer | préférer | preferir | preferir | preferire |
| prepare | préparer | preparar | preparar | preparare |
| press (hold tight) | serrer | apretar | apertar | serrare |
| pretend (feign) | feindre | fingir | fingir | stringere |
| prevent (from) | empêcher (de) | impedir | impedir (de) | fingere |
| print | imprimer | imprimir | imprimir | impedire (di) |
| produce | produire | producir | produzir | stampare |
| profit (from) | profiter (de) | aprovecharse (de) | tirar proveito (di) | produrre |
| promise | promettre | prometer | prometer | approfitare |
| pronounce | prononcer | pronunciar | pronunciar | (di) |
| propose (suggest) | proposer | proponer | propôr | promettere |
| protect | protéger | proteger | proteger | pronunziare |
| protest | protester | protestar | protestar | proporre |
| prove (give proof of) | prouver | probar | provar | proteggere |
| publish | publier | publicar | publicar | protestare |
| pull | tirer | tirar | puxar | provare |
| pull out | arracher | arranca | arrancar | |
| pump (water, etc.) | pomper | dar a la bomba | dar à bomba | strappare |
| | | | | pompare |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| punish | punir | castigar | castigar | punire |
| pursue | poursuivre | perseguir | perseguir | perseguire |
| push | pousser | empujar | empurrar | spingere |
| put (place) | mettre | poner | pôr | porre |
| | poser | colocar | colocar | mettere |
| quarrel | se quereller | disputar | disputar | altercare |
| | se disputer | reñir | renhir | bisticciarsi |
| be quiet (say nothing) | se taire | callarse | calar-se | tacere |
| quote | citer | citar | citar | citare |
| rain | pleuvoir | llover | chover | piovere |
| raise (lift) | lever | levantar | levantar | alzare |
| react | réagir | reaccionar | reagir | reagire |
| read | lire | leer | ler | leggere |
| receive | recevoir | recibir | receber | ricevere |
| recite | réciter | recitar | recitar | recitare |
| recognize | reconnaître | reconocer | reconhecer | riconoscere |
| recommend | recommander | recomendar | recomendar | raccomandare |
| reconcile (make it up) | se réconcilier | reconciliarse | reconciliar-se | riconciliarsi |
| recover (get better) | se remettre | recobrar | restabelecer-se | rimettersi |
| reduce | réduire | reducir | reduzir | ridurre |
| reflect (light) | réfléchir | reflejar | reflectir | riflettere |
| refuse (to) | refuser (de) | rehusar | recusar | rifiutare |
| | | (+ infin.) | (a) | |
| regret (be sorry) | regretter | sentir | sentir | rincredersi |
| rely upon | compter sur | confiar en | contar com | contare su |
| remain (be left over) | rester | restar | restar | restare |
| remember | se souvenir de | acordarse de | lembrar-se de | ricordarsi di |
| remind | rappeler | recordar | lembrar | ricordare |
| repeat | répéter | reperir | reperir | ripetere |
| replace (substitute) | remplacer | reemplazar | substituir | rimpiazzare |
| reply | répondre | contestar | responder | rispondere |
| represent (stand for) | représenter | representar | representar | rappresentare |
| reprimand | réprimander | reprobar | reprender | riprendere |
| repulse | repousser | repulsar | repulsar | respingere |
| resemble | ressembler (à) | parecerse (a) | parecer-se (com) | rassomigliare (a) |
| reserve (seat, etc.) | réserver | reservar | reservar | riservare |
| respect | respecter | respetar | respeitar | rispettare |
| rest (repose) | se reposer | descansar | descansar | riposarsi |
| restrict | restreindre | restringir | restringir | restringere |
| retain | retenir | retener | reter | ritenere |
| retire (withdraw) | se retirer | retirarse | retirar-se | ritirarsi |
| return (give back) | rendre | devolver | devolver | restituire |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>return</i> (go back) | retourner | volver | voltar | ritornare |
| revise | réviser | revisar | revêr | rivedere |
| revive (restore to life) | ressusciter | resucitar | ressuscitar | risuscitare |
| <i>revolve</i> | tourner | girar | girar | girare |
| reward | récompenser | recompensar | recompensar | ricompensare |
| ring (bell) | sonner | tocar | tocar | suonare |
| <i>rise</i> | se lever | levantarse | levantar-se | alzarsi |
| risk | risquer | arriesgar | arriscar | arrischiare |
| roll | rouler | rodar | rolar | rotolare |
| roll } | | | | |
| row | ramer | remar | remar | remare |
| rub | frotter | frotar | esfregar | fregare |
| ruin | ruiner | arruinar | arruinar | rovinare |
| run | courir | correr | correr | correre |
| save (from danger) | sauver | salvar | salvar | salvare |
| save up | épargner | ahorrar | poupar | risparmiare |
| say | dire | decir | dizer | dire |
| scatter | éparpiller | esparcir | espalhar | spargere |
| scrape | gratter | rascar | raspar | raschiare |
| scratch | égratigner | arañar | arranhar | graffiare |
| see | voir | ver | ver | vedere |
| seem | sembler | parecer | parecer | parere |
| | paraître | | | |
| seize (grasp) | saisir | agarrar | agarrar | afferrare |
| sell | vendre | vender | vender | vendere |
| send | envoyer | enviar | enviar | mandare |
| send back | renvoyer | devolver | devolver | rinviare |
| separate (from) | séparer (de) | separar (de) | separar (de) | separare (di) |
| serve (meals or persons) | servir | servir | servir | servire |
| sew | coudre | coser | coser | cucire |
| shake (agitate) | secouer | sacudir | chocalhar | scuotere |
| share (hand part over) | partager | compartir | repartir | spartire |
| sharpen | aiguïser | aflar | aflar | affilare |
| shave | raser | afeitar | fazer a barba | far la barba |
| | faire la barbe | | | |
| <i>shave</i> | se raser | afeitarse | fazer a barba | farsi la barba |
| | se faire la barbe | | | |
| shine | briller | brillar | brilhar | brillare |
| | luire | lucir | luzir | risplendere |
| shoot at | tirer sur | tirar a | atirar a | tirare a |
| shoot (execute) | fusiller | fusilar | fuzilar | fucilare |
| shout | crier | gritar | gritar | gridare |
| show | montrer | mostrar | mostrar | mostrare |
| shut in | enfermer | encerrar | encerrar | rinchiudere |
| side with | prendre le parti de | ponerse de parte de | tomar a parte de | prendere le parti di |
| sigh | soupirer | suspirar | suspirar | sospirare |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| sign | signer | firmar | assinar | firmare |
| signify | signifier | significar | significar | significare |
| sing | chanter | cantar | cantar | cantare |
| sink in | s'enfoncer | hundirse | afundar-se | affonders |
| sit (be sitting) | être assis | estar sentado | estar sentado | sedere |
| sit down | s'asseoir | sentarse | assentar-se | sedersi |
| sleep | dormir | dormir | dormir | dormire |
| slip | glisser | resbalar | escorregar | scivolare |
| smell | sentir | oler | cheirar | sentire |
| smell (of) | sentir | oler (a) | cheirar (a) | sentire |
| smile | sourir | sonreír | sorrir | sorridere |
| smoke (tobacco) | fumer | fumar | fumar | fumare |
| smoke | fumer | humear | deitar fumo | fumare |
| snore | ronfler | roncar | ressonar | russare |
| snow | neiger | nevar | nevar | nevicare |
| sob | sangloter | sollozar | soluçar | singhiozzare |
| soil | souiller | manchar | manchar | sporcare |
| solve (problem, etc.) | résoudre | resolver | resolver | risolvere |
| sow | semer | sembrar | semeare | seminare |
| speak | parler | hablar | falar | parlare |
| spell | épeler | deletrear | soletrar | compitare |
| spend (money) | dépenser | gastar | gastar | spendere |
| spend (time) | passer | pasar | passar | passare |
| spit | cracher | escupir | cuspir | sputare |
| split | fendre | hender | fender | fendere |
| stand (be on one's feet) | être debout | estar de pie | estar de pé | stare in piedi |
| stand on | se tenir sur | estar sobre | estar colado sobre | stare su |
| stay (reside temporarily) | rester | quedarse | ficar | stare |
| steal | voler | robar | roubar | rubare |
| stimulate | stimuler | estimular | estimular | stimolare |
| sting | piquer | picar | picar | pungere |
| stop (cause to stop) | arrêter | parar | parar | fermare |
| stop | s'arrêter | pararse | parar | fermars |
| strike (go on strike) | se mettre en grève | declarar en huelga | declarar-se em greve | far sciopero |
| struggle (with) | lutter (avec) | luchar (con) | lutar (com) | lottare (con) |
| study | étudier | estudiar | estudar | studiare |
| succeed (be successful) | réussir | tener éxito | ter éxito | riuscire |
| suck | sucer | chupar | chupar | succhiare |
| suffer (from) | souffrir (de) | sufrir (de) | sofrir (de) | soffrire (di) |
| suffice | suffir | bastar | bastar | bastare |
| suit (be fitting) | aller bien | sentar bien | assentar bem | star bene |
| support (prop up, back up) | soutenir | sostener | suportar | sostenere |
| suppose | supposer | suponer | supôr | supporre |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| surprise (take by surprise) | surprendre | sorprender | surpreender | sorprendere |
| surround (with) | entourer (de) | rodear (de) | rodear (com) | circondare (di) |
| suspect | soupçonner | sospechar | suspeitar | sospettare |
| swallow | avaler | tragar | engulir | inghiottire |
| swear (curse) | jurer | jurar | blasfemar | bestemmiaare |
| swear (take oath) | prêter serment | tomar juramento | tomar juramento | giurare |
| sweat | suer | sudar | suar | sudare |
| sweep (floor) | transpirer | transpirar | transpirar | traspirare |
| swim | balayer | barrer | varrer | spazzare |
| sympathise (with) | nager | nadar | nadar | nuotare |
| | sympathiser (avec) | simpatizar (con) | simpatizar (com) | simpatizzare (con) |
| take | prendre | tomar | tomar | prendere |
| take away | enlever | quitar | retirar | ritirare |
| taste | goûter | probar | provar | gustare |
| teach | enseigner | enseñar | ensinar | insegnare |
| tear (rend) | déchirer | rasgar | rasgar | lacerare |
| tell (say) | dire | decir | dizer | dire |
| tell (relate) | raconter | contar | contar | raccontare |
| test | mettre à l'épreuve | probar | provar | provare |
| thank | remercier | agradecer | agradecer | ringraziare |
| think (about) | penser (à) | pensar (de) | pensar (de) | pensare (a) |
| threaten (with) | menacer (de) | ameazar (con) | ameaçar (com) | minacciare (di) |
| throw | jeter | echar | deitar | gettare |
| | lancer | lanzar | lançar | lanciare |
| thunder | tonner | tronar | trovejar | tuonare |
| tie (bind together) | lier | liar | ligar | legare |
| tolerate | tolérer | tolerar | tolerar | tollerare |
| touch | toucher | tocar | tocar | toccare |
| translate | traduire | traducir | traduzir | tradurre |
| transport | transporter | transportar | transportar | trasportare |
| travel | voyager | viajar | viajar | viaggiare |
| treat | traiter | tratar | tratar | trattare |
| tremble | trembler | temblar | tremar | tremare |
| turn (twist) | tordre | torcer | torcer | torcere |
| type | taper (à la machine) | escribir a máquina | dactilografar | scrivere a macchina |
| uncover | découvrir | descubrir | descobrir | scoprire |
| underline | souligner | subrayar | sublinhar | sottolineare |
| understand (comprehend) | comprendre | comprender | compreender | comprendere |
| undress | se déshabiller | desnudarse | despir-se | vestirsi |
| unfasten | détacher | desatar | desatar | staccare |
| upset | renverser | trastornar | trastornar | rovesciare |
| urinate | uriner | orinar | urinar | orinare |
| | pisser | mear | mijar | pisciare |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| use (employ) | employer se servir de | emplear servirse de | empregar servir-se de | adoperare servirsi d. |
| visit | visiter | visitar | visitar | visitare |
| vomit | vomir rendre | vomitare | vomitare | vomitare |
| vote | voter | votar | votar | votare |
| wait for | attendre | esperar | esperar | aspettare |
| waken | éveiller | despertar | acordar | svegliare |
| wake up | s'éveiller | despertarse | acordar | svegliarsi |
| walk | marcher | andar | andar | camminare |
| walk (go for a walk) | se promener | pasearse | passear-se | far un giro |
| wander about | errer | errar | errar | errare |
| want (wish) | vaguer vouloir désirer | vagar querer desear | vaguear querer desejar | vagare volere desiderare |
| warn | avertir | avisar | avisar | avvertire |
| wash | laver | avar | lavar | lavare |
| wash | se laver | lavarse | lavar-se | lavarsi |
| watch (keep an eye on) | surveiller | vigilar | vigiar | sorvegliare |
| wave (hat, etc.) | agiter | agitar | agitar | agitare |
| wear (clothes) | porter | llevar | usar | portare |
| weep | pleurer | llorar | chorar | piangere |
| weigh } weigh } | peser | pesar | pesar | esare |
| whisper | chuchoter | cuchichear | cochichar | sussurrare |
| whistle | siffler | silbar | assobiar | fischiare |
| win | gagner | ganar | ganhar | guadagnare |
| wind (coil) | enrouler | enrollar | enrolar | arrotolare |
| wind up (watch) | remonter | dar cuerda | dar corda | caricare |
| be wont to | avoir coutume de | soler | soer | solere |
| work | travailler | trabajar | trabalhar | lavorare |
| worship | adorer | adorar | adorar | adorare |
| be worth | valoir | valer | valer | valere |
| wrap up | envelopper | envolver | embrulhar | avvolgere |
| write | écrire | escribir | escrever | scrivere |
| yawn | bailler | bostezar | bocejar | sbadigliare |
| yield (to) | céder (à) | ceder (a) | ceder (a) | cedere (a) |

6. ADVERBS

(a) PLACE AND MOTION

| | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------|----------------|------------|
| above, upstairs | en haut | arriba | em cima | di sopra |
| abroad | à l'étranger | en el extranjero | no estrangeiro | all'estero |
| anywhere, wherever | n'importe où | donde quiera | onde quer | dovunque |
| around | autour | alrededor | à roda | intorno |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|------------------------|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| backwards | en arrière | atrás | para trás | indietro |
| before (in front) | devant | delante | diante | davanti |
| behind | derrière | detrás | atrás | dietro |
| below, down- stairs | en bas | abajo | em baixo | giù |
| beyond | au-delà | más allá | além | abbasso |
| downwards | en bas | hacia abajo | abaixo | oltre |
| elsewhere | ailleurs | en otra parte | noutra parte | in giù |
| | autre part | | | altrove |
| everywhere | partout | en todas partes | em toda a parte | dappertutto |
| far | loin | lejos | longe | lontano |
| forwards | en avant | adelante | adiante | avanti |
| hence | d'ici | de aquí | daqui | da qui |
| here | ici | aquí | aquí | qui |
| here and there | ça et là | acá y allá | cá e lá | quà e là |
| hither | ici | aquí | aquí | qui |
| | par ici | | quí | quà |
| home (home- wards) | à la maison | a casa | a casa | a casa |
| at home | a la maison | en casa | em casa | in casa |
| inside | en dedans | dentro | dentro | dentro |
| near | près | cerca | perto | vicino |
| nowhere | nulle part | en ninguna parte | em nenhuma parte | in nessun luogo |
| on the left | à gauche | a la izquierda | à esquerda | a sinistra |
| on the right | à droite | a la derecha | à direita | a destra |
| on top | dessus | encima | em cima | sopra |
| over there (yon) | là-bas | allí; allá | acolá | collà; laggiù |
| opposite (facing) | vis-à-vis | enfrente | defronte | dirimpetto |
| outside | dehors | fuera | fora | fuori |
| somewhere | quelque part | en alguna parte | em algum lugar | in qualche luogo |
| thence | de là | desde allí | dali | di là |
| there | là | ahí | ali | ì |
| | y | allí | acolá | là |
| | | allá | lá | |
| thither | là | allí | para ali | lì |
| | y | allá | para lá | là |
| through, across | à travers | a través | através | attraverso |
| underneath | dessous | debajo | debaixo | disotto |
| upwards | en haut | hacia arriba | para cima | insù |

(b) *TIME*

| | | | | |
|------------------------|------------|----------|------------|------------|
| after, after- wards | après | después | depois | dopo |
| again | ensuite | luego | em seguida | in seguito |
| | de nouveau | de nuevo | de novo | di nuovo |
| | encore | otra vez | outra vez | ancora |
| already | déjà | ya | | già |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTU- GUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| always | toujours | siempre | sempre | sempre |
| as soon as possible | le plus tôt possible | cuanto antes lo más pronto | quanto antes o mais pronto | quanto prima il più presto possibile |
| at first | d'abord au commence- ment | a principio | ao principio | dapprima |
| at last | enfin | por fin al fin | em fim por fim | finalmente alla fine |
| at once | tout de suite à l'instant | en seguida al instante | já no instante | subito immanentemente |
| at present | à présent maintenant | al presente ahora | presentemente agora | adesso ora |
| at the latest | au plus tard | a más tardar | o mais tardar | al più tard |
| at the same time | en même temps | en mismo tiempo | ao mesmo tempo | allo stesso tempo |
| at times | quelquefois parfois | a veces | às vezes | qualche volta talvolta |
| before | avant | antes | antes | prima innanzi |
| daily | tous les jours journallement | diariamente | diariamente | ogni giorno |
| early | tôt de bonne heure | temprano | cedo | di buon' ora |
| ever (at all times) | toujours | siempre | sempre | sempre |
| ever (at any time) | jamais | jamás | jamais | mai |
| finally | finalément | finalmente | finalmente | finalmente |
| formerly | autrefois jadis | antes antiguamente | antigamente | altre volte |
| from time to time | de temps en temps de temps à autre | de cuando en cuando de vez en vez | de quando em quando quando | di quando in quando |
| from that time on henceforth | dès lors désormais | desde entonces en adelante | desde então de hoje em diante | sin d'allora d'ora innanz |
| hitherto | jusqu'ici | hasta ahora | até agora | finora |
| in future | à l'avenir | en lo venidero | para o futuro | per l'avvenire |
| in the evening | le soir | por la tarde | de tarde | di sera |
| in the morning | le matin | por la mañana | de manhã | di mattina |
| in time | à temps | a tiempo | a tempo | in tempo |
| last night | hier soir | anoche | a noite passada | ieri sera |
| last week | la semaine dernière | la semana pasada | a semana passada | la settimana passata |
| late | tard | tarde | tarde | ardi |
| lately | dernièrement | últimamente | ultimamente | recentemente |
| meanwhile | en attendant | entretanto | entretanto | frattanto |
| monthly | par mois mensuellement | mensualmente | mensalmente | al mese |
| never | jamais ne ... jamais | nunca; jamás no ... nunca | nunca; jamais não ... nunca | mai non ... mai |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| no longer | ne . . . plus | ya no no . . . más | já não não . . . mais | non . . . più |
| next week | la semaine prochaine | la semana próxima | a semana pró- xima | la settimana ventura |
| not yet | pas encore | todavía no | ainda não | non ancora |
| now | maintenant | ahora | agora | ora |
| nowadays | de nos jours | hoy día | hoje em dia | oggiorno |
| now and then | parfois | de vez en cuando | de vez em quando | di quando in quando |
| often | souvent | a menudo | muitas vezes | spesso |
| per day | par jour | al día | por dia | al giorno |
| previously | auparavant | anterior- mente | antes | innanzi |
| recently | récemment | recientemente | recentemente | recentemente |
| repeatedly | plusieurs fois à plusieurs reprises | repetida- mente | repetidamente | a più volte |
| seldom | rarement | raramente | raramente | raramente |
| since then | depuis lors | desde entonces | desde então | d'allora |
| soon (shortly) | bientôt | luego | cedo | fra poco |
| soon after | peu de temps après | pronto | logo | poco dopo |
| still, yet | encore | aún | ainda | anche |
| then (after that) | toujours | todavía | todavía | tuttora |
| then (at that time) | ensuite | luego | logo | poi |
| the other day | alors | entonces | então | allora |
| this evening | l'autre jour | el otro día | o outro dia | l'altro giorno |
| this morning | ce soir | esta tarde | esta tarde | stasera |
| to-day | ce matin | esta mañana | esta manhã | stamattina |
| to-morrow | aujourd'hui | hoy | hoje | oggi |
| to-morrow evening | demain | mañana | amanhã | doman |
| to-morrow morning | demain soir | mañana por la tarde | amanhã de tarde | domani sera |
| three weeks | demain matin | mañana por la mañana | amanhã de manhã | domattins |
| ago | il y a trois semaines | hace tres semanas | há tres se- manas | tre settimane |
| weekly | chaque se- maine | semanalmente | semanalmente | fa settimanal- mente |
| yearly | hebdomadaire- hebdoma- ment | dariamente | | |
| yesterday | annuellement | anualmente | anualmente | annualmente |
| the day before yesterday | hier | ayer | ontem | ieri |
| the day after to-morrow | avant-hier | anteayer | ante-ontem | avantier |
| | après-demain | pasado | depois de | posdoman |
| | | mañana | amanhã | |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| to-day a week | d'aujourd'hui en huit | de hoy en ocho días | de hoje a oito dias | oggi a otto |
| What is the time? | quelle heure est-il? | qué hora es? | que horas são? | che ora è? |
| it is one o'clock | il est une heure | es la una | é uma | è la una |
| it is five o'clock | il est cinq heures | son las cinco | são cinco | sono le cinque |
| half-past five | cinq heures et demi | las cinco y media | cinco e meia | le cinque e mezzo |
| quarter to five | cinq heures moins un quart | las cinco menos cu- arto | cinco menos um quarto | le cinque meno un quarto |
| quarter past five | cinq heures un quart | las cinco y quarto | cinco e um quarto | le cinque e un quarto |
| twenty to five | cinq heures moins vingt | las cinco me- nos veinte | cinco menos vinte | venti minuti alle cinque |
| twenty past five | cinq heures vingt | las cinco y veinte | cinco e vinte | le cinque e venti |

(c) MANNER, QUANTITY, AFFIRMATION AND NEGATION

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| about | environ à peu près | cerca | cêrca | circa verso |
| above all | surtout | sobre todo | sobretudo | soprattutto |
| actually | en fait en réalité | en realidad | na realidade | infatti |
| a little | un peu | un poco | um pouco | un poco |
| almost | prèsque | casi | quási | quasi |
| aloud | à haute voix | en alta voz | em voz alta | ad alta voce |
| also, too | aussi | también | também | anche |
| as (like) | comme | como | como | come |
| as it were | pour ainsi dire | por decirlo así | por assim dizer | per così dire |
| as much | autant | tanto | tanto | tanto |
| at least | au moins | a lo menos | pelo menos | almeno |
| at most | tout au plus | por lo más | ao mais | tutt' al più |
| badly | mal | mal | mal | male |
| besides (more- over) | d'ailleurs en outre | además | de mais | inoltre |
| by all means | à toute force | sin falta | a todo o custo | ad ogni modo |
| by no means | en aucune manière | de ningún modo | de nenhum modo | in nessun modo |
| by chance | par hasard | por suerte | por acaso | a caso |
| by heart | par cœur | de memoria | de cor | a memoria |
| by the way | en passant à propos | de paso a propósito | a propósito | a volo a proposito |
| certainly | certainement | ciertamente | certamente | certamente |
| chiefly | principale- ment | principal- mente | principalmente | principal- mente |
| completely | complètement | completa- mente | completa- mente | completa- mente |
| directly | directement | directamente | directamente | direttamente |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| enough | assez | bastante | bastante | abbastanza |
| even | même | aun | ainda | perfino |
| evidently | évidemment | evidentemente | evidentemente | evidentemente |
| exactly (just so) | justement | justamente | justamente | giusto |
| extremely | extrêmement | extremamente | extremamente | estremamente |
| first (in the first place) | d'abord | primeramente | primeiro | prima |
| | en premier lieu | en primer lugar | em primeiro lugar | in primo luogo |
| for instance | par exemple | por ejemplo | por exemplo | per esempio |
| fortunately | heureusement | por fortuna | felizmente | per fortuna |
| hardly (scarcely) | à peine | apenas | apenas | appena |
| hastily | à la hâte | precipitadamente | precipitadamente | in fretta |
| | | mentemente | mentemente | |
| indeed | vraiment | verdaderamente | verdadeiramente | davvero |
| | en vérité | de veras | de-veras | |
| in general | en général | generalmente | geralmente | generalmente |
| in vain | en vain | en vano | em vão | invano |
| less and less | de moins en moins | menos y menos | menos e menos | di meno in meno |
| little | peu | poco | pouco | po co |
| little by little | peu à peu | poco a poco | pouco a pouco | poco a poco |
| more and more | de plus en plus | más y más | mais e mais | di più in più |
| more or less | plus ou moins | más o menos | mais ou menos | più o meno |
| mostly | pour la plupart | en su mayor parte | pela maior parte | per lo più |
| | | parte | parte | |
| much | beau coup | mucho | muito | molto |
| | bien | | | |
| | fort | | | |
| no | non | no | não | no |
| not | ne . . . pas | no | não | non |
| not at all | pas du tout | de ningún modo | de nenhum modo | niente affatto |
| not even | pas même | ni aun | nem mesmo | neanche |
| | | | | neppure |
| of course | naturellement | naturalmente | naturalmente | naturalmente |
| | sans doute | sin duda | sem dúvida | si capisce |
| only | seulement | solamente | sómente | soltanto |
| | ne . . . que | no . . . más que | não . . . mais que | non . . . che |
| on purpose | exprès | de propósito | de propósito | apposta |
| partly | en partie | en parte | em parte | in parte |
| perhaps | peut-être | tal vez | talvez | forse |
| | | | por ventura | |
| probably | probablement | probablemente | provavelmente | probabilmente |
| quickly | vite | de prisa | depressa | presto |
| rather (preferably) | plutôt | más bien | mais | piuttosto |
| slowly | lentement | lentamente | lentamente | lentamente |
| | tout doucement | despacio | devagar | pian piano |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH | SPANISH | PORTUGUESE | ITALIAN |
|---------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| so (so much) | tant | tanto | tanto | tanto |
| so (thus) | ainsi | asi | assim | così |
| somewhat | quelque peu | algo | algo | alquanto |
| suddenly | soudainement | de repente | subitamente | improvvisamente |
| | tout à coup | de sopetón | de repente | d'un tratto |
| together | ensemble | untamente | juntamente | insieme |
| too, too much | trop | demasiado | demais | troppo |
| unfortunately | malheureusement | desgraciadamente | desgraçadamente | per sfortuna |
| very | très | muy | muito | molto |
| viz. | c'est à dire | a saber | a saber | cioè |
| well | bien | bien | bem | bene |
| willingly | volontiers | voluntariamente | voluntariamente | volentier |
| | | de buena gana | de boa vontade | |
| yes | oui | si | sim | si |
| | si | | | |

7. SOCIAL USAGE

| | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| good morning | } bonjour | buenos dias | bom dia | buon giorno |
| good day | | buenas tardes | boa tarde | buona sera |
| good evening | | bonsoir | boas noites | buona notte |
| good night | bonne nuit | | | |
| good-bye | adieu | adiós | adeus | addio |
| | au revoir | hasta luego | até a vista | arrivederci |
| good speed | bon voyage | buena suerte | boa viagem | buon viaggio |
| your health | à votre santé | a su salud | à sua saúde | salute |
| many thanks | merci bien | muchas gracias | muito obrigado | tante grazie |
| thanks | merci* | gracias | obrigado | grazie |
| don't mention it | il n'y a pas de quoi | no hay de qué | não há de quê | non c'è di che prego |
| | ce n'est rien | de nada | | |
| I beg your pardon | je vous demande pardon | perdone usted | perdoe-me | le domando scusa |
| excuse me | excusez-moi | dispénsame | desculpe | permeso |
| I am sorry | je suis désolé | lo siento | lamento muito | mi rincresco |
| please | s'il vous plaît | por favor | se faz favor | per piacere |
| with pleasure | avec plaisir | con mucho gusto | com muito gosto | con piacere |
| good | bon | bueno | bom | buono |
| how are you | comment allez-vous | cómo está usted | como está | come sta |
| | | qué tal | que tal está | |
| so so | comme ci, comme ça | así así | assim, assim | così così |
| come in | entrez | adelante | entre | avanti |

* When accepting an offer say *s'il vous plaît*, or *avec plaisir* or *volontiers*; when refusing say *merci* or *merci bien*.

APPENDIX III

THE GREEK LEGACY

WHAT follows are Greek words with roots which survive in words of our own language and in scientific terms which are international. The latter include especially medical words and names of classes or genera of animals and plants, many of which will be familiar to the reader who has an interest in natural history. Greek abounded in compounds and words with derivative affixes. Loan words often come directly from a combination of elements indicated separately by the reference number of each item. The most important Greek affix which does not occur as a separate word is *a-* (without). Generic and class names listed below have an initial capital letter, as do proper names.

Use of a Greek dictionary in order to find the origin of a technical term involves knowledge of the conventions of romanized spelling; and the order of the signs of the Greek alphabet: $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \eta, \theta, \iota, \kappa, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \xi, \omicron, \pi, \rho, \sigma(s), \tau, \upsilon, \phi, \chi, \psi, \omega$. The Greek aspirate is the transposed apostrophe ' written before an initial letter. Thus 'a = *ha*, 'p = *rh*. Dictionaries do not separate words with aspirated from words with unaspirated initial vowel. The transcription of the peculiar Greek consonants is as follows: $\psi = ps$, $\chi = ch$, $\xi = x$, $\phi = ph$, $\xi = x$. If γ comes before a guttural (γ, ξ, χ) it is equivalent to *n*. Thus $\gamma\gamma = ng$. The Latin transcription of κ is *C*, but some modern words render it as *K*. The equivalents of the simple vowels are $\epsilon = e$, $\eta = e$ or *a*, $\alpha = a$, $\iota = i$, \omicron or $\omega = o$ and $\upsilon = y$. The conventions for the double vowels are $ou = u$, $ei = i$, $ai = ae$, and $oi = oe$ or *e*. The final *ia* of many Greek substantives becomes *y* in English.

When the *stem* of other case-forms of a noun or adjective is longer than, or different from, the nominative the following rule holds good. The nominative form occurs in a *final* syllable, elsewhere the stem. Thus from (233) *ασπις* (*aspis*—nominative) and *ασπιδος* (*aspidos*—genitive) we get the zoological names *Hemiaspis* and *Aspidocotyle*. From the nominative *θριξ* (*thrix*) and genitive *τριχος* (*trichos*) we get the genera *Ophiothrix* and *Trichina*. Where confusion might arise, the nominative and genitive forms of a noun appear below. An asterisk (*) marks the genitive, if given alone.

The number of verbs listed is small, because the root which turns

up in technical words is more transparent in the corresponding abstract noun. Greek prepositions have widely different values depending on the case-forms which go with them. The ones given are those which they usually have in technical terms.

Many Greek words transcribed in accordance with the foregoing conventions have come into use with little or no change. These include:

- (a) Mythical persons such as *Medusa*, *Hydra*, *Gorgon*, *Titan*, *Andromeda*, *Morpheus*, *Nemesis*, and *nectar* (the drink of the gods).

The myths have furnished many technical terms for zoological or botanical genera, constellations, etc.

- (b) Medical terms of which the following are samples:

| | | | |
|------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| αρθριτις | arthritis | καθαρσις | catharsis |
| αποπληξια | apoplexy | καταρροος | catarrhoos |
| ασθμα | asthma | λεπρα | lepra |
| διάρροια | diarrhoea | μαρασμος | marasmus |
| δυσεντερια | dysentery | παρалуσις | paralysis |
| εμπλαστρον | emplastron (plaster) | προβοσκis | proboscis |
| επιληψις | epilepsy | ρευματισμος | rheumatismus |
| γαγγραινα | gangraina | φλεβοτομια | phlebotomy (blood-letting) |
| χωραξ | thorax | ψωρα | psora (itch—psoriasis) |

- (c) A few non-technical words such as the following:

| | | | |
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| ανιγμα | enigma (riddle) | ιδεια | idea |
| ακμη | acme (top, pinnacle) | κριτηριον | (criterion) |
| ασβεστος | asbestos (unquenchable) | κυδος | kuδος (glory) |
| βασις | basis | οριζων | horizon |
| δαιμων | daemon | πανακεια | panacea |
| διαβολος | diabolos (slanderer) | πραξις | praxis |
| δογμα | dogma | στιγμα | stigma (branding) |
| δραμα | drama | συνταξις | syntax (arrangement) |
| θεμα | thema (theme) | δφεν | hyphen |
| εικων | ikon (image) | φαντασια | phantasia |
| εμφασις | emphasis | χαρακτηρ | character |
| ηχω | echo | χαος | chaos |

(a) GENERAL NOUNS

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------|------------|---|
| (1) αγων | (agon) | contest | — protagonist |
| (2) αγωγή | (agoge) | training | — pedagogus (220), galactagogue (127) |
| (3) αιτια | (aetia) | cause | — aetiology (36) |
| (4) αισθησις | (aesthesis) | perception | — anaesthesia, aesthetic |
| (5) αρχη | (arche) | beginning | — archaic, archetype (71), archenteron (301), archegonium (11), Archaeopteryx (348) |
| | | origin | |
| (6) αυτος | (autos) | self | — autolysis (37), autarchy (202), autonomy (217) |

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| (7) βίος | (bios) | life | — biology (36), symbiosis (668) |
| (8) βολή | (bole) | toss | — hyperbole (669), anabolism (653), catabolism (663) |
| (9) γένεσις | (genesis) | origin | — oogenesis (387), ectogenesis (658), epigenesis (661) |
| (10) γένος | (genos) | kind, race, offspring | — antigen (654), nitrogen (193), genealogy (36), photogenic (119) |
| (11) γονή | (gone) | generation, womb | — gonad, opisthogeneate (580) |
| (12) γωνία | (gonia) | angle | — polygon (593), trigonometry (267, 629) |
| (13) γυρός | (gyros) | ring, circle | — gyrate, Gyrocotyle (140) |
| (14) γνώσις | (gnosis) | knowledge | — agnostic, diagnostic (656) |
| (15) δόξα | (doxa) | opinion | — orthodoxy (582), heterodoxy (545) |
| (16) δρόμος | (dromos) | race, running | — anadromous (653), kataadromous (663) |
| (17) δύναμις | (dynamis) | power | — dynamic, dynamo |
| (18) δῶρον | (doron) | gift | — Dorothea (252) |
| (19) ελεγος | (elegos) | lament | — elegy, elegiac |
| (20) ελεημοσύνη | (eleemosyne) | pity | — eleemosynary |
| (21) επιστήμη | (episteme) | knowledge | — epistemology (36) |
| (22) ἐπος | (epos) | speech | — epic |
| (23) ἔργον | (ergon) | work | — erg, synergic (668), energy (659) |
| (24) ἔρως | (eros) | love | — erotic, autoerotic (6) |
| (25) θάνατος | (thanatos) | death | — euthanasia (546) |
| (26) θαύμα | (thauma) | marvel | — thaumasite, thaumaturgy (23) |
| (27) θεραπεία | (therapia) | attendance, care | — therapy, therapeutic |
| (28) θέσις | (thesis) | arrangement, order | — antithesis (654), parenthesis (665) (659) |
| (29) θεωρία | (theoria) | reflection, contemplation | — theory, theoretical |
| (30) ἱστορία | (historia) | narrative, research | — history, story |
| (31) κέντρον | (centron) | centre, sting | — egocentric (εγω = I), geocentric (91) |
| (32) κύβος | (cubos) | cube | — cubical |
| (33) κυλινδρος | (cylindros) | cylinder | — cylindrical |
| (34) κύκλος | (cyclos) | circle | — cyclic, tricycle (267), epicycle (661), Cyclostome (363) |
| (35) κωμος | (comos) | revel, comedy | — comic |
| (36) λόγος | (logos) | discourse, reasoning, word | — logarithm (264), eulogy (546), analogy (653), apology (655), prologue (667), dialogue (656) |
| (37) λύσις | (lysis) | release | — haemolysis (281), analysis (653), catalysis (663) |

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| (38) μαθημα | (<i>mathema</i>) | learning | — mathematics |
| (39) μεθοδος | (<i>methodos</i>) | process | — method (107), (664) |
| (40) μερος | (<i>meros</i>) | part | — metamerism (664), meroblastic (484), pentamerous (269) |
| (41) μιμησις | (<i>mimesis</i>) | imitation | — mimetic, mimicry |
| (42) μιξις | (<i>mixis</i>) | mixing | — amphimixis (526) |
| (43) μισος | (<i>misos</i>) | hatred | — misogynist (206), misanthrope (201) |
| (44) μνησις | (<i>mnesis</i>) | memory | — amnesia, mnemonic |
| (45) μονας | (<i>monas</i>) | a unit | — monad, Ochromonas (612), Trichomonas (370) |
| (46) μουσικη | (<i>musice</i>) | art of the Muses | — music, musician, etc. |
| (47) μορφη | (<i>morphe</i>) | form | — morphology (36), amorphous, metamorphosis (664), Myomorpha (425) |
| (48) ονομα | (<i>onoma</i> or <i>onyma</i>) | name | — onomatopoeia (632), anonymous |
| (49) οργια | (<i>orgia</i>) | secret rite | — orgy |
| (50) παθος | (<i>pathos</i>) | suffering, passion | — sympathy (668), apathy |
| (51) πραγμα | (<i>pragma</i>) | deed, fact | — pragmatic, pragmatism |
| (52) προβλημα | (<i>problema</i>) | proposition | — problem, problematic |
| (53) πυραμιδος* | (<i>pyramidos</i>) | pyramid | — pyramidal |
| (54) ρυθμος | (<i>rhythmos</i>) | rhythm | — rhythmic, eurythmics (546) |
| (55) σαρκασμος | (<i>sarcasmos</i>) | mockery | — sarcasm, sarcastic |
| (56) σημα | (<i>sema</i>) | sign, symbol | — semantics |
| (57) σθενος | (<i>sihenos</i>) | strength | — asthenic, neurasthenia (325) |
| (58) σκανδαλον | (<i>scandalon</i>) | offence | — scandalous |
| (59) στασις | (<i>stasis</i>) | standing, still, posture | — epistatic (661), ecstasy (657), apostasy (655), statolith (188), statocyst (315) |
| (60) στιγμα | (<i>stigma</i>) | mark, puncture | — stigmata |
| (61) στροφη | (<i>strophe</i>) | twist | — apostrophe (655), Strophanthus (483) |
| (62) σφαιρα | (<i>sphaera</i>) | sphere, globe | — spherical, stratosphere |
| (63) σχημα | (<i>schema</i>) | plan | — scheme, schematic |
| (64) σοφια | (<i>sophia</i>) | wisdom | — philosophy (648), sophism |
| (65) τελος | (<i>telos</i>) | end, purpose | — entelechy (659), teleology (36), telosynapsis (668, 124) |
| (66) τερας | (<i>teras</i>) | omen | — amphoterie (526) |
| (67) τεχνη | (<i>technē</i>) | art | — technical, pyrotechnic (111) |
| (68) τονος | (<i>tonos</i>) | stretching | — tonus, tone, tonic |
| (69) τοπος | (<i>topos</i>) | place | — topography (619), ectopic (657), topical |
| (70) τροπη | (<i>trope</i>) | direction, turn | — heliotropism (95), entropy (659), geotropism (91) |

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| (71) τυπος | (<i>typos</i>) | model, impression | — <i>typical, typography</i> (619), <i>typewriter</i> |
| (72) φοβος | (<i>phobos</i>) | fear | — <i>hydrophobia</i> (114), <i>xenophobia</i> (575) |
| (73) φρασις | (<i>phrasis</i>) | phrase | — <i>periphrasis</i> (666), <i>paraphrase</i> (665) |
| (74) φρην | (<i>phren</i>) | understanding | — <i>oligophrenia</i> (577), <i>schizophrenia</i> (641) |
| (75) φυσις | (<i>physis</i>) | nature | — <i>physical, physiography</i> (619) |
| (76) φωνη | (<i>phone</i>) | sound, voice | — <i>phonetics, phonograph</i> (619), <i>gramophone</i> (249), <i>anti-phony</i> (654), <i>cacophony</i> (555) |
| (77) χρωμα | (<i>chroma</i>) | colour | — <i>panchromatic</i> (584), <i>polychrome</i> (593), <i>chromosome</i> (367) |
| (78) χρονος | (<i>chronos</i>) | time | — <i>chronometer</i> (629), <i>synchronize</i> (668), <i>chronology</i> (36) |
| (79) ψυχη | (<i>psyche</i>) | mind | — <i>psychic, psychology</i> (36) |
| (80) ωσμη | (<i>osme</i>) | thrust | — <i>osmosis</i> |

(b) NATURE—OUTDOOR THINGS

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|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------|---|
| (81) αγρος | (<i>agros</i>) | field | — <i>agronomy</i> (217) |
| (82) αηρ | (<i>aer</i>) | air | — <i>aerial, aerobic</i> (7), <i>aeroplane, aerotropism</i> (70) |
| (83) ακτις, ακτινος | (<i>actis, actinos</i>) | sunbeam | — <i>actinic, Hexactinia</i> (270), <i>Actinozoa</i> (399), <i>actinomorphic</i> (47) |
| (84) αιθηρ | (<i>aether</i>) | sky | — <i>ether, ethereal</i> |
| (85) ανεμος | (<i>anemos</i>) | wind | — <i>anemophilous</i> (648), <i>anemometer</i> (629) |
| (86) αστηρ | (<i>aster</i>) | star | — <i>astrology</i> (36), <i>astral, asteroid, Aster, Asteroidea</i> |
| (87) ατμος | (<i>atmos</i>) | vapour | — <i>atmosphere</i> (62) |
| (88) αυλος | (<i>aulos</i>) | pipe | — <i>hydraulic</i> (114) |
| (89) βοθρος | (<i>bothros</i>) | pit | — <i>Stenobothrium</i> (597), <i>Bothrioccephalus</i> (310) |
| (90) βροντη | (<i>bronte</i>) | thunder | — <i>Brontosaurus</i> (434) |
| (91) γη | (<i>ge</i>) | earth | — <i>geography</i> (619), <i>geology</i> (36), <i>geometry</i> (629) |
| (92) δροσος | (<i>drosos</i>) | dew | — <i>Drosera, Drosophila</i> (648) |
| (93) ηως | (<i>eos</i>) | dawn | — <i>Eohippus</i> (401), <i>Eoanthropus</i> (201) |
| (94) ξεφυρος | (<i>zephyros</i>) | west wind | — <i>zephyr</i> |
| (95) ηλιος | (<i>helios</i>) | sun | — <i>helium, perihelion</i> (666), <i>heliograph</i> (619), <i>heliocentric</i> (31) |
| (96) ημερα | (<i>hemera</i>) | day | — <i>ephemeral</i> (661) |
| (97) θαλασσα | (<i>thalassa</i>) | sea | — <i>Thalassemma, Thalassoplancta</i> |
| (98) ιρις | (<i>iris</i>) | rainbow | — <i>iridescence</i> |

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|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--|
| (99) κοσμος | (cosmos) | world | — cosmogony (11), cosmic |
| (100) κρυσταλλος | (crystallos) | ice, crystal | — crystalline, crystallography (619) |
| (101) κυμα | (cyma) | wave | — Cumacea, kymograph (619) |
| (102) λιμνη | (limne) | lake | — limnology (36), Limnanthemum (483) |
| (103) νεφελη | (nephele) | cloud | — nephelometer (629) |
| (104) νησος | (nesos) | island | — Polynesia (593), Micronesia (569), Melanesia (610) |
| (105) νυξ, νυκτος | (nux, nyctos) | night | — Nyctiphanes (646), nyctinasty, nyctotropism (70) |
| (106) ουρανος | (uranos) | heaven | — uranium, uranian |
| (107) οδος | (hodos) | way, journey | — period (666), anode (653), cathode (663) |
| (108) πλανης | (planes) | wanderer | — planet |
| (109) ποταμος | (potamos) | river | — hippopotamus (401), Potamogeton |
| (110) πτυξ, πτυχος | (ptyx, ptychos) | cleft | — Ptychodera, Amphiptyches (526), Aptychus |
| (111) πυρ | (pyr) | fire | — pyrex, pyrexia, empyrean (659), Pyronema (148) |
| (112) σεληνη | (selene) | moon | — selenium, selenodont (328) |
| (113) σπινθηρ | (spinther) | spark | — spinthariscopes (639) |
| (114) υδωρ | (hydor) | water | — hydrogen (10), anhydrous, hydrant, hydrostatics (59) |
| (115) υδατις | (hydatis) | drop | — hydatid |
| (116) φλοξ, φλογος | (phlox, phlogos) | flame | — phlogiston |
| (117) φραγμος | (phragmos) | fence | — Phragmatobia (7), Phragmites |
| (118) φρεαρ, φρεατος | (phrear, phreatos) | cistern | — Phreatokus |
| (119) φωτος* | (photos) | light | — photic, photograph (619), photon |
| (120) ψαμμος | (psammos) | sand | — Psammoclema, Psamma |
| (121) ωκεανος | (oceanos) | ocean | — oceanic, oceanography (619) |

(c) DOMESTIC THINGS (Building, Clothes, Furniture, Tools)

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|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------|--|
| (122) αγγειον | (angeion) | box, chest | — Angiosperm (511), Angioperteris (507) |
| (123) ασκος | (ascoos) | bottle, bag | — Ascomycetes (504), Ascidian |
| (124) αψις | (apsis) | knot | — synopsis (668), parasynapsis (665) |
| (125) αξων | (axon) | axle, shaft | — axis, axial, triaxon (267) |
| (126) βουτυρον | (butyron) | butter | — butyric |
| (127) γαλα, γαλακτος | (gala, galactos) | milk | — galactic, galaxy |
| (128) δικτυων | (dictyon) | net | — Dictyota, Palasodictyoptera (348, 583) |

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| (129) δισκος | (discos) | dish, quoit | — disc, Cephalodiscus (310), Discoglossa (292) |
| (130) εκκλησια | (ecclesia) | church | — ecclesiastical |
| (131) ζυγον | (zygon) | yoke | — zygotc, azygos, zygotia, zygomorphic (47), homozygotc (579) |
| (132) ζωνη | (zone) | belt | — zone |
| (133) θαλαμος | (thalamos) | bedchamber | — thalamus, hypothalamus (670), thalamencephalon (297) |
| (134) θεατρον | (theatron) | theatre | — theatrical |
| (135) θηκη | (theke) | box | — gonotheca (11), blastotheca (484), thecophore (649) |
| (136) ιστος | (histos) | web | — histology (36), histogenesis (9) |
| (137) κανων | (canon) | ruler, rod | — canonical |
| (138) καθεδρα | (cathedra) | chair | — cathedral |
| (139) κληνη | (cline) | bed | — clinic, clinical |
| (140) κοτυλη | (cotyle) | small cup (sucker) | — hypocotyl (670), Heterocotylea (545), Monocotyledon (570) |
| (141) κρατηρ | (crater) | mixing vessel, bowl | — crater |
| (142) κτενιον | (ctenion) | comb | — Ctenophora (649), ctenidium, ctenoid |
| (143) κυτος | (cytos) | vessel (cell) | — amoebocyte, phagocyte (645) |
| (144) λυρα | (lyra) | lyre | — lyrical |
| (145) μαρσιπος | (marsipos) | bag | — Marsipobranchii (287) |
| (146) μιτος | (mitos) | thread | — mitosis, mitochondria (384) |
| (147) μιτρα | (mitra) | girdle | — mitre, Haplomitrium (528), Gyromitra (13) |
| (148) νημα, νηματος | (nema, nematos) | thread | — Nematoda, nematocyst (315), Nematelminthes (396) |
| (149) οικος | (oecos) | house | — ecology (36), dioecious (266) |
| (150) οψον | (opson) | food | — opsonin |
| (151) οργανον | (organon) | tool, instrument | — organ, organic |
| (152) πλασμα | (plasma) | figure, image | — protoplasm (265), cytoplasm (143) |
| (153) πλινθος | (plinthos) | tile | — plinth |
| (154) πυλη | (pyle) | gate | — micropyle (569), apophyle (655) |
| (155) ραφης | (raphis) | needle | — raphide, Raphidae |
| (156) πλαξ, πλακος | (plax, placos) | tombstone, slab | — placoid, Placophora (649), Placodonteia (328) |
| (157) σαλπινγξ, σαλπιγγος | (salpinx, salpingos) | trumpet | — Salpingoeca (149) |
| (158) σιφων | (siphon) | siphon | — Siphonophora (649), siphonoglyph (618), Siphonocladus (495) |
| (159) σκυφος | (scyphos) | cup | — Scyphozoa (399), Scyphistoma (363) |

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| (160) σωλην | (solen) | pipe | — <i>solenoid</i> , <i>solenocyte</i> (143), <i>Solenogaster</i> (290) |
| (161) στεγη | (stege) | roof, tent | — <i>Stegocephali</i> (310), <i>Stegosaurius</i> (434), <i>Stegostoma</i> (363) |
| (162) στηλη | (stela) | pillar | — <i>stelar</i> , <i>monostely</i> (570), <i>polystely</i> (593) |
| (163) στεφανος | (stephanos) | wreath | — <i>Stephanoceros</i> (309), <i>Stephanops</i> (338), <i>Stephanotrochus</i> (172) |
| (164) συριγγε, συριγγος | (syrinx, syringos) | shepherd's pipe | — <i>syringe</i> , <i>syrinx</i> |
| (165) στυλος | (stylos) | pillar | — <i>endostyle</i> (660), <i>heterostyly</i> (545) |
| (166) σφην | (sphen) | wedge | — <i>sphenoid</i> , <i>Sphenodon</i> (328), <i>zygasphene</i> (131), <i>Sphenopteris</i> (507) |
| (167) σχολη | (schola) | school | — <i>scholastic</i> , <i>scholar</i> |
| (168) ταφος | (taphos) | grave | — <i>epitaph</i> (661) |
| (169) ταπη | (tapes) | carpet | — <i>tapestry</i> |
| (170) τραπεζα | (trapeza) | table | — <i>trapezoid</i> |
| (171) τροφη | (trophe) | food | — <i>atrophy</i> , <i>autotrophic</i> (6), <i>trophoblast</i> (484) |
| (172) τροχος | (trochos) | wheel | — <i>trochophore</i> (649), <i>Trochhelminthes</i> (396) |
| (173) τρυπανον | (trypanon) | gimlet | — <i>Trypanosoma</i> (367) |
| (174) τυρος | (tyros) | cheese | — <i>Tyroglyphe</i> (618) |
| (175) χιτων | (chiton) | tunic | — <i>chiton</i> , <i>Chiton</i> |
| (176) χλαμυς | (chlamys) | cloak | — <i>Chlamydomonas</i> (45), <i>monochlamydeous</i> (570) |
| (177) χορδη | (chorde) | cord | — <i>Chordata</i> , <i>notochord</i> (327), <i>Hemichorda</i> |
| (178) χυμος | (chymos) | juice | — <i>parenchymatous</i> (665, 659), <i>mesenchyme</i> (568, 659) |

(d) MATERIALS AND SUBSTANCES

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| (179) ανθραξ | (anthrax) | coal | — <i>anthracite</i> |
| (180) αργυρος | (argyros) | silver | — <i>Argyroses</i> |
| (181) αλς | (hals) | salt | — <i>halogen</i> (10), <i>halometer</i> (529), <i>halophyte</i> (518) |
| (182) ηλεκτρον | (electron) | amber | — <i>electricity</i> |
| (183) εριον | (erion) | wool | — <i>Eriocaulon</i> (494), <i>Eriophyes</i> (650), <i>Eriobotrya</i> (486) |
| (184) θειον | (thion) | sulphur | — <i>thiosulphate</i> , <i>thiourea</i> (335) |
| (185) κεραμος | (ceramos) | clay | — <i>ceramics</i> |
| (186) κινναβαρι | (cinnabari) | vermillion | — <i>cinnabar</i> |
| (187) κολλα | (colla) | glue | — <i>colloid</i> , <i>collencyte</i> (659, 143), <i>collenchyma</i> (659, 178) |
| (188) λιθος | (lithos) | stone | — <i>monolith</i> (570), <i>solith</i> (93), <i>lithograph</i> (619) |
| (189) μαγνης | (magnes) | lodestone | — <i>magnet</i> |
| (190) μαργαριτης | (margarites) | pearl | — <i>Margaret</i> |

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| (191) μεταλλον | (metallon) | mine | — metal, metallic |
| (192) μολυβδος | (molybdos) | lead | — molybdenum |
| (193) νιτρον | (nitron) | saltpetre | — nitric, nitrogen (10) |
| (194) πετρα | (petra) | rock | — petrology (36) |
| (195) πυριτης | (pyrites) | flint | — pyrites |
| (196) στεαρ | (stear) | tallow, fat | — stearate, stearic, stearin |
| (197) χρυσος | (chrysos) | gold | — Chrysopa, Chrysosmonas (45), Chrysochloris (614) |
| (198) ψηφος | (psephos) | pebble | — Psephurus (334) |

(e) HUMAN SOCIETY—LAW AND FAMILY, OCCUPATIONS

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| (199) αδελφος | (adelphos) | brother | — Philadelphia (648), monadelphous (570), polyadelphous (593) |
| (200) ανδρος* | (andro) | male | — polyandry (593), androgynous (206), androecium (149) |
| (201) ανθρωπος | (anthropos) | human being | — philanthropy (648), anthropocentric (31), Pithecanthropus (431), lycanthropy (422) |
| (202) αρχων | (archon) | ruler | — patriarch (222), heptarchy (271), monarch (570), oligarch (577) |
| (203) βουκολος | (bukolos) | herdsman | — bucolic |
| (204) γενετη | (genete) | birth | — genetics, eugenics (540) |
| (205) γεωργος | (georgos) | farmer | — georgic, George |
| (206) γυνη, γυναικος | (gyne, gynaecos) | woman | — gynaecology (36), epigynou (661), perigynous (666), polygyny (593), gynandromorph (200, 47) |
| (207) δημος | (demos) | people | — democracy (625), demography (619), endemic (659), epidemic (661) |
| (208) δεσμος | (desmos) | fetter | — Polydesmus (593), desmids, desmognathous (293) |
| (209) διακονος | (diaconos) | servant | — deacon, archdeacon (202) |
| (210) δυναστης | (dynastes) | ruler | — dynasty |
| (211) κλεπτης | (cleptes) | thief | — kleptomania (321) |
| (212) κριτης | (crites) | judge | — critic, criticism, hypercritical (669) |
| (213) λαος | (laos) | people | — lay, laity |
| (214) μαγος | (magos) | magician | — magic |
| (215) μητηρ | (meter) | mother | — matriarchy (202) |
| (216) ναυτης | (nautes) | sailor | — nautical, aeronautics (82) |
| (217) νομος | (nomos) | law, custom | — astronomy (86), autonom (6), antinomian (654) |
| (218) νυμφη | (nymphe) | bride | — nymphomania (321) |
| (219) οικονομος | (oekonomos) | steward | — economical, economics (149, 217) |

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| (220) παιδός* | (paidos) | child | — pederasty (24), pediatrics (551), orthopaedic (582) |
| (221) παρθενός | (parthenos) | virgin | — parthenogenesis (9) |
| (222) πατήρ | (pater) | father | — patriarchy (202) |
| (223) πλούτος | (plutos) | riches | — plutocracy (625) |
| (224) πόλις | (polis) | city, state | — policy, cosmopolis (99) |
| (225) πολίτης | (polites) | citizen | — politics |
| (226) πρεσβύς | (presbys) | an old man | — presbyopia (338), presbyterian |
| (227) προφήτης | (prophetes) | interpreter | — prophet |
| (228) τεκτων | (tecton) | builder | — architect (202) |
| (229) τυραννός | (tyrannos) | dictator | — tyrant, tyrannical |
| (230) ύποκριτης | (hypocrites) | actor | — hypocrite |
| (231) φύλη | (phyle) | tribe, clan | — phylum, phyletic, phylogeny (10) |

(f) ARMY AND NAVY

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| 232) ασπίς, ασπίδος | (aspis, aspidos) | round shield | — Aspidocoryle (140), Hemiaspis, Pteraspis (348), Anaspidacea |
| 233) ήρως | (heros) | demi-god, warrior | — heroic, hero |
| 234) θώραξ | (thorax) | breast-plate | — thoracic, metathorax (664) |
| (235) θυρεός | (thyreos) | shield | — thyroid, parathyroid (665) |
| (236) κολέος | (coleos) | sheath | — Coleochaete (378), Coleoptera (348) |
| 237) κορυς | (corys) | helmet | — Corymorphia (47), Coryaenidium (488), Corylophidae (319) |
| (238) κορυνή | (coryne) | club | — Syncoryne (668), Podocoryne (346) |
| (239) κωπη | (cope) | oar | — Copepoda (346) |
| (240) ξίφος | (xiphos) | sword | — Xiphosura (334), Xiphias |
| (241) σκάφη | (scaphe) | boat | — scaphognathite (293), Scaphopoda (346) |
| 242) στιχο | (stichos) | row, line, verse | — Polystichum (593), Stichopus (346), Stichaster (86) |
| (243) πολεμος | (polemos) | war | — polemic |
| (244) στρατηγος | (strategos) | commander | — strategy, strategic |
| (245) ταξίς | (taxis) | battle array, order | — phototaxis (119), rheotaxis (635), phyllotaxis (517) |

(g) LITERATURE AND RELIGION

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| (246) αγγελος | (angelos) | messenger | — angel, evangelical |
| (247) ασυλον | (asylon) | sanctuary | — asylum |
| (248) βιβλος | (biblos) | book | — bibliophile (648), bibliography (619) |
| (249) γραμμα | (gramma) | letter | — epigram (661), telegram (601), phonogram (76) |
| 250) ειδωλον | (idolon) | image | — idol, idolize |

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| (251) επισκοπος | (episcopos) | bishop | — episcopal |
| (252) θεος | (theos) | god | — theosophy (64), polytheism (593), pantheism (584), theocracy (625) |
| (253) ιερεις | (hierous) | priest | — hieratic, hierarchy |
| (254) λατρεία | (latria) | worship | — idolatry (250), Mariolatry |
| (255) μυθος | (mythos) | fable | — mythical, mythology (36) |
| (256) μυστηριον | (mysterion) | secret | — mystery, mystic |
| | | doctrine, sacrament | |
| (257) παπυρος | (papyrus) | paper | — |
| (258) ῥητορικη | (rhetorice) | rhetoric | — |
| (259) συλλαβη | (syllabe) | syllable | — |
| (260) ὕμνος | (hymnos) | hymn | — |
| (261) χορος | (choros) | dance, chorus | — choric, chorus. terpsichorean |
| (262) χριστος | (christos) | anointed | — Christ, christian |
| (263) ψαλμος | (psalmos) | psalm, song | — |

(h) NUMBERS AND TIME

(Numbers given as they occur in derivatives.)

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| (264) αριθμος | (arithmos) | number | — arithmetic |
| (265) πρωτος | (protos) | first | — Protozoa (399), Protista, Protococcus (501), protandrous (200), protogynous (206) |
| (266) δις | (dis) | twice | — Dibranchiata (287) |
| (267) τρια | (tria) | 3 | — trilogy (36), Triarthrus (284), trimerous (40) |
| (268) τετρα | (tetra) | 4 | — tetramerous (40) |
| (269) πεντε | (pente) | 5 | — pentadactyl (294) |
| (270) ἕξ | (hex) | 6 | — hexagon (12), Hexapoda (346) |
| (271) ἑπτα | (hepta) | 7 | — heptameter (629) |
| (272) οκτω | (octo) | 8 | — Octobothrium (89), octopus (346) |
| (273) δεκα | (deca) | 10 | — decalogue (36), Decapoda (346) |
| (274) δωδεκα | (dodeca) | 12 | — dodecahedron |
| (275) ἑκατον | (hecaton) | 100 | — hectogram, hectameter (629) |
| (276) χιλιοι | (chilioi) | 1,000 | — kilogram, kilometer (629), Chilopoda (346) |
| (277) ἑβδομας | (hebdomas) | week | — hebdomadal |
| (278) ἑσπερα | (hespera) | evening | — Hesperornis (427) |
| (279) ὥρα | (hora) | hour | — horoscope (639) |

(j) ANATOMICAL AND MEDICAL TERMS

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| (280) αδην | (aden) | glandule | — adenoid, adenoma |
| (281) αιμα | (haema) | blood | — haemal, haemoglobin, haemocyanin (607) |
| (282) αλγος | (algos) | pain | — analgesic |

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| (283) αορτη | (aorte) | aorta | — aortic |
| (284) αρθρον | (arthron) | joint | — Arthropoda (346), Xenarthra (575) |
| (285) αρτηρια | (arteria) | artery | — arterial |
| (286) βλεφαρον | (blepharon) | eyelid | — Monoblepharis (570), Polyblepharis (593), Blepharipoda (346) |
| (287) βραγχια | (branchia) | gills | — branchial, Branchiopoda (346), Branchiura (334) |
| (288) βραχιων | (brachion) | armpit | — brachial |
| (289) βρογχος | (bronchos) | throat | — bronchi, bronchitis |
| (290) γαστηρ | (gaster) | belly | — gastric, epigastric (661), Gasteromycetes (504) |
| (291) γαστροκνημη | (gastrocneme) | calf of leg | — gastrocnemius |
| (292) γλωσσα | (glossa) | tongue | — hypoglossal (670), epiglottis (661), glossopharyngeal (376), Ophioglossum (429) |
| (293) γναθος | (gnathos) | jaw | — gnathite, prognathous (667), Gnathobdella (392) |
| (294) δακτυλος | (dactylos) | finger | — hexadactyl (270), polydactyl (593), Pterodactyl (348), Syndactyl (668) |
| (295) δερμα | (derma) | skin | — epidermis (661), mesoderm (568), dermatitis |
| (296) διαίτα | (diaeta) | regimen | — diet, dietetics |
| (297) εγκεφαλος | (encephalos) | brain | — mesencephalon (568), encephalitis, anencephaly |
| (298) εκτομη | (ectome) | cutting out, castration | — thyrodoctomy (235), hypophysectomy (75, 670) |
| (299) εμβρυον | (embryon) | embryo | — embryonic, polyembryony (593) |
| (300) εμετος | (emetos) | vomit | — emetic |
| (301) εντερον | (enteron) | gut | — enteritis, coelenterate (560), mesentery (568) |
| (302) ήπαρ, ήπατος | (hepar, hepatos) | liver | — hepatic |
| (303) θηλη | (thele) | teat | — thelin |
| (304) ισχιον | (ischion) | thigh | — ischial |
| (305) καρκινος | (carcinus) | crab | — carcinoma |
| (306) κανθος | (canthos) | corner of eye | — epicanthial |
| (307) καρδια | (cardia) | heart | — cardiac |
| (308) καρπος | (carpos) | wrist | — carpal |
| (309) κερας | (ceras) | horn | — keratin, Rhinoceros (355) |
| (310) κεφαλη | (cephale) | head | — acephalic, Cephalopoda (346) |
| (311) κονδυλος | (condylos) | knuckle | — condyle, Condylarthra (284) |
| (312) κορη | (core) | girl, pupil | — corea (of eye) |
| (313) κρεας | (creas) | flesh | — creatine, creatinine, pancreas |
| (314) κρανιον | (cranium) | skull | — cranial, Craniata, chondrocranium (384) |
| (315) κυστις | (cystis) | bladder, bag | — cystitis, nematocyst (148) |
| (316) λεκιθος | (lecithos) | yolk | — lecithin, alecithal |

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| (317) λαρυγξ, λαρυγγος | (larynx, laryngos) | gullet | — laryngeal |
| (318) λεπις, λεπιδος | (lepis, lepidos) | scale | — <i>Lepidoptera</i> (348), <i>Lepidosteus</i> (331), <i>Osteolepis</i> (331), <i>Lepidonorus</i> (327), <i>Lepidodendron</i> (488) |
| (319) λοφος | (lophos) | comb, crest | — <i>lophodont</i> (328), <i>Lophopus</i> (346), <i>Lophogaster</i> (290) |
| (320) μυς, μυος | (mys, myos) | mouse, muscle | — <i>myomere</i> (40), <i>myotome</i> (643) |
| (321) μανια | (mania) | frenzy | — <i>maniac</i> , <i>hypomania</i> (670) |
| (322) μυξα | (myxa) | phlegm | — <i>Myxomycetes</i> (504), <i>Myxococcus</i> (501), <i>Myxosporidia</i> (512) |
| (323) ναρκη | (narce) | numbness | — <i>narcosis</i> , <i>narcotic</i> |
| (324) ναυσια | (nausia) | seasickness | — <i>nauseating</i> |
| (325) νευρον | (neuron) | nerve, tendon | — <i>neural</i> , <i>neurosis</i> |
| (326) νεφρος | (nephros) | kidney | — <i>nephridium</i> , <i>mesonephros</i> (568), <i>nephritis</i> |
| (327) νωτον | (noton) | back | — <i>notochord</i> (177), <i>notopodium</i> (346), <i>Notostraca</i> (332) |
| (328) οδους, οδοντος | (odous, odontos) | tooth | — <i>Odontophore</i> (649), <i>thecodont</i> (135), <i>Odontoceti</i> (410) |
| (329) οισοφαγος | (oesophagos) | oesophagus | — <i>oesophageal</i> |
| (330) ορχις | (orchis) | testicle | — <i>cryptorchid</i> (626) |
| (331) οστεον | (osteon) | bone | — <i>osteology</i> (36), <i>periosteal</i> (666) |
| (332) οστρακον | (ostrakon) | shell | — <i>Ostracoda</i> , <i>Conchostraca</i> (411), <i>Entomostraca</i> (398) |
| (333) ονυξ, ονυχος | (onyx, onychos) | nail, claw | — <i>Onychophora</i> (649), <i>Onychomonas</i> (45) |
| (334) ουρα | (ura) | tail | — <i>urostyle</i> (165), <i>Ophiura</i> (429), <i>Amura</i> |
| (335) ουρον | (uron) | urine | — <i>uric</i> , <i>urea</i> , <i>hippuric</i> (401) |
| (336) οφθαλμος | (ophthalmos) | eye | — <i>ophthalmic</i> , <i>ophthalmoscope</i> (639), <i>exophthalmos</i> (654) |
| (337) οφρυς | (ophrys) | eyebrow | — <i>Actinophrys</i> (83), <i>Ophryocystis</i> (315), <i>Ophryotrocha</i> (172) |
| (338) οψις | (opsis) | appearance, eyesight | — <i>autopsy</i> (6), <i>Bryopsis</i> (487), <i>Sauropsida</i> (434), <i>Ichthyopsida</i> (402) |
| (339) παρεια | (pareia) | cheek | — <i>pareital</i> |
| (340) πελμα | (pelma) | sole | — <i>Pelmatozoa</i> (399) |
| (341) πεψις | (pepsis) | digestion | — <i>pepsin</i> , <i>eupetric</i> (546) |
| (342) πιλος | (pilos) | wool | — <i>Pilochrota</i> (386), <i>Pilocarpus</i> (492), <i>Pilobolus</i> (8) |
| (343) πλευρα | (pleura) | side, rib | — <i>pleural</i> , <i>pleurocentrum</i> (31), <i>pleurisy</i> |
| (344) πνευμι | (pneuma) | lungs, breath | — <i>pneumonia</i> , <i>pneumatic</i> , <i>pneumatophore</i> (649), <i>pneumococcus</i> (501) |

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| (345) πρωκτος | (proctos) | anus | — proctodeum, aproctous, <i>Be-toprocta</i> (658) |
| (346) πους, ποδος | (pous, podos) | foot | — <i>Amphipoda</i> (526), <i>Platypus</i> (588), <i>Isopoda</i> (553), <i>Che-nopodium</i> (453), <i>Lycopo-dium</i> (422) |
| (347) περνα | (pterna) | heel | — <i>Litopterna</i> (λιτος = smooth) |
| (348) πτερον | (pteron) | wing | — <i>Aptera</i> , <i>Hymenoptera</i> (372), <i>Neuroptera</i> (325) |
| (349) πτερυγιον | (pterugion) | fin | — <i>archipterygium</i> (5), <i>actinop-terygial</i> (83) |
| (350) πτιλον | (ptilon) | feather | — <i>coleoptile</i> (236), <i>Trichop-tilum</i> (370) |
| (351) πυγη | (pyge) | buttocks | — <i>pygostyle</i> (165) |
| (352) πυρετος | (puretos) | fever | — <i>antipyretic</i> (654), <i>pyrexia</i> |
| (353) πυος | (pyos) | discharge | — <i>pus</i> , <i>pyogenic</i> (10) |
| (354) ραχις | (rhachis) | backbone | — <i>rachitis</i> , <i>rachitinous</i> , and <i>Rachitomi</i> (643) |
| (355) ρις, ρινος | (rhis, rhinos) | nose | — <i>rhinitis</i> , <i>Rhinoceros</i> (309), <i>Antirrhinum</i> (654) |
| (356) ρινυχιον | (rhynchion) | snout | — <i>Rhynchota</i> , <i>Rhynchocephalia</i> (310), <i>Rhynchobellida</i> (392) |
| (357) σαρξ, σαρκος | (sarx, sarcos) | flesh | — <i>perisarc</i> (666), <i>sarcoma</i> |
| (358) σπασμος | (spasmos) | spasm | — <i>spasmodic</i> |
| (359) σπλαγχνα | (splanchna) | bowels | — <i>splanchnic</i> , <i>splanchnopleure</i> (343) |
| (360) σπλην | (splen) | spleen | — <i>splenic</i> |
| (361) σπονδυλος | (spondylos) | vertebra | — <i>diplospondylous</i> (540) |
| (362) στερνον | (sternon) | breast | — <i>sternal</i> |
| (363) στομα | (stoma) | mouth | — <i>stomata</i> , <i>Gnathostomata</i> (293), <i>Bdellostoma</i> (392) |
| (364) στομαχος | (stomachos) | opening of stomach | — <i>stomach</i> |
| (365) συμπτωμα | (symptoma) | symptom | — <i>symptomatic</i> |
| (366) σφυγμος | (sphygmōs) | pulse | — <i>sphygmoid</i> , <i>sphygmomanometer</i> (566, 629) |
| (367) σωμα | (soma) | body | — <i>somatic</i> , <i>centrosome</i> (31), <i>Pyrosoma</i> (III), <i>Sphaero-soma</i> (62) |
| (368) τραχεια | (tracheia) | windpipe | — <i>tracheal</i> , <i>tracheate</i> , <i>tracheida</i> |
| (369) τραυμα | (trauma) | wound | — <i>trauma</i> , <i>traumanasty</i> |
| (370) θριξ, τριχος | (thrix, trichos) | hair | — <i>Polytrichum</i> (593), <i>Tri-china</i> , <i>Ophiothrix</i> (429), <i>Trichomastix</i> (628) |
| (371) υγεια | (hygiā) | health | — <i>hygiene</i> , <i>hygienic</i> |
| (372) υμην | (hymen) | membrane | — <i>Hymenoptera</i> (348), <i>Hy-menomycetes</i> (504), <i>Hy-menophyllaceae</i> (517) |

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| (373) φαλαγξ | (phalanx) | joint of toe or finger | — phalanges, phalangeal |
| (374) φαλλος | (phallos) | penis | — phallic |
| (375) φαρμακον | (pharmakon) | drug | — pharmacist pharmacology (36) |
| (376) φαρυγξ, φαρυγγος | (pharynx, pharyngos) | throat | — glossopharyngeal (292), Pharyngobranchii (287) |
| (377) φλεψ, φλεβος | (phleps, phlebos) | vein | — phlebitis |
| (378) χαιτη | (chaite) | long hair. mane | — Polychaeta (593), Chaetog- natha (293), Chaetocladium (495) |
| (379) χαλαζα | (chalaza) | tubercle, pimple | — chalaza, chalazogamic (617) |
| (380) χηλη | (chele) | talon | — chela, chelate, chelicera (309) |
| (381) χειλος | (chilos) | lips | — Chilognatha (293), Chilo- don (328) |
| (382) χειρ | (chir) | hand | — Chiroptera, chiropodist (346) |
| (383) χολη | (chole) | bile | — glycocholate (536), melan- cholia (610) |
| (384) χονδρος | (chondros) | cartilage | — Chondrial, Chondrostei (331), Chondrichthyes (402) |
| (385) χοριον | (chorion) | skin, leather | — chorion, chorionic, choroid |
| (386) χρος, χρωτος | (chros, chrotos) | skin | — Chrotella |
| (387) ωον | (oon) | egg | — oogenesis (9), oogonium (11), oospore (512) |
| (388) ους, ωτο | (ous, otos) | ear | — periotic (666), otolith (188), otocyst (315) |

(k) ANIMALS

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| (389) αραχνη | (arachne) | spider |
| (390) αρκτος | (arctos) | bear |
| (391) αστακος | (astacos) | lobster |
| (391a) βατραχος | (batrachos) | frog |
| (392) βδελλα | (bdella) | leech |
| (393) βομβυξ | (bombyx) | silkworm |
| (394) γλαυξ | (glauz) | owl |
| (395) ελεφας | (elephas) | elephant |
| (396) ελμυς, ελμινθος | (helmis, helminthos) | worm |
| (397) εχινος | (echinos) | hedgehog |
| (398) εντομα | (entoma) | insect |
| (399) ζων | (zoon) | animal |
| (400) θηρ | (ther) | beast |
| (401) ιππος | (hippos) | horse |
| (402) ιχθυς | (ichthys) | fish |
| (403) καμηλος | (camelos) | camel |
| (404) καμπη | (campe) | caterpillar |
| (405) καρκινος | (carcinos) | crab |
| (406) καρις, καριδος | (caris, caridos) | shrimp |

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| (407) καστωρ | (castor) | beaver |
| (408) κανθαρος | (cantharos) | beetle |
| (409) κερκοπιθηκος | (cercopithecus) | monkey |
| (410) κητος | (cetos) | whale |
| (411) κογχος | (conchos) | shellfish |
| (412) κοκκυξ | (coocyx) | cuckoo |
| (413) κοραξ | (corax) | crow |
| (414) κοχλιας | (cochlias) | snail |
| (415) κορις | (coris) | bug |
| (416) κροκοδειλος | (crocodeilos) | crocodile |
| (417) κυκνος | (cycnos) | swan |
| (418) κυων, | (cyon, cunos) | dog |
| κυνος | | |
| (419) λαγος | (lagos) | hare |
| (420) λαμπουρος | (lampuros) | glowworm |
| (421) λεων | (leon) | lion |
| (422) λυκος | (lycos) | wolf |
| (423) μελισσα | (melissa) | bee |
| (424) μυρμηξ, | (myrmex) | ant |
| μυρμηκος | (myrmekos) | |
| (425) μυς | (mys) | mouse |
| (426) νυκτηρις | (nykteris) | bat |
| (427) ορνις, | (ornis) | bird |
| ορνιθος | (ornithos) | |
| (428) οστρεον | (ostreon) | oyster |
| (429) οφις | (ophis) | snake |
| (430) περδιξ | (perdix) | partridge |
| (431) πιθηκος | (pithecus) | ape |
| (432) πολυπος | (polypos) | octopus |
| (433) σαλαμανδρα | (salamandra) | salamander |
| (434) σαυρα | (saura) | lizard |
| (435) σελαχος | (selachos) | shark |
| (436) σηπια | (sepia) | cuttlefish |
| (437) σκιουρος | (sciuros) | squirrel |
| (438) σκομβρο | (scombros) | mackerel |
| (439) σκορπιος | (scorpios) | scorpion |
| (440) σπογγια | (spongia) | sponge |
| (441) στρουθος | (struthos) | ostrich |
| (442) ταυρος | (tauros) | bull |
| (443) τερηδων | (teredon) | timberworm |
| (444) τιγρις | (tigris) | tiger |
| (445) τραγος | (tragos) | goat |
| (446) υστρις | (hystrix) | porcupine |
| (447) φασιανος | (phasianos) | pheasant |
| (448) φρυνη | (phryne) | toad |
| (449) φωκαινη | (phocaena) | porpoise |
| (450) φωκη | (phoce) | seal |
| (451) χελωνη | (chelone) | tortoise |
| (452) χην | (chen) | goose |
| (453) ψιττακη | (psittace) | parrot |
| (454) ψυλλα | (psylla) | flea |
| (455) ψυχη | (psyche) | butterfly |

(I) PLANTS AND THEIR PARTS

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------------|---|
| (456) αγρωστις | (agrostis) | grass | |
| (457) αμπελος | (ampelos) | vine | |
| (458) ανεμωνη | (anemone) | anemone | |
| (459) ασπαραγος | (asparagos) | asparagus | |
| (460) ελληβορος | (helleboros) | hellebore | |
| (461) ερεικη | (ereice) | heather | |
| (462) θυμος | (thymos) | thyme | |
| (463) ιρις | (iris) | iris | |
| (464) καρδαμον | (cardamon) | watercress | |
| (465) κεδρος | (cedros) | cedar | |
| (466) κιναρα | (cinara) | artichoke | |
| (467) κραμβη | (crambe) | cabbage | |
| (468) κροκος | (crocos) | saffron | |
| (469) κυπαρισσος | (cuparissos) | cypress | |
| (470) μινθα | (mintha) | mint | |
| (471) μορεα | (morea) | mulberry | |
| (472) ναρκισσος | (narcissos) | daffodil | |
| (473) ορχις | (orchis) | orchid | |
| (474) πεπερι | (peperi) | pepper | |
| (475) πισος | (pisos) | pea | |
| (476) πλατανος | (platanos) | plane tree | |
| (477) ραφανις | (rhapfanis) | radish | |
| (478) σινηπι | (sinepi) | mustard | |
| (479) συκον | (sycon) | fig | |
| (480) υακινθος | (hyacinthos) | hyacinth | |
| (481) υσσωπος | (hyssopos) | hyssop | |
| (482) ακανθα | (acantha) | spine | <i>Acanthocephali</i> (310), <i>hexacanth</i> (270) |
| (483) ανθος, | (anthos or | flower | <i>Helianthus</i> (95), <i>Anthozoa</i> |
| ανθεμον | antheimon) | | (399), <i>perianth</i> (666) |
| (484) βλαστη | (blaste) | bud | — <i>blastoderm</i> (295), <i>meroblastic</i> (40), <i>hypoblast</i> (670), <i>blastocoele</i> (560), <i>holoblastic</i> (578), <i>epiblast</i> (661) |
| (485) βοτανη | (botane) | herb | — <i>botanical</i> |
| (486) βοτρυς | (botrys) | bunch | — <i>Botryllus</i> , <i>Botrydium</i> |
| (487) βρυωνι | (bryone) | moss | — <i>Bryophyta</i> (518), <i>Bryopsis</i> (338), <i>Dinobryon</i> (539) |
| (488) δενδρον | (dendron) | tree, branch | — <i>dendrite</i> , <i>Dendrocoelium</i> (560) |
| (489) ελιξ | (helix) | tendrill, spiral | — <i>helicoid</i> , <i>helicopter</i> (348) |
| (490) ζυμη | (zyme) | yeast | — <i>enzyme</i> , <i>zymotic</i> , <i>zymase</i> |
| (491) καλαμος | (calamos) | reed | — <i>Calamoichthys</i> (402) |
| (492) καρπος | (carpos) | fruit | — <i>carpal</i> , <i>pericarp</i> (666), <i>syncarpous</i> (668) |
| (493) καρων | (caryon) | nut | — <i>Caryophyllaceae</i> (517), <i>Caryopsis</i> (338) |
| (494) καυλος | (caulos) | stalk | — <i>cauline</i> |

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| (495) κλαδος | (elados) | bough | — Gladophora (649), phylloclade (517), Tricladida (267), Cladothrix (370) |
| (496) κλων | (clon) | shoot | — clone |
| (497) κνιδη | (cnide) | nettle | — cnidocil, cnidoblast (484) |
| (498) κρινον | (crinon) | lily | — Crinoidea |
| (499) κωνειον | (coneion) | hemlock | — conine |
| (500) κωνος | (conos) | cone | — conifer, Conidiospores (512) |
| (501) κοκκος | (coccus) | berry, grain | — Pleurococcus (343), Diplococcus (540) |
| (502) κορυμβος | (corymbos) | cluster of flowers | — corymb, Corymbocrinus |
| (503) λινον | (linon) | flax | — linen, lineic |
| (504) μυκης, μυκητος | (myces) | mushroom | — Oomycetes (387), mycetozoa (399) |
| (505) ξυλον | (xylon) | wood | — xylem, xylonite, xylophone (76) |
| (506) πεταλον | (petalon) | petal | — polypetalous (593), sympetalous (668) |
| (507) πτερις | (pteris) | fern | — Pteridophyta (518), Pteris |
| (508) ραβδος | (rhabdos) | stick | — rhabdite, Rhabdocoelida (560) |
| (509) ριζα | (rhiza) | root | — rhizome, mycorrhiza (504), Rhizopus and Rhizopoda (346) |
| (510) ροδον | (rhodon) | rose | — rhododendron (488), Rhodites |
| (511) σπερμα | (sperma) | seed | — Spermatophyta (518), spermatozoa (399), polyspermy (593), Batrachospermum (391a) |
| (512) σπορος | (sporos) | seed | — sporocyst (315), Sporozoa (399), ascospore (123), zygospore (131) |
| (513) σταφυλη | (staphyle) | bunch of grapes | — staphylococcus (501) |
| (514) στρυχνος | (strychnos) | nightshade | — strychnine |
| (515) υλη | (hyle) | timber | — Hyla |
| (516) φυκος | (phykos) | seaweed | — Phycomycetes (504), Rhodophyceae (510), Chlorophyceae (614) |
| (517) φυλλον | (phyllon) | leaf | — mesophyll (568), phyllode |
| (518) φυτον | (phyton) | plant | — holophytic (578), phytology (36) |

(m) ADJECTIVES*

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| (519) αγαθος | (agathos) | good | — Agatha |
| (520) αγιος | (hagios) | holy | — hagiolatriy (254) |

* Nominative singular masculine forms.

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| (521) | αγλαος | (aglaos) | bright | — Aglaöphenia |
| (522) | ακουστος | (acoustos) | audible | — acoustic |
| (523) | ακρος | (acros) | high | — Akrogyne (206), acropetal (506), acromegaly (567), acrodont (328) |
| (524) | αλλος | (allos) | other | — allotropic (70), allogamy (617), allopathy (50), allergy (23) |
| (525) | αμβλυς | (amblys) | blunt | — Amblypoda (346), Amblystoma (363) |
| (526) | αμφω | (ampho) | both | — Amphibia (7), Amphineura (325), Amphicoelous (560) |
| (527) | αθηρος | (antheros) | flowering | — antheridium, anther |
| (528) | άπλοος | (haploos) | simple | — haploid, Haplosporidia (512), Haplodiscus (129) |
| (529) | αριστος | (aristos) | best | — aristocracy (625) |
| (530) | αρτιος | (artios) | perfect | — Artiodactyl (294) |
| (531) | αυστηρος | (austeros) | austere | — austerity |
| (532) | βαθυσ | (bathys) | deep | — bathymetric (629), Bathyrcinus, Bathynectes |
| (533) | βαρυς | (barys) | heavy | — barometer (629), isobar (553) |
| (534) | βραχυς | (brachys) | short | — brachydactyly (294), brachycephalic (310) |
| (535) | γίγαντικός | (gigantikos) | gigantic | — Gigantosaurus (434), giant |
| (536) | γλυκυσ | (glycys) | sweet | — glycogen (10), glycolysis (37), glucose |
| (537) | γυμνος | (gymnos) | naked | — gymnastics, Gymnoblaster (484), Gymnosperm (511) |
| (538) | δηλος | (delos) | manifest | — Urodela (334) |
| (539) | δεινος | (dinos) | wonderfu | — Dinosaur (434), Dinorn. (427), Dinopsis (338), Dinophyceae (516) |
| (540) | διπλοος | (diploos) | double | — diplococcus (501), diploblastic (484) |
| (541) | δολιχος | (dolichos) | long | — dolichocephalic (310), Dolichoglossus (292) |
| (542) | ελευθερος | (eleutheros) | free | — Eleutheria, Eleutheroblastea (484) |
| (543) | εναντιος | (enantios) | opposite | — enantiomorph (47) |
| (544) | εσχατος | (eschatos) | remote | — eschatology (36) |
| (545) | ετερος | (heteros) | different | — heterogeneous (10), heterodyne (17), heterozygote (131) |
| (546) | ευ | (eu—adv.) | well | — eulogy (36), euphony (76) |
| (547) | ευρυς | (eurys) | broad | — Euryale, Eurypterida (348), Eurylepta (563), Euryotus (327) |
| (548) | ευθυς | (euthys) | straight | — Euthyneura (325) |
| (549) | ηδυσ | (hedys) | sweet | — hedonism |
| (550) | θερμος | (thermos) | hot | — thermal, thermometer (629), isotherm (553) |
| (551) | ιατρικος | (iatrikos) | medical | — paediatrics (220) |

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| (552) ιδιος | (idios) | proper, private | — idiosyncrasy (668), idiot |
| (553) ισος | (isos) | equal | — isosceles, isomerism (40), Isoptera (348) |
| (554) ισχνος | (ischnos) | lean | — Ischnochiton (175) |
| (555) κακος | (cacos) | bad | — cacodyl, cacophony (76), Cacops (338) |
| (556) καθολικος | (catholicos) | general | — catholic |
| (557) καινος | (cainos) | new | — cainozoic (399), Oligocene (577), Eocene (93) |
| (558) καλος | (calos) | beautiful | — callisthenics (57) |
| (559) καμπυλος | (campylos) | curved | — campylotropous (70) |
| (559a) κενος | (cenos) | empty | — cenotaph, Kenosis |
| (560) κοιλος | (coelos) | hollow | — acaelous, coeloni, Coelenterata (301) |
| (561) κοινος | (coenos) | common | — coenocyte (143), Coenonympha (218), Coemurus (334) |
| (562) κομψος | (compsos) | elegant | — Compsognathus (293) |
| (562a) κρυος | (cryos) | frozen, cold | — cryohydric (114) |
| (563) λεπτος | (leptos) | thin | — Leptostraca (332), Leptocephalus (310), Leptothrix (370) |
| (564) μακρος | (macros) | long | — macroscopic (639), Macrocystis (315), macromucleus |
| (565) μαλακος | (malacos) | soft | — Malacostraca (332), Malacocotylea (140) |
| (566) μανος | (manos) | scanty | — manometer (629) |
| (567) μεγας | (megas) | big | — megalithic (188), megaphone (76), megaspore (512), Megatherium (400) |
| (568) μεσος | (mesos) | middle | — Mesozoic (399) |
| (569) μικρος | (micros) | small | — microscope (639), micrometer (629) |
| (570) μονος | (monos) | alone | — monosyllable (259), monolith (188), Monocystis (315) |
| (571) μυριος | (myrios) | innumerable | — Myriapoda (346), Myriads |
| (572) μωρος | (moros) | foolish | — moron |
| (573) νεκρος | (necros) | dead | — necrotic, necromancy, necrophilia |
| (574) νεος | (neos) | new | — neolithic (188), neologism (36) |
| (575) ξενος | (xenos) | foreign | — xenophobia (72), Xenopus (346) |
| (576) ξηρος | (xeros) | dry | — xerophilous (648), xerophyte (518) |
| (577) ολιγοι | (oligoi) | few | — Oligocarpous, Oligochaete |
| (578) ολος | (holos) | whole | — holoblastic (484), Holocophali (310), holozoic (399) |
| (579) ομος | (homos) | similar | — homology (36), Homoptera (348) |

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| (580) οπισθε | (opisthe) | hindmost | — <i>Opisthobranchiata</i> (287), <i>opisthosoma</i> (367), <i>Opisthocoeleus</i> (560) |
| (581) οξύς | (oxys) | sharp, acid | — <i>oxygen</i> (10), <i>Amphioxus</i> (526), <i>Oxyurus</i> (334) |
| (582) ὀρθός | (orthos) | straight | — <i>orthogenesis</i> (9), <i>orthodoxy</i> (15), <i>orthotropous</i> (70), <i>Orthoptera</i> (348) |
| (583) παλαιός | (palaios) | old, aged | — <i>palaeozoic</i> (399), <i>palaeography</i> (619), <i>palaeolithic</i> (188) |
| (584) παν (neut.) | (pan) | all | — <i>pangenesis</i> (9), <i>panmixia</i> (42) |
| (585) παχύς | (pachys) | thick | — <i>pachydermatous</i> (295), <i>pachymeter</i> (629) |
| (586) πλαγίος | (plagios) | crooked | — <i>Plagiostomi</i> (363) |
| (587) πλαστός | (plastos) | modelled | — <i>plasticine</i> , <i>plastic</i> , <i>chloroplast</i> (614), <i>leucoplast</i> (609) |
| (588) πλατύς | (platys) | flat | — <i>amphiplatyan</i> (526), <i>Platyhelminthes</i> (396) |
| (589) πλειστός | (pleistos) | most | — <i>Pleistocene</i> (559a) |
| (590) πλεός | (pleos) | full | — <i>pleopod</i> (346) |
| (591) πλησιός | (plesios) | near | — <i>Plesiosauria</i> (434), <i>Plesianthus</i> (483) |
| (592) ποικίλος | (poecilos) | various | — <i>poecilothermic</i> |
| (593) πολύς | (polys) | much | — <i>polygon</i> (12), <i>polygamy</i> (617) |
| (594) πυκνός | (pycnos) | compact | — <i>pycnic</i> , <i>Pycnogonida</i> (IX), <i>pycnidia</i> |
| (595) σαπρός | (sapros) | putrid | — <i>saprophyte</i> (518), <i>Saprolegnia</i> |
| (596) σκληρός | (scleros) | hard | — <i>sclerite</i> , <i>sclerosis</i> , <i>megasclere</i> (567), <i>Scleranthus</i> (483), <i>Scleroderma</i> (295) |
| (597) στενός | (stenos) | narrow | — <i>Stenodictya</i> (128), <i>stenography</i> (619) |
| (598) στερεός | (stereos) | solid, stiff | — <i>stereoscopic</i> (639), <i>stereoisomerism</i> (553, 40) |
| (599) στρογγύλος | (strongylos) | round | — <i>Strongylus</i> , <i>Strongylocentrotus</i> (31) |
| (600) στρεπτός | (streptos) | twisted | — <i>streptococcus</i> (501), <i>strepsiptera</i> (348) |
| (601) τηλε | (tele—adv.) | afar | — <i>telescope</i> (639), <i>telegram</i> (249), <i>telepathy</i> (50) |
| (602) τραχύς | (trachys) | rough | — <i>Trachymedusae</i> , <i>Trachysoma</i> (367), <i>Trachypterus</i> (348) |
| (603) τυφλός | (typhlos) | blind | — <i>typhlosole</i> , <i>Typhlops</i> |
| (604) ὑγρός | (hygros) | wet | — <i>hygroscopic</i> (639), <i>hygrometer</i> (629) |
| (605) φανερός | (phaneros) | visible | — <i>Phanero gam</i> (617), <i>Phanerocephala</i> (310) |

(n) COLOURS

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|----------------------|------------|--------------|--|
| (606) ερυθρος | (erythros) | red | — erythrocyte (143), erythema, erythrophore (649) |
| (607) κυανος | (cyanos) | azure | — cyanosis, Cyanophyceae (516) |
| (608) ιοειδης | (ioedes) | violet | — iodine, iodoform |
| (609) λευκος | (leucos) | white | — leucocyte (143), Leucosolenia |
| (610) μελανος (gen.) | (melanos) | black | — melanic, melanophore (649), Melampyrum (111) |
| (611) ξανθος | (xanthos) | yellow | — xanthia, xanthoderma (295), xanthophyll (517) |
| (612) ωχρος | (ochros) | sallow, pale | — ochre, ochreous |
| (613) φαιος | (phaeos) | dusky, gray | — Phaeophyceae (516), Phaeosporales (512) |
| (614) χλωρος | (chloros) | green | — chlorine, chlorophyll (517), Chlorophyceae (516) |

(o) VERBS†

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|------------|---|
| (615) βαλλω | (ballo) | throw | — ballistics |
| (616) βαπτω | (bapto) | dip | — baptism, baptize, Baptist |
| (617) γαμew | (gameo) | marry | — gamete, monogamy (570) |
| (618) γλυφω | (glypho) | tunnel | — Tyroglyph (174), siphonoglyph (158) |
| (619) γραφω | (grapho) | write | — phonograph (76), photograph (119) |
| (620) δαω | (daeo) | distribute | — geodesy (91) |
| (621) καλυπτω | (calypto) | cover | — Calyptoblastea (484) |
| (622) κινew | (cineo) | move | — kinesis, cinema, kinetic |
| (623) κλινω | (alino) | bend | — klinostat (59), syncline (668), anticline (654) |
| (624) κοιμaw | (coemao) | sleep | — cemetery |
| (625) κρατew | (crateo) | govern | — plutocratic (223), democratic (207), technocracy (67) |
| (626) κρυπτω | (crypto) | hide | — cryptogram (249), cryptozoic (399), Cryptocephala (310) |
| (627) λαμπω | (lampo) | shine | — lamp |
| (628) μαστιγωω | (mastigoo) | whip | — Mastigophora (649), Mastigamoeba, Polymastiginae (593) |
| (629) μετrew | (metreo) | measure | — metric, meter |
| (630) νηχω | (necho) | swim | — Notonecta (327), Necturus (334), nectocalyx |
| (631) ορμaw | (hormao) | rouse | — hormone |

† All forms given are first person singular, present indicative, unless otherwise stated

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| (632) | ποιεω | (<i>poëo</i>) | create, compose | — poetry, poem, pharmaco- poeia (375) |
| (633) | πωλεω | (<i>poleo</i>) | sell | — monopoly (570) |
| (634) | πρω | (<i>prio</i>) | saw | — prism, prismatic |
| (635) | ρρω | (<i>rheo</i>) | flow | — rheostat (59), rheotropism (70) |
| (636) | ρηννυμι | (<i>rhegnymi</i>) | burst | — haemorrhage (281) |
| (637) | ριπιζω | (<i>rhipizo</i>) | fan | — Rhipidoglossa (292), Rhipi- dium |
| (638) | σηψω* | (<i>sepsō</i>) | putrefy | — sepsis, antiseptic (654) |
| (639) | σκοπεω | (<i>scopeo</i>) | look at | — gyroscope (13), telescope (601), periscope (666), laryngoscope (317) |
| (640) | στροβω | (<i>strobeo</i>) | spin | — stroboscope (639) |
| (641) | σχιζω | (<i>schizo</i>) | split | — schizocarpous (492), Schizo- mycetes (504) |
| (642) | κεραυνυμι | (<i>ceramynmi</i>) | mix | — idiosyncrasy (552) |
| (643) | τεμνω | (<i>temno</i>) | cut | — Temnocephali (310), ana- tomy (653), atom |
| (644) | τοξεω | (<i>toxewō</i>) | to shoot arrows | — toxic, toxæmea |
| (645) | φαγειν† | (<i>phagein</i>) | devour | — phagocyte (143), entomo- phagous (398), Myrmeco- phaga (424) |
| (646) | φαινω | (<i>phaeno</i>) | show | — phenotype (71), phenomenon |
| (647) | φοβεω | (<i>phobeo</i>) | frighten | — phobia, hydrophobia |
| (648) | φιλεω | (<i>phileo</i>) | love | — philology (36), philanderer, entomophilous (398), philo- progenitive (667, 10) |
| (649) | φορεω | (<i>phoreō</i>) | wear, carry | — chromatophore (77), xan- thophore (611) |
| (650) | φω | (<i>phyo</i>) | grow | — symphysis (668), hypo- physis (670) |
| (651) | ψευδο | (<i>pseudo</i>) | deceive | — pseudopodium (346) |

(p) PARTICLES

| | | | | |
|-------|--------|----------------------------|--|---|
| (652) | αμφι | (<i>amphi</i>) | around | — amphitheatre (134) |
| (653) | ανα | (<i>ana</i>) | (a) up (b) again | — (a) anabolism (8) (b) anabaptist (616) |
| (654) | αντι | (<i>anti</i>) | opposed to | — antiseptic (638) |
| (655) | απο | (<i>apo</i>) | away from | — apocarpous (492) |
| (656) | δια | (<i>dia</i>) | among, through | — diapedesis (346) |
| (657) | εκ, εξ | (<i>ec</i> or <i>ex</i>) | out of | — ecstasy (59) |
| (658) | εκτος | (<i>ectos</i>) | outside oppos. to εντος = inside | — ectoplasm |
| (659) | εν | (<i>en</i>) | in | — endemic (207) |
| (660) | ενδον | (<i>endon</i>) | within | — endosperm (511), endogenous (10) |

* Future.

† Infinitive.

| | | | |
|------------|---------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| (661) επι | (epi) | on | — epiblast (484) |
| (662) εσω | (eso) | within | — esoteric |
| (663) κατα | (cata) | down, by | — catastrophe (61), catabolism (8) |
| (664) μετα | (meta) | after | — Metatheria (400) |
| (665) παρα | (para) | beside | — parabiosis (7) |
| (666) περ. | (peri) | around | — perianth (483), perimeter (629) |
| (667) προ | (pro) | before | — prologue (36) |
| (668) συν | (syn) | together, with | — syndrome (16) |
| (669) υπερ | (hyper) | above, over | — hyperaesthesia (4) |
| (670) υπο | (hypo) | and beyond under | — hypogastric (290) |

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